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A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

The Mauryas & Satavahanas

325 B.C.—A.D. 300

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A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY OF INDIA

VOLUME TWO

The Mauryas & Satavahanas

325 B.C. — A.D. 300

Edited by

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE scope of this volume and the main features of its content have been described in the Introduction. This Preface is meant primarily to serve as a grateful acknowledgement of the invaluable help I have received from many sources in the preparation of this work.

I must first mention the different learned contributors of chapters who not only sent their chapters in time and revised them as and when necessary, but have waited patiently for some years to see their contributions in print; Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. P. C. Bagchi and Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, it is my sad duty to record, have passed away in the interval, and the further work of revision and preparation of their chapters for the press therefore fell on me.

The sources of the illustrations are indicated in detail on the Plates. The Ministry of Education and the Archaeological Department of the Union have earned our deepest thanks by the supply of the largest numbers of these illustrations; other Archaeological Departments of the different States and the Museums of the country have also been very helpful. The Cambridge University Press has sanctioned the reproduction of two maps from Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India*; Mr. C. Sivaramamurti of the Indian Museum (Calcutta) has given unstinted help in the choice and reproduction of coins. I am greatly indebted to all of them for their co-operation without which the production of the volume would not have been possible.

I owe also more than I can find words to express to the advice I have received from the publishing staff of Orient Longmans and particularly to the invaluable academic guidance given by Mr. R. A. Dutch, O.B.E., I.C.S. (Rtd).

Madras, 3 December, 1956 K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

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page	29,	folio heading	for *Administrations*	read *Administration*
	168,	line 5	for *Indo-Scythans*	„ *Indo-Scythians*
	306,	line 3 from bottom	„ *nad*	„ *and*
	336,	f.n. 7 line 5	after p. insert 311	
	399,	f.n. 1	for *L.A. XII*	„ *I.A. xli*
	509,	line 5	before *fully* insert *is*	
	514,	line 6	for *adddnad*	„ *addressed*
	565,	line 20	„ *peals*	„ *pearls*
	751,	line 25	„ *trace*	„ *traces*
	761,	line 9	„ *panels*	„ *panel*

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ABRORI P103

ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA.	*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, (Kern Institute, Leyden).
ABORI.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*
AHD.	*Ancient History of Deccan* by G. Jouveau-Dubreuil
AO.	*Acta Orientalia*
AIHT.	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* (Pargiter)
Ait. Br.	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
AI.	*Ancient India.* (*Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*)
ASCAR.	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*
ASIAR.	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*
ASWI.	*Archaeological Survey of Western India*
BDCRI.	*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*
BEFEO.	*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extréme Orient*
BG.	*Bombay Gazetteer*
Bhag	*Bhagavati Vaijāhapannati*
Bhandarkar or Bh. List	*List of Inscriptions in Northern India* (*App. to EI. XIX—XXIII*)
BMCAWK.	*British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, Western Kshatrapa Dynasty, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the Bodhi Dynasty* (Rapson)
BMCCAI.	*Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India in British Museum* (Allan)
BMQ.	*British Museum Quarterly*
Breloer	Breloer: *Kauṭilya Studien*
Br. Up.	*Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*
BSOS.	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London.
CA.	*Ceylon Antiquary.*
CCIM.	*Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I (Smith).
CJS.	*Ceylon Journal of Science*
CHI.	*Cambridge History of India*
CII.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
DKA.	*Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Pargiter)
EC.	*Epigraphica Carnatica*
EDA.	*Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa* (B. V. Krishna Rao)
EHAC.	*Early History of the Andhra Country* (K. Gopalachari).
EI.	*Epigraphia Indica*
ERE.	*Encyclepaedia of Religion and Ethics*
EZ.	*Epigraphia Zeylanica*
FUF.	*Forschungen und Fortschritte*
GOS.	*Gaikwad Oriental Series*
HAR.	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Hyderabad State*
HAS.	*Hyderabad Archaeological Series*
HC.	*Harsha Charitra*
H & F	Hamilton and Falconer's translation of Strabo's *Geography*
Hultzsch	*CII.* Vol. I (New Edition) *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, (ed.) Hultzsch.
IA.	*Indian Antiquary*
IC.	*Indian Culture*
IHQ.	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
JA.	*Journal Asiatique*
JAHRS.	*Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*
JAOS.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JASB.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JBBRAS.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JB (O) RS.	*Journal of the Bihar (and Orissa) Research Society*
Jr. Dept. Lett. or J.D.L.	*Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*
JGIS.	*Journal of the Greater India Society*

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JIH.	*Journal of Indian History*
JISOA.	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*
JNSI.	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
JRAS.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*
JRASB.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JRAS. CB.	*Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JUPHS.	*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*
KA.	*Kautiliiya Arthaśāstra*
KS.	*Kauṭiyla Studien* (Breloer)
La Légende	*La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka* (Pryluski)
Lüders	*List of Brahmi Inscriptions*
M.	*Manusmṛiti* (Mānava Dharma Śāstra. Manu Saṁhitā)
Malavika	*Mālavikāgnimitram*
MAR.	*Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department*
MASI.	*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata*
Mil(i)n.	*Milindapañha*
MV.	*Mahāvaṁsa*, (ed.) Geiger; also Eng. tr. by the same
Ñaya.	*Ñāyā Dhammakahayā*
NC.	*Numismatic Chronicle*
NHIP.	*New History of the Indian People*
NIA.	*New Indian Antiquary*
Paikuli	Paikuli, *Monument and the Inscription of the early History of the Sassanian Empire* (Herzféld)
Per.	*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*
PAIOC.	*Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference*
PASB.	*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
PHAI.	*Political History of Ancient India* (Raychaudhury)
PIHC.	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
PTS.	Pali Text Society
PMC.	*Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore.*
RAA.	*Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Annales du Musée Guimet*, Paris.
RE.	Rock Edicts of Aśoka.
Records	*Southern Buddhist Records* (I-tsing)
Śat. Br.	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
SBAW.	*Sitzungberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*
SBE.	*Sacred Books of the East*
SI.	*Select Inscriptions* (Sircar)
Taitt Sam.	*Taittrīya Saṁhitā*
UCR.	*University of Ceylon Review*
Y.	*Yājñavalkya Smṛiti*
YB. of ASB.	*Year-Book of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der Morgenlandischen Gesselschaft*
ZII.	*Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik*

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INTRODUCTION

THE six centuries covered by this volume witnessed vast and momentous changes in the fortunes of this ancient land. At the commencement of the period, the aryanization of the whole of India and Ceylon had been completed and the norm of Indo-Aryan civilization discovered in all its essentials. The impulse of aryanization was, however, not exhausted; it was preparing to extend over fresh lands across the seas. Meanwhile India had undergone a new experience. Alexander had come and gone; his stay in India followed by his early death was far too brief to produce any permanent results. But the blows which he struck left the martial republics of North-Western and Western India weak and exhausted, and to that extent rendered easy the fulfilment of the imperial career on which Magadha had entered under the Nandas.

The expansion and consolidation of the empire of Magadha by the Mauryas dominates the scene for a century in the beginning, and the long cherished dream of universal monarchy (*sāṁrājya*) becomes a reality. The genius of Kauṭilya, a master in the fields of political theory and action, builds up a new system of imperial administration at once bureaucratic and paternal, efficient and adequate to the growing needs of the rapidly changing conditions of life. The towering moral personality of Aśoka hastens the spread of Buddhism and earns the respect of the civilized world for India. The live contact maintained by India in this age with foreign lands, particularly in the west, is unmistakably reflected in Mauryan architecture and sculpture as well as in court ceremonial and the machinery of government.

Then the Mauryan empire rapidly declines under the weak successors of Aśoka. In Northern India the Śuṅgas become heirs to an attenuated empire and their sway is contested by Greek invaders from across the Hindukush whose inroads cut deep into the Ganges valley for a time, and who soon carve out kingdoms for themselves in the North-West. By the side of the Śuṅgas or in subordination to them many smaller states, some of them republics, continue to lead a more or less separate existence and the history of these states, though full of gaps, is not without interest. On the east coast Kaliṅga declares its independence. In the Deccan the empire of the Śātavāhanas which rises soon after the demise of Aśoka maintains its political unity almost to the end of our period.

In the wake of the Greeks followed other foreigners—the Śakas, Pahlavas, and Kushāṇas. The Kushāṇas built up a dominion which lasted for a considerable time and stretched from Central Asia to the heart of Hindusthan, and Kanishka's reign is second in importance only to that of Aśoka in the history of Buddhism and of the spread of Indian

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influences abroad. The downfall of the Kushāṇa empire is brought about by a resurgence of indigenous rule in the third century; once more republican states come to the fore, and it is out of the political conditions brought into existence by this revival that the Gupta empire takes its shape in the fourth century A.D.

In the Deccan, the Śātavāhanas had to wage long and exhausting wars with the Śaka satraps of Western India who established one of the most enduring foreign kingdoms in India which was terminated only in the reign of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II. Śaka and Kushāṇa rulers, however, soon developed a love for the gods and the language of the land of their adoption, and it may not be quite correct to look upon their rule as alien in its character throughout the period of its existence. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions are those of the Western Satraps, and good reason has been shown for holding that the classical Sanskrit drama as we know it gained much from their patronage. The apparent social breakdown due to the foreign inroads in fact contained the seeds of a great renewal of literature, religion and art. The disruption of the Śātavāhana empire in the third century A.D. led to the rise of a number of minor dynasties, and the Deccan does not regain the political unity it thus lost until the time of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi three centuries later.

The Tamil country and Ceylon constituted more or less separate and self-contained worlds; their history and culture are, however, important in many ways and have received more detailed attention than is usual.

The political vicissitudes that followed the fall of the Mauryan empire, and have been briefly sketched above, appear to have had little effect on the cultural life of the people. Religion, always a dominant interest in ancient Indian life, adapted itself to the changing conditions. Though for various reasons Buddhism attracts more notice, Jainism and Hinduism flourished by its side, and the code of mutual respect among the different creeds set forth so eloquently by Aśoka in his twelfth Rock Edict may be said to have been largely followed in practice. The dominant notes in the religious movements of the time were the revival of the Vedic religion of sacrifice after Aśoka, the emergence of the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu as the foremost deities of the Hindu pantheon, the assimilation of Hinduism and Buddhism in ritual, theology and philosophy, and the exaltation of *bhakti* which led to the creation of artistic cult images and suitable receptacles for them. The rise of theistic devotional cults has been plausibly held to represent (at least in part) the emergence of pre-Aryan religious modes and practices, though these were transformed a great deal under the influence of Brahmanical religion and philosophy.

Agriculture and industry prospered, and there was brisk trade along several well-established routes within the country. Foreign trade, overland and maritime, at first with the Hellenistic world, and later with the Roman Empire and the Far East, brought much gain to the people and contributed to a greater knowledge of India in other lands. Cities grew

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in size and number all over the country, city life became more diversified and colourful under the touch of varied influences, and port towns on the coast attracted to themselves people of different nationalities and developed into vast emporia of a cosmopolitan character. The transition from a natural economy to a money economy was helped by the large-scale issue of punch-marked coins at first, and later by more or less close imitations of Greek and Roman models, and sometimes by the active use of the Roman imperial currency itself, particularly in the South. The admixture of foreign elements in the population, and the exchanges in dress, manners and outlook that flowed from it, are reflected in the epigraphy and literature of the period, and it seems that on the whole the social exclusiveness so characteristic of the 'caste-system' as we find it in later times was less in evidence in our period. The language of the people was undergoing changes under the influence of local causes and the impact of foreign nationalities, and the literary idiom both in the classical Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages was tending to become different from everyday speech. In the extreme south Tamil literature had its first flowering under the assiduous patronage of princes and chieftains and a literary Academy set up by the Pāṇḍyan rulers of Madurai. Thanks to the general economic prosperity, and the currency of high ideals regarding the use of wealth accepted by the flourishing princes, nobles and merchants of the period, there was a remarkable output of noble architectural monuments and figural and decorative sculpture, and despite the ravages of time and man, enough of it has survived to enable the critical student to form a fairly close estimate of its quality and of the influences that played upon it from time to time. As already indicated, the movement which spread Indian civilization in Central and South-Eastern Asia had its beginnings in this period, and though our knowledge of the subject is still in its formative stages, a tentative account of the movement has been given as a necessary complement to the history of the period.

The writers of the different chapters have aimed at laying greater stress on cultural movements in preference to, though not to the exclusion of, the annals of politics. Dry discussions of chronology and revival or review of forgotten controversies have been generally eschewed. There is also no attempt to gloze over the difficulties of problems in the history of the period and the possibility of different views being held about them, though such differences have been narrowed down as much as possible. The attention of the reader may be invited to the following points in particular. The writings of contemporary Greek authors, particularly Megasthenes, which have survived mostly in extracts by later writers, and the synchronism of Aśoka with five Greek rulers whom he mentions by name, still form the 'sheet-anchor' of the chronology of the Mauryan epoch; they enable us to fix the accession of Chandragupta Maurya within a narrow limit of four or five years at the most. Widely divergent views have been taken of the date of the commencement of Śātavāhana rule in the Deccan and of the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela. The

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chronological scheme of the present volume accepts the longer list of the Śātavāhana (Andhra) rulers given in the *Matsya Purāṇa* as essentially valid, and makes the fullest possible use of the data from the same source for the duration of individual reigns, correcting them in the light of epigraphy and numismatics. Likewise the Khāravela inscription has been assigned to the first half of the second century B.C.[1] The Śātakarṇi whose presence in the west Khāravela disregarded when he sent an expedition in that direction, may have been, according to Dr. Gopalachari (Ch. x), either the first or the second king of that name, while Prof. Jagannath would definitely identify the rival of Khāravela with Śātakarṇi I (Ch. iv, section on Khāravela). Another vexed problem is the question of Nahapāna's date. By following the Purāṇic data closely, Dr. Gopalachari arrives at A.D. 72—95 as the period of Gautamīputra's reign and considers that the dates in Nahapāna's inscriptions represent his regnal years. Dr. J. N. Banerjea, on the other hand, following Rapson, refers the dates to the Śaka era, holds that Nahapāna began to rule first as a Satrap of Kanishka and became independent later (Ch. viii), and discusses at some length (Ch. ix) the position taken up by Gopalachari. It would seem, however, that the eulogium on Gautamīputra's conquests recorded in the Nāsik inscription of the nineteenth year of his son and successor Pulumāyi II, about twenty-five years after they were effected, goes to show that the results of Gautamīputra's success were not so short-lived as they must be held to have been if Nahapāna's dates are referred to the Śaka era. The date of Kanishka himself is another moot point. But the excavations at Begram have not yielded results as decisive as Ghirshman is inclined to think, and the fact that an independent and exhaustive study of the question has led one of the latest writers on the subject to the same conclusion as that upheld by Dr. J. N. Banerjea, viz. that Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era, may be welcomed as confirmation of the correctness of the scheme followed in this volume.[2] Lastly in the chronology of the early history of Ceylon, the adjustment between the two reckonings starting with 543 and 483 B.C. as the date of the Buddha-Nirvāṇa is effected differently by Geiger and by Dr. Mendis who contributes the chapters on Ceylon to this volume. The latter has argued for his position at some length in his article on the 'Chronology of the Early Pāli chronicles of Ceylon' in the *University of Ceylon Review*, but the chronology of Early Tamil history and literature in Chapters xvi and xxi is built on Geiger's system which assigns Gajabāhu I to A.D. 171—93 whereas Mendis given for him the period A.D. 114—36.

[1] See note at end of Ch. xxii
[2] Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period*, especially pp. 65 and 319-20.

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NOTE ON THE VOLUME

It has taken seventeen years from the inception of the scheme to produce this volume; an explanation is therefore necessary.

The Indian History Congress decided at its Lahore session in 1940 to prepare and publish an up-to-date *Comprehensive History of India* in twelve volumes based on the latest researches. Subsequently the work was planned in detail, a Board of Editors was appointed and contributors were selected, but no substantial progress was made. A work of this character and size, meant primarily for scholars, demands funds and funds were not quick in coming. Thanks to the labours of Dr. Tarachand this initial hurdle was overcome, but a more serious and difficult problem remained to be tackled. The Bharatiya Itihas Parishad had also launched a similar scheme, though on a smaller scale, and the Editors and writers expected to see the two schemes through were almost identical. It was felt that it would be unwise and improper to incur avoidable expense of money, labour and time; but it was not until 1946 that the two sponsoring bodies came to terms and the Bharatiya Itihas Parishad decided to merge their scheme in that of the Indian History Congress. Meanwhile death removed several Editors and contributors and partition of the country created conditions not congenial for scholarly labours. Nonetheless the Congress did not relax its efforts and materials for three volumes were ready by 1951. The present volume went to the press in September 1951, but it was then discovered that the press copy needed much improvement. Mr. R.A. Dutch of Orient Longmans took upon himself the necessary technical work. But misfortune still hounded our footsteps and when the complete text was set in type and the first few formes had been printed off, the press was involved in litigation. The publishers, however, found a new press, but still difficulties were not over. To prepare an index of a learned volume demands special knowledge and an expert index-maker is not always available. Fortunately Dr. S.R. Das of Calcutta University came to our rescue and volunteered to undertake this onerous task. But for his labours the publication of this volume might still be held up. Anxious as the Congress was to place before the public at least one volume of the projected history it has taken seventeen years to show some tangible results of its labours.

The *Comprehensive History* has not been designed to cater to popular taste and the average reader may find it too technical; but the more serious student, it is hoped, will find it useful. An attempt has been made to give a clear and accurate account of the social institutions and cultural achievements of ancient India against the perspective of its political history. But as the chapters went to the printers some years back and were prepared still earlier, it has not been possible in some cases to incorporate the results and assess the value of a few recent investigations. This is

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an unfortunate but unavoidable shortcoming which is to be deplored but cannot be helped. The chronology of ancient India is a subject of inconclusive controversy and it is no wonder that Mr. S.K. Saraswati found it impractical to follow in his chapters on Indian Art the chronology adopted by the Board of Editors.

I avail myself of this opportunity to record here our deep obligations to our donors and benefactors, editors and contributors, but for whose generosity and labours the *Comprehensive History of India* might still remain a cherished but unfulfilled ambition.

SURENDRA NATH SEN,
Chairman,
History of India Publication Committee,
Indian History Congress

22 September, 1957

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CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE

THE FOUNDATION of the Maurya empire is a unique event in Indian History. Its glory is enhanced by the circumstances in which it was achieved. It was achieved against formidable difficulties created by the establishment of a foreign rule in the country as a consequence of Alexander's victorious campaigns in the Panjab during a period of two years, 327-325 B.C. When Alexander left India in 325 B.C., he was careful, with his methodical Greek mind, to consolidate the conquests he had won in the Panjab by means of proper administrative arrangements whereby the Greeks could hold the country. Greek India was governed by satraps appointed by Alexander in charge of the six regions into which it was divided. In the territory lying to the west of the Indus Alexander posted three Greek satraps, viz., Peithon as governor of Sind; Nicanor, who was placed in charge of the province called 'India-west-of-the-Indus', comprising the lower Kabul valley and the hill tracts up to the Hindukush, with its capital at Pushkalāvatī (Peucelaotis, modern Chārsadda) and Oxyartes, who was appointed governor of the Kabul valley (Paropamisadae).

It appears that Alexander first tried Persian satraps, but they were not successful. According to Curtius (ix. 8) there were charges of extortion and tyranny proved against the Persian satrap Tyriespes, by the people of the Paropamisadae. This was about 326 B.C. Alexander had to replace Tyriespes by Oxyartes, an Iranian noble who was his own father-in-law.

But there was a weak point in this Greek rule of the Panjab. Alexander could not post Greek viceroys in the country to the east of the Indus. Here he had to depend upon and appoint Indians as his satraps, viz., Āmbhi, king of Taxila, to rule from the Indus to the Hydaspes (Jhelum); Porus (Paurava) to rule from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis (Beas); the king of the Abhisāra country (Kashmir) to rule over the remainder.

The task of liberating the country from the yoke of foreign rule was beset with tremendous difficulty. The country had hardly recovered from the shock of Alexander's victorious march through it—a march which had dislocated its indigenous political organisation. It had already passed under the grip and stranglehold of foreign rule. The atmosphere was full of frustration and depression. The battle of India's independence against these heavy odds called for a leader of exceptional ability and vision who could infuse new life and enthusiasm into the drooping spirits of a defeated people, and organise a fresh national resistance against alien domination. Fortunately, the country produced such a leader in young Chandragupta who had already been prepared in advance for his great mission in life by the Brahmin Chāṇakya, better known as Kauṭilya. Chāṇakya's

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superior vision and insight led him to discover in this youth the disciple who would be able, under his direction, to free the fatherland of foreign rule. Kauṭilya infected his pupil with his hatred of foreign rule. In his *Arthaśāstra*, Kauṭilya gives vent to his feeling against foreign rule as an unmitigated evil. He condemns foreign rule (*vairājya*) as the worst form of exploitation, where the conqueror, who subdues the country by violence (*parasyāchchhidya*), never counts it as his own dear country (*naitat mama iti manyamānaḥ*), oppresses it by over-taxation and exactions (*karshayati*), and drains it of its wealth (*apavāhayati*). (viii. 2).

We owe to Buddhist texts and traditions some details of the early life of Chandragupta and the circumstances which led Kauṭilya to discover Chandragupta in a village as the adopted son of a cowherd, from whom, seeing in him the sure promise of his future greatness, he bought the boy by paying on the spot 1000 *kārshāpaṇas*. Kauṭilya then took the boy with him to his native city of Takshaśilā (Taxila), then the most renowned seat of learning in India, and had him educated there for a period of seven or eight years in the humanities and the practical arts and crafts of the time (*śilpa*) including the military arts.[1]

This tradition is curiously confirmed by Plutarch's statement that Chandragupta as a youth had met Alexander during his campaigns in the Panjab. This was possible because Chandragupta was already living in that locality with Kauṭilya.

Other interesting details of this episode are found in some classical works dealing with Alexander's campaigns. These refer to Chandragupta as the hero and leader of this 'First War of Indian Independence'. For instance, Justin (xv. 4) says : 'India, after the death of Alexander, had shaken off as it were the yoke of servitude from its neck and put his governors to death. The author of this liberation was Sandrocottus [Chandragupta]. This man was of humble origin but was stimulated to aspire to regal power by supernatural encouragement; for, having offended Alexander by his boldness of speech, and having been ordered by that king to be put to death, he saved himself by swiftness of foot; and, while he was lying asleep, after his exertion, a lion of great size, having come to him, licked off with his tongue the sweat that was running, and after gently waking him, left him. Being first prompted by this prodigy to conceive hopes of royal dignity, he drew together a band of robbers and instigated the Indians to overthrow the existing Greek government. Some time after, as he was going to war with the generals of Alexander, a wild elephant of great bulk presented itself before him of its own accord and, as tamed down to gentleness, took him on his back and became his guide in the war and conspicuous in fields of battle. Sandrocottus, having thus acquired a throne, was in possession of India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness.'

The points to be noted in this statement are : that Chandragupta, who was of humble origin, came to be the author of India's liberation,

[1] Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya and his Times*, pp. 25-6

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that he saw Alexander face to face; that he organised an army of liberation out of the lawless and violent elements of society whom Justin calls 'robbers'; that his strategy was first to dispose of Alexander's generals who, as already stated, had been appointed satraps, in different regions and that he was successful in overthrowing Greek rule and faced Seleucus as the ruler of India.

Now who were these 'robbers' whom Chandragupta considered fit for enlistment in his army? They were, as pointed out by McCrindle,[1] the republican peoples of the Panjab who played such a prominent part in resisting Alexander's invasion. They were the Āraṭṭas or Arāshṭrakas, i.e., kingless peoples, not living under a *rāshṭra* or state, of which the normal type was the kingship. Baudhāyana in his *Dharmasūtra*[2] (*c.* 400 B.C.) describes the Panjab as the country of Āraṭṭas. The *Mahābhārata*[3] calls the Āraṭṭas the *Pañchanadas*, 'natives of the land of five rivers', and also *Vāhīkas*, 'people of the land of rivers', comprising the Prasthalas, Madras, Gandhāras, Khaśas, Vasātis, Sindhus and Sauvīras.

It is also interesting to note that Kauṭilya mentions as the sources of recruitment for the army : the *choras*, or *pratirodhakas* of the day, robbers and outlaws; the *Chora-gaṇas*, organised gangs of brigands; the *mlechchha* tribes like the *kirāta* highlanders; the *āṭavikas*, foresters; and the warrior clans called *śastropajīviśreṇis*. Kauṭilya[4] counts the soldiery recruited from these clans as most heroic (*pravīra*). The Panjab in those days had an abundance of this type of military material. Alexander himself had great difficulty in facing the heroic resistance of some of these 'free' peoples in his campaigns.

Before Chandragupta Maurya's time, these republican peoples were known to Pāṇini who describes them as *āyudhajīvisaṁghas*. Pāṇini also mentions about eighty of these communities, some of whom figure as defenders of their freedom against Alexander, e.g., the Kshudrakas and Mālavas. Pāṇini even mentions the pooling of their military resources in a joint or federal army known in his time by the name of Kshudraka-Mālavī-senā. Curtius calls them 'fierce nations resisting Alexander with their blood.'

Thus the main strength of Chandragupta's army was derived from these heroic republican military clans. But his forces were not confined to local recruits. He went far afield for his army, recruiting it from all possible sources so as to fit it for his great undertaking. According to tradition[5] he began by strengthening his position by an alliance with the Himalayan chief Parvataka, as stated in both the Sanskrit and Jaina texts, *Mudrārākshasa* and *Pariśishṭaparvan*. A Buddhist account also mentions a Parvata as a close associate of Chāṇakya. F.W. Thomas suggests that this Parva-

[1] *Invasion of India by Alexander* p. 406
[2] i 2, 13-15
[3] *Mbh.* viii 44. 2060-20701; 45. 2110
[4] *KA.* vii 14
[5] The *Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā* tells us how both Kauṭilya and Chandragupta set out to collect recruits (*balam saṁgaṇhitvā*) from different places (*tato tato balam sannipātetvā*) pp. 178-87. (See Mookerjee, op. cit., app. I. p. 369)

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taka might be the same as king Porus. The *Mudrārākshasa* further[1] informs us that his Himalayan alliance gave Chandragupta a composite army recruited from a variety of peoples. Among these are mentioned the following : Śakas, Yavanas (probably Greeks), Kirātas, Kāṁbojas, Pārasīkas and Bāhlīkas. Chandragupta was opposed by a coalition of five kings, viz., Chitravarmā of Kulūta, Siṁhanāda of Malaya, Pushkarāksha of Kāśmīra, the Saindhava prince Sindhusheṇa, and the king of the Pārasīkas, Megha by name, who joined with a large force of cavalry (*pṛithu-turaga balaḥ*).[2] The army of Malayaketu (Parvataka) comprised recruits from the following peoples : Khaśa, Magadha, Gandhāra, Yavana, Śaka, Chedi and Hūṇa.[3] Thus these various peoples, mostly from the Panjab and the frontier highlands, were engaged in the great war waged by Chandragupta against his enemies. This list unfortunately affects the value of the *Mudrārākshasa* as a source of history. Some of the peoples named in it, e.g., the Śakas or the Hūṇas, first appear in Indian history much later than the time of Chandragupta.

Thus Chandragupta was in command of large forces drawn from different places and peoples, of which the heroic and martial elements were mobilised to form a composite army. But his mission was forwarded by more than military might. It was aided materially by the internal conditions of Greek rule in India. Alexander's invasion of India was not very popular with his own followers. Rebellions both of Greeks and Indians threatened his rear. The Greek colonies and garrisons established in his new eastern cities were not very happy in their new homes. A rumour of his death led three thousand of these Greek colonists to leave for their homeland. The Indians were full of the spirit of revolt against foreign rule. An Indian chief named Damaraxus had instigated rebellion at Kandahār even while Alexander was at Taxila.[4] The Greek satrap Nicanor was killed by the Aśvakāyanas when Alexander was campaigning in the Panjab. The Aśvakāyanas threatened their Greek governor, an Indian who had sided with the Greeks, named Sisikottus (Śaśigupta), and Alexander had to send him help from his other satrapies. The situation vastly deteriorated after Alexander's retreat from India. It was marked by the murder of Philip, the satrap of the province between the Hydaspes and the Hindukush, in 325 B.C., when Alexander was still alive. This was a direct challenge to his authority, which he could not meet. He asked his Indian governor, the king of Taxila, to take the place of Philip. This meant that an Indian king came to rule beyond the Indus and the frontier up to the Kabul valley and the Hindukush.

We have already seen that Chandragupta was leading this movement of liberation and have described the military preparations by which he achieved the success of his mission. We do not definitely know the date of his

[1] Mudrārākshasa ii 12
[2] Ibid. i 20
[3] Ibid. v 11
[4] Curtius viii 13, 4 as emended by Hedicke (*CHI*, I 369 *n*. 2)

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success and accession to sovereignty. But some light is thrown on it by Greek history. Alexander died in 323 B.C. and his generals divided his empire among themselves. A second partition took place in 321 B.C. This time no part of India to the east of the Indus was included in it. Peithon, the Greek governor of Sind, was removed and posted to the province between the Indus and the Paropamisus. It is therefore assumed that Chandragupta carried on his war of independence during the two years 325-323 B.C. that intervened between the death of Philip and that of Philip's master, Alexander. Thus Chandragupta's accession to sovereignty may be dated 323 B.C.

After the overthrow of Greek rule, Chandragupta turned his attention to the second part of his mission, the overthrow of Nanda rule. It was not, however, an easy task. Nanda was very strong in military power and financial resources. Curtius estimates his army at 600,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 four-horsed chariots and 3,000 elephants. His riches gave him the title of Dhana Nanda mentioned in Pāli works. But the Purāṇas call him Mahā-padma-Nanda or Māhapadma-pati, the 'sovereign of an infinite host' or 'sovereign of untold wealth.' The *Kathāsaritsāgara* mentions Nanda's '990 millions of gold pieces' which he buried in a rock in the bed of the Ganges. He used his power to win a large empire by conquest, and he made himself the sole sovereign (*ekrāṭ*) of numerous states.

These states are referred to as Aikshvākus, Pañchālas, Kāśis, Haihayas, Kaliṅgas, Aśmakas, Kurus, Maithilas, Śūrasenas and Vītihotras. Thus Nanda figured as 'a second Paraśurāma or Bhārgava'. The Greeks call him the king of 'the Gangaridae and the Prasii'. The former were the people occupying the delta of the Ganges, while the Prasii were the Prāchyas or Easterns, people living to the east of the 'Middle Country', like the Pañchālas, Śūrasenas, Kosalas and others. Thus Chandragupta had to deal with a most powerful emperor, whose power, however, was weakened by the extreme unpopularity engendered by his avarice and evil ways; the Purāṇas call the Nandas irreligious rulers (*adhārmikāḥ*). His unpopularity was reported to Alexander by the Indian chief Bhagala and confirmed by king Paurava who stated that he 'was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect as the son of a barber' (Diodorus). According to Plutarch young Chandragupta also reported to Alexander that the Nanda king was 'hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin.' Much of his unpopularity was also due to the excessive taxation by which he amassed his fabulous wealth, computed at 80 *koṭis* (crores) by the Buddhist sources which state that he 'levied taxes even on skins, gums, trees and stones.'

Details of Chandragupta's conquests of the Nanda empire are lacking. We get some glimpses of them in tradition, both Buddhist and Jaina. There are some popular stories about the strategy he followed and his mistakes. He first started by invading the regions on the frontiers (*antajanapadam*) and plundering their villages. It was thus a movement from the frontier towards the interior. But when he reached the heart of the empire, he

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was defeated because he did not secure his rear. It was like a child eating a *chapathy* by throwing away its edges and eating only its centre. 'So Chandragupta in his ambition to be a monarch, without beginning from the frontiers, and taking the towns in order as he passed, has invaded the heart of the country . . . and his army is surrounded and destroyed.'[1] Then he followed the correct strategy by posting garrisons to hold the *rāshṭras* and *janapadas* he was conquering in his march from the frontiers. With his rear thus protected, he with his victorious army besieged Pāṭaliputra and killed Dhana-Nanda. The same story is related differently in a Jaina work, *Pariśishṭaparvan*,[2] which states : 'Like a child burning his finger which he greedily puts in the middle of the dish, instead of eating from the outer part which is cool, Chāṇakya [Kauṭilya] had been defeated, because he had not secured the surrounding country before attacking the stronghold of the enemy. Profiting by this advice, Chāṇakya went to Himavatkūṭa and entered into an alliance with Parvataka the king of that place. . . They opened the campaign by reducing the provinces.' The same text further states that after besieging Pāṭaliputra, Kauṭilya and Chandragupta forced king Nanda to capitulate when he had reduced his strength in every way, his wealth, his army, his prowess and even his mental capacity (*dhīḥ*). Nanda was, however, spared his life and permitted by Kauṭilya to leave Pāṭaliputra with his two wives and one daughter and as much luggage as he could carry off in a single chariot.[3]

According to tradition, it was a bloody battle fought between the two. It seems that Chandragupta had to employ against Nanda all the military strength he could gather, including even Greek mercenaries from the Panjab.[4] A passage in the *Milindapanha*[5] states that '100 *koṭis* of soldiers, 10,000 elephants, 1 *lac* of horses and 5,000 charioteers' were killed in action and that Bhaddasāla was the commander of Nanda's army.

By his conquest of Nanda's realm, Chandragupta made himself the master of a large empire in which were joined the land of the five rivers of the Panjab and the valleys of the Jumna (Yaṁunā) and Gaṅgā. As we have seen, king Nanda was known to the Greeks as the ruler of peoples called the Gangaridae, and the Prasii, i.e., the peoples of the Ganges valley, and the Prāchyas or Easterners. The Nanda empire also extended up to Kaliṅga as we know from the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela mentioning 'Nandarāja' as the king associated with an old aqueduct and as having carried away to Magadha as trophies the statue or footprints of the first Jina and the treasures of the royal house. Some Mysore inscriptions of a much later date, about the twelfth century A.D., even state that the empire of Nanda extended to the province of Kuntala to the north of Mysore. Thus the conquest of the Nanda empire brought a very large part of India under Chandragupta's sovereignty. He also enlarged his empire by fresh conquests, of which only a glimpse is given in the following statement

[1] *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā* p. 186. (See Mookerjee, op. cit., app. I p. 369)
[2] viii 291-301
[3] Ibid. 301-17
[4] *CHI.* I p. 430
[5] *SBE.* xxxvi p. 147

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of Plutarch.[1] 'Not long afterwards, Androcottus, who had by that time mounted the throne, presented Seleucus with 500 elephants and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000.' The throne here refers to the throne or sovereignty of the Panjab and the Nanda empire which Chandragupta had acquired by his conquests. As to the present of 500 elephants to Seleucus, its full account is given in Greek history. Alexander's death was followed by a struggle for supremacy among his generals, of whom Seleucus emerged as the ruler of Babylon with a field for further conquests open towards the east. He conquered Bactria after hard fighting and about 305 or 304 B.C. was fired by an ambition to recover the last conquests of Alexander in India. Taking the route along the Kabul river he crossed the Indus.[2] The expedition proved abortive and ended in a somewhat humiliating treaty by which Seleucus had to cede to the Indian king valuable territories, the satrapies of Arachosia (Kandahār), the Paropamisadae (Kabul) and Gandhāra together with portions of Aria (Herat) and Gedrosia (Baluchistan).[3] In embarking upon this Indian expedition, Seleucus thought that it would be as easy as Alexander's, not suspecting that India had in the meanwhile completely changed under its new king Chandragupta, who was able to present a united front and a powerful national opposition to the foreign invader. It was no longer an India divided into numerous petty states which Alexander could conquer one by one. Thus Seleucus was decisively beaten in this trial of strength with the Indian king who was able to extend his empire up to the borders of Persia by these annexations of new territory and to rule over a Greater India beyond India's natural borders. That is why his grandson, the great Aśoka, mentions in his Rock Edicts II and XIII the Syrian emperor Antiochus (*Aṁtiyako Yona-rājā*) as his 'immediate neighbour', one of his 'frontagers' (an *anta* or *pratyanta* king, a king on his border). Chandragupta on his part offered the Greek king a gesture of friendship by sending him a valuable present of 500 elephants which stood him in good stead at the time. For these turned the scale of victory for his allies against their common enemy Antigonus on the battlefield of Ipsus where the elephants arrived in time. Indian elephants were in great request in some later battles in the European field. At the battle of Raphia[4] Ptolemy's Libyan elephants were no match for Antiochus' Indian elephants. But the clash between the Greek and the Indian king merely ended in more than an honourable and stable peace between them. It led to interesting social consequences which strengthened their good relations. According to Appian,[5] there was a matrimonial alliance between the two kings so that Seleucus became either the father-in-law or son-in-law of Chandragupta; Strabo,

[1] *Lives*, ch. lxii (McCrindle, *Invasion*, p. 310)
[2] Appian, Syr. 55
[3] Marshall says: 'There are no grounds whatever for supposing that Seleucus ceded the Paropamisadae, still less Aria.' *Taxila* I p. 20 *n.* 2
[4] Warmington, *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, p. 151
[5] Syr. 55

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in fact, suggests that there was a convention establishing a *jus connubii* between the two royal houses. But 'in that land of caste [i.e. India], a *jus connubii* between the two peoples [Greeks and Indians] is unthinkable'.[1] There were also a few other friendly gestures between these kings. Athenaeus states that the Indian king sent to Seleucus a present of some Indian drugs,[2] while Seleucus made a still more friendly advance by sending to the Mauryan court an ambassador named Megasthenes who was originally serving as his ambassador at the court of his provincial satrap named Sibyrtius in Arachosia. Megasthenes must have lived at Pāṭaliputra between 304 and 299 B.C., the date of Chandragupta's death.

According to Plutarch, Chandragupta, after achieving all these conquests in Northern India, did not rest on his oars but employed his vast military forces to 'overrun and subdue the whole of India with an army of 600,000.' He does not record any facts or details in support of his general statement. Some glimpses of these can, however, be gathered from Indian sources, certain traditions, texts, and inscriptions. The Girnār Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I of about A.D. 150 tells of a dam constructed to produce a reservoir or lake 'of beautiful sight' (*sudarśana*) for irrigation under the administration of the provincial governor (*rāshṭriya*) ruling the *rāshṭra*, then known by the names of Ānarta and Surāshṭra, as a province of the empire of Chandragupta. The governor's name is Pushyagupta, as mentioned in the inscription. Thus this part of Western India was included in the Maurya empire though there is no further evidence to show how it was annexed. That it was an integral part of the Maurya empire explains the location of an Aśoka Rock Edict in the place called Sopāra (Śūrpāraka of Pāli texts) in the modern district of Thāna in Bombay State. It also shows that Chandragupta's conquest of Western India extended beyond the boundaries of Surāshṭra into Konkan, in which Sopāra was located.

It is worth remarking that Surāshṭra as a province under Maurya imperial rule gave full scope to the development of local democracies and to the growth of group life, or self-government of the group, as the foundation of democracy. For instance, no less an authority than Kauṭilya, to whom Chandragupta owed his imperial status and sovereignty, refers in his *Arthaśāstra* to the characteristic feature in the politics of the Surāshṭra Province, that it was known for its *śreṇis* or guilds into which its Kshatriya and Vaiśya population was organised. There were both economic guilds, for the promotion of agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade, denoted by the technical term *vārtā* and, what is more interesting, military guilds of professional soldiers who lived by the practice of arms (*Surāshṭra-kshatriya-vaiśya-śreṇyādayo vārtā-śastropajīvinaḥ*).

The references to Mauryas in early Tamil literature are rather late and of doubtful import. They do not support the view that a Mauryan invasion of South India reached the Podiya hills, a view which was urged

[1] *CHI.* I p. 431 [2] Ibid. 432

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at one time with much apparent force.[1] These references will be discussed in some detail elsewhere.

Next we have Jaina traditions regarding Chandragupta's association with the South. According to these, Chandragupta in his old age renounced the throne under the influence of his teacher, the Jaina saint Bhadrabāhu, whom he followed towards the South till both teacher and pupil settled down at a place in Mysore known as Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. Bhadrabāhu is stated to have led this Jaina migration towards the South to escape from Magadha, then in the grip of a severe famine. Some local inscriptions and monuments also refer to the same tradition. An inscription of about A.D. 600 mentions 'the pair (*yugma*), Bhadrabāhu along with Chandragupta *muni*'. Their association is also repeated in a few other local inscriptions. One inscription deifies both. A small hill at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa is called Chandragiri, because Chandragupta lived and performed his penance there. On the same hill is a temple called Chandragupta *basti*, believed to have been erected by Chandragupta.

It may be noted that the separation of the Digaṁbara Jainas from the Śvetāṁbara dates from this migration. It also explains the mystery of the sudden disappearance from his capital of such an emperor as Chandragupta at the height of his power and position. It was due to the fact that he became a Jaina saint as stated in all Jaina texts. Jainism was then also a popular religion at Pāṭaliputra. The Nanda kings had Jaina leanings and Jaina ministers. This is why the later drama *Mudrārākshasa* gives a prominent position to the Jainas at the court of Pāṭaliputra and makes Kauṭilya employ a Jaina as one of his chief emissaries.

We may thus conclude that Chandragupta, as a Jaina renouncing the world, turned ascetic and settled down to practise penance at a place which must have been situated within the limits of his vast empire. This also is why we find three of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts at places not very far from Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, namely at Siddāpura, Brahmagiri and the Jatiṅga Rāmeśvara hill in the Chitaldrug district of Mysore.

The Maurya conquest of the South is also attested by several inscriptions of Aśoka, viz., the Gāvīmaṭh and Pālkiguṇḍu inscriptions in the Kopbal taluq, the Māski inscription in Hyderabad State, and the Yaṟṟaguḍi inscriptions in the Kurnool district. Aśoka further indicates the southern limits of his empire by mentioning its neighbours on that front, such as the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas, Satyaputras and Keralaputras, and also the extension of his influence as far as Tāmraparṇī, the old name of Ceylon. At the same time it is to be noted that Aśoka states in his Rock Edict XIII that the conquest of Kaliṅga was his only conquest, after which he banned all such conquests achieved by violence. Thenceforth he stood for *Dharma-vijaya* or cultural conquest (as against *Asura-vijaya* and *Lobha-vijaya*, forcible and bloody conquests instigated by desire for territory or wealth), and for the religion of Non-Violence, for Universal Peace, peace between

[1] S. K. Aiyangar, *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 98-103. See ch. xvi *post*.

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man and man and between man and every sentient creature.

We have thus to conclude that the extension of the Maurya empire towards the South was the work of Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta Maurya. We may form a rough idea of the period of Chandragupta's reign. As already explained, it may be taken to have begun in about 323 B.C. His defeat of the Greek king Seleucus in 304 B.C. was achieved at the height of his power. According to the Purāṇas he reigned for 24 years, i.e., up to the year 299 B.C. They give to his successor Bindusāra a reign of 25 years i.e., to the year 274 B.C. which was the year of Aśoka's accession to sovereignty as established by other evidence available for Aśoka's life and reign. According to other accounts Bindusāra ruled up to *c.* 272 B.C.

The efficient government of such a vast empire stretching from the borders of Persia up to those of the Cholas and Pāṇḍyas in Southern India was no easy task in those ancient times when transport or communication between distant parts was so difficult and dilatory in the absence of mechanical facilities. Administration could not be centralised in a single capital like Pāṭaliputra, situated in a corner of the empire. It had to be carried on from different centres and by a number of local administrations under viceroys and provincial governors. For the reign of Chandragupta we know of only one such provincial governor from the later inscription of the Śaka king Rudradāman I already cited. He was called Pushyagupta, the *rāshṭriya* or governor of the Surāshṭra Province. Fuller and more complete evidence of the system of Maurya imperial administration is found in the inscriptions of his grandson Aśoka. These will be discussed in the account of his reign. We may only note here that the following cities were the capitals of some of the different provinces of the Maurya empire, viz., Taxila, Kauśāmbī, Ujjayinī, Suvarṇagiri, and Tōsalī.

For the administration of Chandragupta we have, however, the unique evidence recorded, on the basis of his personal observation of its working, by a foreigner, the Greek ambassador Megasthenes, who was deputed to his court at Pāṭaliputra. His evidence is fortunately substantially supplemented and confirmed by evidence from an indigenous source, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. This work, though not definitely dated, may be taken generally as a document of Maurya history. It is so regarded by Professor F. W. Thomas[1] who states that the work 'clearly falls within or near the Maurya period.'

The head of the administration was of course the king, who was not an unqualified autocrat. Pure autocracy is not contemplated in Hindu polity and theory of sovereignty. The supreme sovereign of the State was *Dharma* or Law while the king was the *Daṇḍa* or the Supreme Executive, upholding and enforcing *Dharma*.

[1] *CHI.* 1 p. 467

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Megasthenes represents the king, as a most hard-working official and gives a time-table of his daily duties. He did not sleep in the daytime. He had to attend court as the Chief Justice of the realm. He remained in court for the whole day without attending to his personal comforts. 'The palace is open to all comers even when the king is having his hair combed and dressed. It is then that he gives audience to ambassadors and administers justice to his subjects.'[1]

It is interesting to note that Kauṭilya (i. 19) also has a similar time-table for the king. Barring a few hours' sleep, all his hours are occupied. The day begins with the despatch of secret emissaries, worship, interviews with the physicians, kitchen officials and astronomers, followed by attendance at the Hall of Audience (*upasthāna*) where he receives the reports of his military and financial advisers. Between 9 and 10.30 a.m. he has his bath and a meal followed by the study of religious texts. After that he sees the heads of the departments and assigns to them their duties. Next he has correspondence with his councillors and ministers. He has a little rest between 1.30 and 3 p.m. After 3 p.m. he reviews his army, cavalry, elephants and arsenals, and consults with his commander-in-chief. After 6 p.m. he holds confidential interviews with his secret emissaries. Then follows his second bath and meal and religious meditation. He goes to bed to the sound of music.

Kauṭilya puts the following ideal before the king : 'For a king, his *vrata* (religious vow) is constant activity in the cause of his people (*utthānam*); his best religious ceremony is the work of administration (*kāryānuśāsanam*); his highest charity (*dakshiṇā*) is equality of treatment meted out to all.' It is interesting to note that Aśoka also adhered to this royal time-table. In his Rock Edict VI he states how he held himself ready for public work at all hours and places, even 'when he is dining or in his harem or at the place of worship.'

With all this heavy programme of duties, the king also had his programme of sports such as hunting, races and animal-fights. Aelian says that fights were arranged between wild bulls, tamed rams and rhinos and also between elephant tuskers.[2]

The king had a bodyguard of armed women. They followed him at the hunt on horses and elephants or in chariots. Kauṭilya also mentions that the king was attended by women armed with bows.[3] He had also a guard of 24 elephants, as seen by Megasthenes.

The Maurya palace was unequalled in splendour, with its gilded pillars, extensive park full of evergreen trees, birds of every variety, parrots flocking round the king, tanks full of the largest fish.

The capital at Pāṭaliputra, as described by Megasthenes, was being built at the confluence of two rivers, the Son and the Ganges, 9½ miles

[1] Curtius viii 9, cited by McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 58 *n.* 2

[2] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 145

[3] i 21

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long and a mile and a half broad, protected by a moat 60 feet deep, and 600 feet wide; further protected by a massive timber palisade, pierced by loopholes through which archers could shoot; and provided with 64 gates and 570 towers. The city was mainly built of wood as a protection against floods.

The king's autocracy had some check in his *mantriparishad* or Council of Ministers, whom he had to consult on important matters of policy and administration. The number of the council varied according to need, and is differently stated in different texts, Manu fixing it at twelve. That the council was a source of strength to the king's position and power is indicated by Pāṇini who calls the king *parishad-bala*,[1] while Kauṭilya calls the king who has a strong council *akshudrapari-shatka*.[2] The grammarian Patañjali in his *Mahābhāshya* mentions Chandragupta's council, called *Chandragupta sabhā*. It had also a secretary whom Kauṭilya calls *mantri-parishad adhyaksha*.[3] The Greek writers refer to its members as councillors and assessors who advised the king 'in the management of public affairs'. They also state that the council had wide powers such as 'choosing governors, chiefs of provinces, deputy governors, superintendents of the treasury, generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers, and commissioners who superintend agriculture.'[4] Megasthenes testifies to a highly organised bureaucracy in charge of the administration. They were of three kinds : *Agronomoi*, 'district officials'; *Astynomoi*, 'town officials'; and members of the War Office.

'The duties of the first kind were to supervise irrigation and land measurement; hunting; the various industries connected with agriculture, forestry, work in timber, metal-foundries, and mines; and lastly to maintain the roads and see that every ten *stadia* ($1\frac{1}{8}$ miles) there was a milestone indicating the distances (this is the passage which proves that Megasthenes did not mean to assert a general ignorance of the art of writing in India).

'The second kind, the town officials (who were in charge of the municipal administration of cities like Pāṭaliputra) were divided into six Boards of Five. Their respective functions were the supervision of factories; the care of strangers, including the control of inns, provision of assistants, taking charge of sick persons, and burying the dead; the registration of births and deaths; the control of the market and the inspection of weights and measures; the inspection of manufactured goods, provision for their sale, with accurate distinction between new and second-hand articles; the collection of the tax of 10 per cent. charged on sales. The six Boards acting together exercised a general superintendence over public works, prices, harbours and temples.'[5]

[1] v 2. 112
[2] *KA.* vi 1
[3] i 12
[4] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, p. 212
[5] *CHI.* I pp. 417-8

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Besides these officers of the general, civil and municipal administration, the Greek writers mention some special officers of the Intelligence Department whose duty was to 'enquire into and superintend all that goes on in India and make report to the king.'[1] They even inspected the working of the municipal administration and of the army.

The Greek writers also mention other officers, e.g., king's advisers, treasurers of the state and arbiters (judges) both civil and criminal, the generals of the army and the chief magistrates who are really the chief executive officers or heads of departments. There are the armament manufacturers and ship builders who are exclusively government servants. There are also officers 'who superintend the rivers, measure the lands as is done in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it.'

There are again 'officers who collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths and the miners; officers in charge of the royal stables for horses and elephants and also the royal magazine for arms.' It is to be noted that 'a private person is not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant. These animals are held to be the special property of the king.'

Megasthenes gives also an account of Mauryan military administration. According to him the army was controlled by a War Office consisting of thirty members distributed among six Boards who were in charge of the following departments of the army, viz., (1) the infantry; (2) the cavalry; (3) the war chariots; (4) the elephants of war; (5) transport, commissariat and army service including the provision of drummers, grooms, merchants, and grass-cutters; (6) the Board 'to co-operate with the admiral of the fleet'.

The duties of Board (5) are thus described: they arrange 'for bullock trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply servants who beat the drum and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses and mechanists and their assistants. To the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by a system of rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with despatch and safety.'

Greek writers give some account of the equipment of the army. Arrian states,[2] 'the foot-soldiers carry a bow equal in length to the man who bears it. There is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot.' 'Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword which is broad in the blade.'

[1] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, p. 43; also pp. 86-90 for this and the following citations.
[2] Ibid. pp. 220-1

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The administrative details given by Megasthenes are unfortunately not presented as parts of a general plan or system, but this omission is supplied in a full measure by Kauṭilya who has described the functions of various officers in connection with the working of the different departments to which they were assigned. A detailed description of the working of these departments would not be suitable here, but a general idea of these can given.

Administration is based on revenue of which all possible sources, urban or rural, agriculture, forests, mines or trade are described in detail.

Kauṭilya's administrative scheme provides for a large amount of nationalisation of industries. The state possessed vast estates and forests as its own property. It had also a monopoly of mines and engaged in trade in its products. It established factories for working up raw materials of various kinds into finished products. Besides, as revenue was payable in kind, large establishments had to be maintained all over the country for dealing with vast quantities of agricultural produce tendered in payment of taxes, as well as the produce of the crown estates. The state also maintained a central store at headquarters for its current needs and also as a reserve against famine.

In agriculture the state aided cultivation, when necessary, with the supply of seeds, bullocks, labour, and implements like ploughs, ropes, sickles, and also by supplementary services such as that of artisans. It was also responsible for irrigation facilities by means of canals, lakes and wells worked by pumps. There are provisions for the agricultural department to have special gardens for the cultivation of medicinal plants.

The department of mines had to prospect new mines. The following minerals were worked in those days, viz., gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, iron and bitumen. The trade in mineral products was centralised because of the state monopoly already mentioned. But mines requiring a heavy capital outlay and much enterprise were leased out to private persons in return for a share of the output or a fixed royalty.

The Master of the Mint had to manufacture the different classes of coins, viz., silver coins made up of 11 parts of silver, 4 of copper and 1 of iron, tin, or other metal ; copper coins formed of 4 parts of silver, 11 parts of copper and 1 of iron or any other metal. Copper coins, known as *māshakas* were issued in four denominations 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, 1/8. Coins had to bear mint charges, such as 8 per cent seignorage and 5 per cent profit derived from the use of special weights and measures.[1]

Salt was the monopoly of the state. It was worked on a system of licence on payment of a fixed fee or a share of the output, which the state sold at full market price. Imported salt was more heavily taxed.

[1] *KA.* ii 12

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Forests were carefully conserved and classified. There were forests of timber, forests producing creepers and canes, those producing fibres of different kinds such as hemp and material for ropery, those producing leaves (palm and birch) for writing, flowers for dyeing and sources of medicines in herbs, roots and fruits. Among forest produce are also mentioned the hides, skins, sinews (*snāyu*), bones, teeth, horns, hoofs and tails of many creatures including crocodiles, leopards, tigers, lions, elephants, buffaloes, yaks and porcupines. Birds and snakes are also mentioned. There were certain forests which were treated as sanctuaries for the protection of wild life from hunters. Deer, rhinos, bisons and buffaloes, peacocks and fishes were protected in this way.[1]

The milch-cow, the calf and the stud-bull were not to be killed. The state controlled the sale of meat and confined it to licensed slaughter-houses.[2]

The livestock of the country was the special care of the state. It included cows, buffaloes, goats, asses, mules, sheep, pigs and dogs. The state provided pastures for grazing. These pastures were supplied with water from wells, tanks or reservoirs enclosed within dams and were protected by hunters who with their hounds chased wild animals away.[3]

The state exercised control over trade by waterway, river or ocean, and policed the rivers and the sea shore, restricting all traffic to state boats and ships, and received the fares charged to passengers and the tolls levied on the goods carried. Crossing the rivers at forbidden places and times was punished by fine. Suspected offenders against these regulations were arrested. Free passage was allowed in the public interest to fishermen, carriers of firewood, policemen in pursuit of criminals, spies, and to suppliers of rations for the army and also to Brahmin ascetics, children, the old and afflicted, and pregnant women. Ships that were weather-bound or had lost their way were given protection by the Superintendent of Shipping. Piratical or hostile ships and all craft violating harbour regulations were captured or impounded.[4]

The state controlled the supply, price, purchase and sale of commodities through the Superintendent of Commerce. Traders' stocks were regulated by licences. Sales were controlled through a centralised market. Prices were controlled by fixing a wholesale price and adding a profit of five per cent, or ten per cent in the case of foreign goods, to arrive at the retail price. Profiteering or the charging of prices in excess of the fixed scale was heavily fined. The necessaries of life such as milk and vegetables could be sold at any time and place. Such free sales were not confined to the centralised market.[5]

A partial measure of Prohibition was enforced through the Superintendent of Excise who controlled the sale of liquor and fixed its time,

[1] Ibid. ii 2, 17
[2] Ibid. ii 26
[3] Ibid. ii 29, 34
[4] Ibid. ii 28
[5] Ibid. ii 16

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place and quantity by licence. Only sealed liquor was to be sold, and it could be drunk only at licensed taverns, except during festivals, social or religious, and then only for a limited period of four days.[1] Megasthenes states that the Indians drank wine only at sacrifices.

The Intelligence Department was very well organised and employed a variety of secret agents. Recruits to this service were chosen for their good character. Spies were quartered on different classes in the guise of students, householders, merchants, recluses or ascetics. Touring spies were chosen from palmists, because they had opportunities of mixing with people; from desperadoes who could be employed as menials of high officials; and from those who knew how to administer drugs. There were also women spies quartered on ministers.[2] These informers the Greek writers call 'overseers'.

As in the case of general civil administration, Kauṭilya gives a detailed scheme of the administration of cities and towns.[3] The mayor of the city is called *Nāgaraka*. There were regulations for the supervision of inns, factories, shops, and restaurants, which were asked to report the arrival of doubtful or suspected characters as an aid to the detection of crime. There was even a guests' control order requiring masters of households to report the movements of their guests. Surgeons had to report patients suffering from suspicious wounds. Suspects of all kinds were to be watched and reported on by any citizens who saw them. Curfew was enforced between 9 p.m. and 3.30 a.m. A trumpet announced its beginning and end, but it was waived in the case of physicians, carriers of corpses, persons proceeding on public duty or visiting theatres approved by censors. There was a general exemption for festal nights. Protective measures against fire were prescribed and enforced in every household. There were elaborate sanitary regulations, the violation of which was punished. It was an offence to foul the road by depositing filth or carcasses. Building regulations provided for sanitation and especially drainage. During epidemics physicians went round and distributed medicines. The same attention was given to outbreaks of cattle disease. Rats, as carriers of plague, were to be destroyed by poison or by cats and mongooses who were let loose upon them. If the plague was rampant, a sort of a rat-cess was imposed, which required every householder to trap a fixed number of rats per day. The practice of medicine was controlled. Dangerous diseases had to be reported. Errors of treatment causing death were severely punished. The medical profession included the following classes : physicians, midwives, surgeons (equipped with surgical instruments and appliances, oils and bandages), nurses in charge of food and beverages, and veterinary surgeons. The municipality maintained hospitals with medical stores which were punctually replenished.

[1] Ibid. ii 25 [2] Ibid. i 11, 12 [3] Ibid. ii 36; iv 1, 3

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Washermen had to work in fixed places. They were fined if they used for themselves their customers' clothes or let them out on hire. Delays in washing were fined. Four nights were allowed for the best washing and one night only for simple washing.

The mayor had to inspect daily the sources of the city's water supply, the state of its roads and paths and its defences. Adulteration of food was punished.

In these ancient cities public amusement was provided by actors (*naṭas*), dancers (*nartakas*), musicians and artists giving instrumental music (*vādaka*), story-tellers (*vāgjīvana*), nautch-girls (*kuśīlavāḥ nartakipradhānāḥ*), experts in physical exercises, magicians (*śaubhika*), minstrels (*charana*), and pimps.

India, especially in the Panjab, had then an abundance of towns, as Greek writers did not fail to notice.

It will be observed that the accounts of both Megasthenes and Kauṭilya agree in many points.

The Greek writers have described the different castes, classes and occupations of Hindu society, though not very accurately, sometimes confusing caste with occupation. Megasthenes mentions seven classes of Indian society. His first class is that of 'philosophers' comprising Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (ascetics). It was numerically the smallest but highest in rank. This was due to their spirituality and self-denial, as some of them went naked or clothed only in skins. Their only diet was fruit. On New Year's Day these philosophers assembled at the king's court and made predictions as to weather, crops and politics. The second class comprised the cultivators or agriculturists who formed the majority of the Indian people then as they do now. They paid a quarter of the produce as rent to the landlord. Even battles in their neighbourhood did not interrupt their work of cultivation. The third class consisted of herdsmen and hunters. The fourth comprised traders, artisans and boatmen. The fifth were the soldiers, who were employed by the state. The sixth and seventh classes (superintendents or overseers and councillors and assessors) noticed by Megasthenes were only the classes of officials already referred to and were not castes as now understood. Megasthenes and other Greek writers following him have given very full accounts of the highest caste of Hindu society, viz., the Brahmins, as they represented Indian culture at its best, and the highest knowledge and philosophy that could be conceived. These accounts are worth noticing for the light they throw upon the civilization of India in the fourth century B.C. Without knowing it they refer to the *āśramas* or stages into which life was divided in the Hindu system.

Strabo refers to the first caste as comprising both Brahmins and Śramaṇas. Aśoka inscriptions mention the same two groups, of whom the latter were doubtless Buddhists. But the 'Brahmins are the best esteemed for they have a more consistent dogmatic system.'

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As students or *Brahmachāris*, 'they live in simple style, lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins and abstain from animal food.' Studentship is followed by the life of the householder, during which they live in luxury, wearing fine muslin and trinkets of gold, eating flesh (not forbidden) but abstaining from hot and highly seasoned food.[1]

The occupations of the Brahmins are also indicated. They served as priests and met on New Year's Day at the great synod of philosophers where those who had committed their discoveries to writing or had anything to suggest for the improvement of crops and cattle for the promotion of the public interest declared it publicly.[2]

Diodorus further says in his epitome of Megasthenes that at this annual meeting of philosophers they gave forecasts of drought and rain, winds and diseases.[3]

According to Arrian, these Brahmins, whom he calls sophists, received the highest honour because they did not work for their livelihood and so were exempt from taxation.[4]

As to *śramaṇas*, according to Strabo some of them were *Hylobioi* or forest-dwellers, where they lived on the leaves of trees and on wild fruit. They clothed themselves in bark and remained unmarried throughout their life as perpetual or *naishṭhika Brahmachāris*.

These *śramaṇas* were not necessarily Buddhists. They might be Brahmins in the third *āśrama* of life. They were consulted by the kings on matters of worship and religion.[5] They trained themselves to endurance and could remain for a whole day motionless in one fixed attitude.[6]

Some again were physicians who effected cures by regulating diet rather than by physic, preferring medicines like ointments and plasters, which could be externally applied, to drugs.

Besides Brahmins and *śramaṇas*, Strabo mentions a third class of philosophers whom he calls *pramani* (*prāmāṇika*), who are rationalists and 'fond of argument'. Some of them lived on mountains and others went about naked and were called *gymnetai*.[7] According to Arrian, these sophists or ascetics could come from any caste.[8] The life of a *sanyāsi* was indeed open to all castes. The Greek interest in the Indian ascetics also affected Alexander who wanted to see them. Some of them were discovered at a place about ten miles from the city of Taxila, practising meditation. When told that the Yavana king wanted to learn their wisdom, their leader answered that no one coming in the bravery of European clothes, hat and top-boots could learn their wisdom. To do that he must strip naked.[9] Another saint whom the Greeks called Dandamis did not care to see Alexander even on pain of death, but said, 'God alone is the object of my homage, Alexander is not God, since he must taste of death. I have no fear or

[1] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 98-9
[2] Ibid. p. 83
[3] Ibid. p. 41
[4] Ibid. p. 209
[5] Ibid. p. 102
[6] Ibid. p. 102
[7] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 76
[8] *Meg. & Arr.*, p. 213
[9] *CHI.* 1 p. 358

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favour to ask. What Alexander can offer is utterly useless. The Brahmins neither love gold nor fear death."[1]

Chandragupta Maurya was succeeded in 299 B.C. by his son Bindusāra He was known by his title Amitraghāta, slayer of foes. The title must have been earned by him by virtue of some of his conquests. But details of such conquests are lacking. A vague hint is given by the author of *Ārya-Mañjuśrī Mūla-kalpa*, and by Hemachandra and Tāranātha who state that that apostle of violence, Chāṇakya, outlived Chandragupta and continued a minister of Bindusāra as 'one of his great lords'. Tāranātha states[2] that Chāṇakya accomplished the destruction of the kings and ministers of sixteen towns and made Bindusāra master of all the territory between the eastern and western sea. Some take this passage to indicate Bindusāra's conquest of the Deccan; but from Rudradāman's inscription already cited we know that a large part of Western India was already a part of his father's empire. At the same time his rule was challenged by a revolt at Taxila which he had to depute his son Aśoka to quell. The utmost that can be said for him is that he was able to keep intact the very large empire that he inherited, but he can hardly be credited with any addition to it by his own conquests. At the same time we have evidence to show that he was of a happy-go-lucky disposition, given to ease and luxury. Taking advantage of his father's friendly relations with the Greek king Seleucus, he asked that king's son Antiochus I Soter to favour him with a supply of 'sweet wine, figs and a philosopher'. Antiochus sent Daimachus to his court as ambassador. Pliny mentions that another Greek king, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247 B.C.), sent Dionysius as ambassador to India. The dates of Ptolemy's reign are consistent with the conjecture that Dionysius may have been accredited to Bindusāra's court.

Not much evidence is available about the facts of Bindusāra's reign or administration. We have already mentioned that Bindusāra deputed Aśoka, his ablest son, to quell a rebellion at Taxila, the capital of the north-western province. Asoka also served as his viceroy at Ujjain, the capital of the Avantirāshṭra or the province of Avanti. It appears that Bindusāra first appointed his eldest son Sumana (also named Susīma) viceroy at Taxila and Aśoka at Ujjain. Aśoka's deputation to Taxila was arranged when the revolt at that place got out of his brother's control.

Bindusāra is said to have had a 'privy council' (*mantriparishat*) of 500 members. His prime minister (*agrāmātya*) was a person named Khallātaka who, according to the *Divyāvadāna*, was Aśoka's supporter in his supposed contest for the throne.

Aśoka's mother was named Subhadrāngī and also Dharmā. Sumana was his step-brother, while Tishya was Aśoka's youngest brother.

[1] *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 123-9

[2] Schiefner, p. 89

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CHAPTER II

ASOKA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

BINDUSARA was succeeded by his son Aśoka on the Mauryan throne. As many as thirty-four different inscriptions of this monarch have been found all over India, throwing light not only on his administration, religious faith and missionary activities but also on his family and private life. It is true that there are some Buddhist works which set forth his life and work, but their trustworthy character has been rightly called in question. Their one aim seems to be to eulogize Buddhism by showing how cruel and tyrannical Aśoka was before he became a Buddhist and how pious and exemplary a king he became after his conversion. This casts a strong suspicion on the correctness of their account. Such is not the case with his inscriptions which, being engraved by his orders and thus being contemporary records, are of undoubted veracity. The following account is therefore based on these epigraphic records, and we may be sure that it is not fiction but history.

The edicts of Aśoka are concerned with *Dhamma* (Skt. *Dharma*) and the measures he adopted to disseminate it. It is no wonder that they throw a flood of light on his life after he became a Buddhist. Incidentally they tell us something about his earlier life and also his family. The Ceylon chronicles say that after the death of his father, Aśoka seized the throne by massacring ninety-nine of his brothers, and sparing only one, the youngest, namely, Tishya.[1] This story is refuted by his inscriptions which speak, not of one brother, but of several, living in the thirteenth year of his reign not only in Pāṭaliputra, his capital, but also in various towns of his empire. They speak also of his sisters living both in Pāṭaliputra and the mofussil towns. Similarly, he speaks of his queens and his *avarodhana* or harem. Of the former he had at least two. In one place he refers to his second queen,[2] showing that even then it was customary to fix the relative rank of the queens. The name of this second queen was Kāruvākī, who was the mother of his son Tīvara. Again, the members of Aśoka's *avarodhana* were living not only at his capital but also in the provinces, and in one place[3] he distinguishes them from his queens (*devis*). This means that some inmates of his harem were his left-handed wives of a status lower than that of a queen. This reminds us of the Ceylonese tradition that when Aśoka during his father's lifetime was viceroy at Ujjain, he formed a connection with a lady of the Seṭṭhi class

[1] *MV.* v 19-20 ; *MV.* v 40, however, says that he did away with only one elder brother, Sumana, the first of Bindusāra's sons.
[2] Hultzsch, p. 159
[3] Ibid. p. 131, *CC.*

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at Vediśagiri (Besnagar) who however continued to reside there even when Aśoka seized the throne and was permanently settled at Pāṭaliputra.[1] Aśoka speaks also of his sons (*kumāras*) distinguishing these from the Devī-kumāras who probably were his step-brothers—and of his brothers, sisters and other relatives.[2] How many sons Aśoka had we do not know. One of these was surely Tīvara whom we have just noticed. His records refer to three of the Kumāras as being in charge of the three viceroyalties of Takshaśilā, Ujjayinī and Tōsalī, and one Aryaputra or heir-apparent as vicegerent at Suvarṇagiri. This shows that Aśoka had at least four sons.

There is one edict of Aśoka which sheds some light upon his private life. When he was at Pāṭaliputra and was free from his official routine work, he was to be found, we are told,[3] either regaling in the dining hall or engaged with the inmates of his harem, either retired to his inner chamber or inspecting the royal stud, either enjoying a horse ride or beguiling his time in the royal orchards. Or sometimes when Aśoka went out of Pāṭaliputra on pleasure excursions (*vihāra-yātrā*), he enjoyed the chase and other diversions. That the chase has been a passion with Indian princes, both in modern and ancient times, is very well known. That the chase again formed the principal feature of Aśoka's pleasure tours is clear from the fact that he does not think it necessary to tell us what his other diversions were on such occasions. We do, however, know from the Sanskrit literature[4] that musical concerts, dainty dishes and conjurer's tricks played an important rôle on such pleasure trips. Further, we know what articles of food gratified his palate, for one inscription of his tells us that immediately before Aśoka became a staunch vegetarian, three animals were killed for the royal table, two peacocks daily and one deer occasionally.[5] As the animal regularly killed for his food was not the deer, but the peacock, it seems that he was particularly fond of pea-fowl; and we know from Buddhaghosha, a Buddhist writer of the fourth century, that pea-fowl were a most favoured dish with the people of Madhyadeśa, or Middle Country, to which Aśoka no doubt belonged.[6]

The fullest appellation whereby the king styles himself is *Devānāṁpriya Priyadarśi Rājā*. It is curious that he does not call himself by his personal name, viz., Aśoka, in any inscription excepting one from Maski.[7] The name by which he is generally known in his records is Priyadarśi which was his epithet. *Rājā* was, of course, his title; and so also *Devānāṁpriya*, as in the case of his grandfather who must have borne the same titles.[8] Wherever dates are mentioned in his records, they are counted from the year of his coronation. This has led some scholars to believe the Sinhalese tradition that Aśoka was crowned four years

[1] *MV.* xiii 8-11
[2] Hultzsch, p. 136
[3] RE. VI (D), Hultzsch p. 11
[4] *Mbh.*(Kumbakonam edn.) xv 1,18-19
[5] RE. I, Hultzsch, p. 2
[6] *Sāratthappakāsinī* (Ceylon, 1898) p. 105 f. *PTS.* I p. 151
[7] Hultzsch, p. 174
[8] Cf. Shah., VIII 17(A); Hultzsch, p. 59. The word was an honorific at least till the days of Patañjali and had not the derogatory meaning which attached to it later. *JBBRAS.* XXI p. 339 f.

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after his accession to the throne.[1] But this tradition also tells us in the same breath that on his father's death he seized the throne by massacring ninety-nine of his brothers, a story refuted by his inscriptions, as we have seen. If this part of the tradition is found to be a fiction, there is no reason why any credence should be given to the other part. Besides, to count dates from the year of coronation seems to have been the practice of the Mauryan court. Thus in the caves of the Nāgārjunī Hill there are at least three inscriptions of Daśaratha, grandson of Aśoka, which are dated by reference to his coronation.[2] Are we to suppose here also that some period elapsed between Daśaratha's coronation and his accession to the throne? Further it appears that Aśoka was in the habit of celebrating the anniversary of his coronation by the release of prisoners. Thus one edict of his which is dated in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, says that it was the twenty-fifth time of his setting the prisoners free.[3] This also shows that the twenty-sixth was the current year of his reign, and it seems that wherever he has specified dates in his monuments, they are to be taken as current, not expired, regnal years. Now, it is worthy of note that according to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* the king shall stop certain activities of his capital town on Nakshatra days of the ruler and the country. And, curiously enough, Aśoka specifies only two Nakshatras in his inscriptions, namely, Tishya and Punarvasu.[4] Of these, greater importance is attached to the former. It is not unreasonable to infer that Tishya was the Nakshatra of the king. Punarvasu thus becomes the Nakshatra of the country, that is, we suppose, of Magadha.

Let us now see how Aśoka behaved himself as king before he became an ardent missionary of Buddhism. He seems to have done what the ancient kings of India did—he feasted and amused his subjects. The mode of public entertainment that he followed was the celebration of the *samāja*.[5] This *samāja* was of two kinds. In one the people were treated to a banquet where meat played a most important part. This no doubt gratified the palate of the people. In the other they were entertained with dancing, music, wrestling and other performances in an amphitheatre. This doubtless feasted both the eye and the ear of the subject. The celebration of a *samāja* was unquestionably a diplomatic move to keep the people pleased and satisfied, which was welcomed and availed of by the rulers of ancient India. We know that Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, king of the Deccan, amused their capitals with *samājas* and *utsavas*. In fact, the *Arthaśāstra* itself lays down that a king shall actively participate in the celebration of the *samāja* or *utsava* of his country or its tutelary deity.[6] Both kinds of *samāja* were for a long time celebrated by Aśoka. But when he began to preach *Dhamma* he naturally tabooed that kind where animals were slaughtered to provide

[1] *MV.* v 22
[2] *IA.* xx pp. 364 ff.
[3] PE. V (L), Hultzsch, p. 128
[4] Ibid. (K) and *n.* 8
[5] RE. I, Hultzsch, p. 2 and *n.* 4
[6] *KA.* xiii ch. 5 (p. 407)

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meat. As there was nothing in the other *samāja* for him to object to, he continued to celebrate it, imparting, however, a slightly different turn to it, because the spectacles that he now exhibited were not of the usual kind but were designed not only to entertain his subjects but also to create and foster in their minds a longing for *Dhamma*. The kind of spectacle he now introduced for the amusement and the edification of the people will be considered in the sequel.

Reasons of state seem also to have led this king to take another step in the same direction. The record which speaks of his celebration of the *samāja* also speaks of the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of animals that went on every day in the royal kitchen before this edict was promulgated. The case is exactly analogous to that mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*,[1] where we are told that two thousand cows and two thousand other cattle were slain daily in the kitchen of king Rantideva to be doled out as meat to his subjects. This practice of doling out food daily to the people was preserved till recently in some of the 'Native States' of India. Like Rantideva, Aśoka must have distributed meat freely among the indigent and needy with doubtless the same object in view, namely, to make himself popular. But he discontinued this practice and stopped animal slaughter in his kitchen the moment his conscience was aroused and he turned preacher.

The earliest event of Aśoka's reign that we find recorded in his inscriptions is his conquest of Kaliṅga, which roughly corresponds to modern Orissa and the Ganjam district of Madras, combined. Why, instead of invading the Chola and Pāṇḍya countries of the south, which his father Bindusāra tried to subdue, he conquered and annexed Kaliṅga to his empire is not quite clear. Possibly Kaliṅga was a thorn in the body politic of his dominions. Andhra, which lay to the south of Kaliṅga and comprised *inter alia* the modern Krishna and Godāvari districts, was conquered by Bindusāra. Thus on one side of the Maurya kingdom was Chola and on the other Kaliṅga. According to Hindu political theory, Kaliṅga and Chola were natural enemies of the Maurya power and therefore natural friends of each other. It is not unreasonable to suppose that in Bindusāra's war on Chola and Pāṇḍya, Kaliṅga was an ally of the latter, attacked the Maurya forces from the rear and was thus chiefly instrumental in its ending in failure. It was therefore perhaps supremely imperative to reduce Kaliṅga to complete subjection.[2] To this task Aśoka must have set himself as soon as he felt he was securely established on the throne. The opportunity, however, did not present itself before the eighth year of his reign. It was not an easy task to subjugate Kaliṅga. Aśoka vividly describes the horrors and miseries of this

[1] *Mbh.*, iii 212, 8-10 ; vii 67, 16-18 : xii 29, 127

[2] This highly speculative reasoning is left as the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar wrote it, though it has not been possible to find any tangible authority in favour of it. Dr. Bhandarkar himself passed away before he could answer the letter requesting him to state his authority.—*Ed.*

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war. One hundred and fifty thousand, he says, 'were carried away [as captives]; 100,000 were slain, and many times as many died.'[1] These are the figures for Kaliṅga only, and do not include the casualties in the king's army. These are appalling figures for a tiny state like Kaliṅga. For Pliny, on the authority of Megasthenes, thus describes the military strength of this country such as it was half a century before the time of Aśoka. 'The royal city of the Calinga,' he says, 'is called Parthalis. Over their king 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1000 horsemen, 700 elephants keep watch and ward in "procinct of war".'[2] This is, however, one-fourth of the casualties of Kaliṅga in her struggle with Aśoka. And it is not at all impossible to assume that Kaliṅga received reinforcement from her allies Chola and Pāṇḍya, by sea. Be that as it may, Kaliṅga was laid low, and the Maurya power was now enabled to promote its policy of expansion by turning its arms against the Dravidian states in the peninsula and complete the conquest of the whole of India. But soon after his conquest of Kaliṅga, Aśoka became a Buddhist. It is true that for about a year he was lukewarm, but thereafter he was so strenuous in his exertions for the *Dhamma* that his mind was fired with the ennobling aspiration of becoming the supreme ruler of the earth, not through territorial, but through spiritual, conquest. Thenceforward the very remembrance of the war struck him with extreme shame and remorse. When an unconquered province, he says, is being conquered, some of the combatants are slaughtered on the field, some afterwards die of wounds and a good many are carried away captive. This is regrettable enough. What is more regrettable is that most of the men who meet with one or another of these contingencies are really good souls devoted to the practice of *Dhamma*. And what is still more regrettable is that the miseries of war do not end here, but the slaughter, death, or captivity of any one of the combatants means disaster and affliction to his numerous friends, acquaintances and relatives who, though they themselves are safe and well-protected, yet feel unbounded affliction for him. Anybody who reads in the original[3] this unsurpassable description of the atrocities of war cannot but be struck with the language of this *rājarshi*, so instinct with personal feeling, and we feel that we still hear the rocks echoing across the ages, clearly and distinctly, the heart-rending wail of a penitent soul.

So the province of Kaliṅga was added to the already extensive empire of the imperial Maurya dynasty. Let us now consider other questions connected with this empire. We have already had a fairly good idea of its limits, but Aśoka's inscriptions enable us to determine them more accurately. The very location of his monuments throws a most welcome light on the subject. Of these monuments, what are called the Fourteen

[1] RE. XIII, Hultzsch, p. 47
[2] *IA.* VI p. 338 (McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 135-6)
[3] RE. XIII

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Rock Edicts are of the highest importance to us. We shall begin with the east, and move westwards. Two copies of these edicts have been found near the Bay of Bengal, one at Dhauli in Orissa and the other at Jaugada in the Ganjam district of Madras. Both these versions, it will be seen, were situated in the newly conquered province of Kaliṅga. Turning northwards we find a third copy at Kalsi in the Himalayas in the Dehra Dun district of Uttar Pradesh. Proceeding westwards we notice two versions, one at Mānsehrā and the other at Shāhbāzgarhī, both situated in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. It may also be mentioned that in Laghman, old Lampāka, on the north bank of the Kabul river, fragments have been found of the Rock and Pillar Edicts of Aśoka in Aramaic characters.[1] Another Aramaic inscription from Taxila containing the form Priyadarśi may also belong to Aśoka's time.[2] Coming down from here to the south and moving along the western coast, we may take note first of a seventh copy near Junagadh in Kāthiāwār and an eighth at Sopara in the Thana district of Bombay State. A ninth version of the same Fourteen Rock Edicts has recently been discovered in South India at Yaṟṟaguḍi in the Kurnool district of Andhra State. Side by side with these has been traced also a Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka. Three copies of this and another Minor Rock Edict are known to exist at three different places, but all close to one another in the north of Mysore. Thus the locations of these Edicts are by themselves enough to give us an accurate idea of the wide expanse of Aśoka's territory.

The same story is told by the inscriptions also. Edicts II, V and XIII of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, just noted, mention peoples in some of the outlying provinces of Aśoka's kingdom. They are the Yonas, Kāṁbōjas, Gandhāras, Nābhaka-Nābhapaṅktiṣ, Rāshṭrikas, Bhōjas, Andhras, and Pāriṁdas. It is easy to locate them all except the Nābhapaṅktis and Pāriṁdas.[3] The Yonas are to be identified with the Greek colony of Nysa, between the rivers Kopen (Kabul) and Indus. They met Alexander as he was marching into India.[4] The Kāṁbōjas have to be located in the province neighbouring Rajaori to the south of Kashmir. Gandhāra in Aśoka's time was the country having Takshaśilā for its capital. The Rāshṭrikas must have occupied the Nasik and Poona districts, and the Bhōjas, the Thana and Kolaba districts of Bombay together with some conterminous parts of Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad State. The French scholar, Senart, seems to be right in supposing that these outlying provinces have been enumerated in a definite order. In that case it may be surmised that the Nābhaka-Nābhapaṅktis were somewhere in Baluchistan, and the Pāriṁdas, as they are mentioned last and after the Andhras, are to be tentatively placed somewhere in the easternmost

[1] *BSOS.* XIII p. 80 f.
[2] *EI.* XIX p. 253
[3] Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 29-38
[4] *Carmichael Lectures* (1921), pp. 25 ff. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 101

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part of Aśoka's empire. Possibly the Pāriṁdas may have survived in the modern Barendra, the north division of Bengal.[1]

The same conclusion is confirmed by what Aśoka says about the *antas* or the kings of the bordering dominions. They fall into two groups according as their kingdoms were in India or outside. The rulers constituting the first group are the Chōḍas, Pāṇḍyas, Keralaputra, Satiyaputra and Tāmraparṇi. As Keralaputra and Satiyaputra have been mentioned distinctly in the singular, the inference is that individual rulers are meant in either case. And as Chōḍas and Pāṇḍyas have been mentioned in the plural, the further inference is that in Aśoka's time there were more than one Chōḍa and one Pāṇḍya king. Of these, one Chōḍa king was the ruler of Orthoura, mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of the Sornagas (Chōḍa-Nāgas). The name occurs in Soretai (Chōḍatrā). Orthoura has been identified by Cunningham with Uraiyur near Trichinopoly. This was therefore the southern Chola kingdom, the northern being probably identical with the territory round about Arkatos (Arcot), also mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of the Sorai (Chōḍas). The clue to one Pāṇḍya kingdom is certainly furnished by Ptolemy when he speaks of 'Modoura' as 'the royal city of Pandion.' This Modoura is obviously the Madurai of Madras State. Thus one Pāṇḍya kingdom, the southern, comprised Madurai, Tirunelveli and the adjoining districts; and the other, the northern, was probably located in the modern Mysore State. Keralaputra must have held South Canara, Coorg, Malabar north-west Mysore and northernmost Travancore. And the kingdom of Satiyaputra must have comprised the greater portion of modern Travancore.[2] Such were approximately the boundaries of the southern states which met those of the Mauryan empire. The southern boundary of this empire is marked roughly by a line drawn from Pulicat near Madras in the east, to Veṅkaṭagiri (Tirupati), Gutti, Kurnool and Chitaldrug, right up to the northern point of the South Canara district on the west.[3]

The *anta* or 'frontier king' whose dominions were conterminous with those of Aśoka on the north-west was Aṁtiyoka, who is doubtless Antiochus II, grandson of Seleucus, who was the Greek king contemporary with Chandragupta, grandfather of Aśoka. On the further side of Antiochus's kingdom, we are told, were ruling the four Greek princes Turamaya, Aṁtekina, Maga and Alikasuṁdara. All the five Greek kings may easily be recognised to be : Antiochus II Theos of Syria (261-246 B.C.) ; Ptolemy II Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247) ; Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (276-239) ; Magas of Cyrene (*c.* 300-*c.*250) and Alexander of Epirus (272-*c.*255) or more probably of Corinth (252-*c.*244). These five Greek princes were all living between 252-250 B.C. Aśoka could thus not have promulgated Rock Edict XIII, the edict in which he men-

[1] Hultzsch (xxxix) locates Nābhakas and Nābhapaṅktis at the Nepalese frontier, and observes that the Pāriṁdas were an eastern tribe.—*Ed.*

[2] See ch. xvi, for another suggestion.

[3] Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 38-45

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tions all these names, earlier than 252 B.C.—that is, earlier than the twentieth year of his reign.[1]

It is worthy of note that Rock Edict XIII clearly implies that Aśoka dispatched official legations to the courts of all the *antas*, whether in India or outside. This means that he sent envoys to the courts of all the Greek kings mentioned above. So far as we know, Chandragupta had diplomatic relations with the court of Syria, and Bindusāra with that of Egypt also. If these persisted in the time of Aśoka, it is just what might be expected. But from the records of Aśoka we learn that during his reign at least, the diplomatic relations extended to three more Greek states. In short, India at this time was closely knit up with the whole of the civilised world of the day which was held by these Greek rulers. These diplomatic relations must have been based on a solid foundation of mutual commercial interest. This means that during the Mauryan period India carried on a brisk commercial intercourse as far as Egypt and Greece. This conclusion is supported by what Aśoka says about the humanitarian measures which he adopted for the physical weal and comfort of man and beast. Thus Rock Edict II says that he imported and planted rare medicinal herbs everywhere in the world, both in his kingdom and in those of the *antas*, not only the *antas* who were in India but also those outside—in other words, in the dominions of the Yavana or Greek kings. This is not a mere exchange of occasional civilities between one king and another, but rather a well-planned and far-reaching philanthropic work, sedulously and systematically carried out in the different parts of the Greek world. This would not have been possible unless a busy life was throbbing on both sides of the north-west frontier of India about this time regarding which history knows practically nothing, and caravans were moving to and fro, trafficking in all sorts of merchandise.

This account is enough to give us a fairly good idea of the extent of Aśoka's dominions and also of the foreign states with which he exchanged embassies. We shall now try and see how his kingdom was administered. Aśoka speaks of this kingdom generally as *vijita*[2] which literally means 'a conquered (territory).' Once only he refers to it as *rāja-vishaya*,[3] 'the royal territory.' The kingdom was divided into a number of *janapadas* or provinces, each *janapada* into *pradeśas* or divisions, each *pradeśa* into *āhāras* or districts, and each *āhāra* into *vishayas* or taluks. The

[1] Ibid. pp. 45-8. Or taking 250 B.C. the latest date, when these five Greek kings were all living and assuming that probably two years were required in those days for tidings coming to Pāṭaliputra from the remotest of these Greek kingdoms, we may suppose that Rock Edict XIII was promulgated in 248 B.C. On the other hand, I have elsewhere pointed out that this edict could not have been promulgated prior to Pillar Edict VII, which is dated in the 27th year of Aśoka's reign (D. R. B. loc. cit. p. 47 & *n.* 1). Aśoka thus came to the throne *c.* 275 B.C. instead of 272, as appears to be the case if the reign periods specified in the *Mahāvamsa* are correct. Possibly Bindusāra reigned not for 28 but for 25 years only.

[2] RE. II(A), Hultzsch, p. 3; also V(N), p. 32

[3] RE. XIII (R), Hultzsch, p. 46

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principal town of each taluk or subdivision was called *koṭṭa*, probably because it was a fortified place.[1] The heads of the divisions were designated *prādeśikas*; and those of the districts, the *rājūkas*. Below the *rājūkas* came the *purushas* who were in charge of the subdivisions. How the officers administering the provinces were designated we do not know. In somewhat later times they were known as *rāshṭriyas* or provincial governors corresponding to the *subadars* of the Mughal period. Thus the celebrated Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman[2] tells us that the province of Surāshṭra or Kāthiāwār was governed by the Rāshṭriya Pushyagupta in Chandragupta's time, and by the Yavana[3] king Tushāspa when Aśoka was king. It is thus clear that during the regime of Aśoka one provincial governor or *rāshṭriya* was Tushāspa who was placed in charge of Surāshṭra. That a chief, and above all a Yavana ruler, could be a provincial governor need not surprise us. In the Gupta period some of the provincial governors were chiefs as they were designated *mahārājas*. And the case is not at all unlike Rājā Man Singh who, though a Rajput chief, was appointed by the Mussalmān emperor Akbar to govern the province of Bengal. In the Gupta epoch, again, some of the provinces were administered by princes of the royal blood designated *kumāras*. The same was the case in the time of Aśoka. Three instances of such *kumāra* governorship are known from his edicts. Thus one *kumāra* was stationed at Takshaśilā to govern the frontier province of Gandhāra, and another at Tōsalī in charge of the newly conquered country of Kaliṅga. The third *kumāra* held the province with its capital at Ujjayinī. There must have been many other provinces in the empire of Aśoka which were governed by princes of the royal blood or by personages who, though they were not related to the royal family, were at least of the rank of a chief.

The three *kumāra* governors just referred to have been mentioned by Aśoka in his separate Kaliṅga Edicts. And we notice some difference in regard to the degree of authority they exercised in their provinces. For, whereas the *kumāras* of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā have been asked to dispatch a *mahāmātra* and make sure that there is no maladministration in their jurisdiction, the same measure is intended to be taken in the Kaliṅga province, not by the *kumāra* posted at Tōsalī, but by Aśoka from Pāṭaliputra. Again, while the *kumāra* of Tōsalī is associated with *mahāmātras*, the *kumāras* of Ujjayinī and Takshaśilā are mentioned by themselves.[4] It seems that the latter were invested with unfettered authority so far as their provinces were concerned, but Kaliṅga was placed under the joint rule of the *kumāra* and the *mahāmātras*, subject further to the control of the king himself. There is yet a fourth prince whom we have to take note of. He is mentioned in the Mysore copies

[1] RE. III(C), Hultzsch, p. 4 (Rājūkas and Prādeśikas); Sarnath (I) p. 162 for *āhāra*; ibid. (J) for *koṭṭa*.

[2] *EI.* VIII pp. 64-5

[3] By Yavana we have to understand here not a Greek but a Persian.

[4] Hultzsch, p. 97

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of Minor Rock Edict I.[1] There we are introduced to an *āryaputra* and *mahāmātras* who are stationed at Suvarṇagiri and who communicate certain orders of Aśoka to an officer at Isila. It is true that the term *āryaputra* denotes 'a prince'. But if this is taken to be a fourth instance of a *kumāra* governorship, it is curious that the same dignitary is designated once as *kumāra* and another time as *āryaputra*. Besides, *āryaputra* does not always mean 'a prince'. And we shall not be far from the truth if we suppose that *āryaputra* in the present instance stands for *yuvarāja* or 'crown-prince' who was vicegerent during Aśoka's temporary cessation of rule, possibly when he went on pilgrimage to Bodh Gayā where the Buddha obtained enlightenment, as we shall see. In that case, it seems that this *yuvarāja* was stationed at Suvarṇagiri in Rājagṛiha, the old capital of Magadha, from where apparently he administered the Mauryan empire for some time.[2]

Below the provincial governor came a number of officials in a regular hierarchy. The first of these were the *prādeśikas* who were each in charge of a division (*pradeśa*). They correspond evidently to the Divisonal Commissioner of the present day. Below them were placed the *rājūkas* who were apparently the magistrates and heads of the districts. In Aśoka's reign they were certainly entrusted with the power of giving awards and punishments, showing that they exercised magisterial powers. They also initiated and executed works of public utility, such as the digging of wells on roads, and thus contributed to the material welfare of the people. They were appointed over hundreds of thousands of men, and what a nurse is to the children of a man, they were, we are told,[3] to the subjects of Aśoka, showing clearly again that they were in direct charge of the people of the province. They thus seem to be the heads of the districts and to have come into direct contact with the people. Below the *rājūkas* came the *purushas*, who were of three ranks in a descending order, high, middle and low.[4] It is very difficult to decide which of these *purushas* belonged to which of these ranks. We have not sufficient material bearing on this point. Perhaps to the high rank belonged the *yuktas*, *nagara-vyavahārakas*, and *dharma-mahāmātras*. The *yuktas* were district officers who received and kept accounts of revenue. They also managed the king's property and had power to spend, where expense was likely to lead to an increase of revenue. Kauṭilya speaks not only of the *yuktas* but also of their assistants, the *upayuktas*. Curiously enough the designations, *yukta* and *upayukta*, survived to a late period, even to the tenth century. And sometimes instead of *yukta* and *upayukta* we meet with the slightly different forms, *āyukta* and *viniyukta*. It

[1] Hultzsch, p. 177

[2] Ibid. *n.* 5, where Hultzsch gives this identification of Fleet, but suggests also Kanakagiri, south of Maski and north of the ruins of Vijayanagara as another probability according to H. Krishna Sastri. Jonnagiri near Yaṛṛagudi in the Kurnool Dt. where a complete set of the Rock Edicts has been found must also be taken into consideration—*Ed.*

[3] Hultzsch, p. 124

[4] PE. I (E), Hultzsch, p. 119

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seems that the *yuktas* and the *upayuktas* were both *purushas* and that whereas the former were the district officers, the latter were the sub-divisional officers. As regards the *nagara-vyavahārikas*, they were doubtless the same as the *paura-vyāvahārikas* of the *Arthaśāstra*.[1] They are mentioned in one inscription as being appointed over many thousands of men.[2] They were thus inferior to the *rājūkas* who ruled over many hundreds of thousands. While the latter were district magistrates and heads, the former were merely city magistrates. Who the *dharma-mahāmātras* were we shall see later. Suffice it to note here that they also were most probably district officials engaged upon the municipal work of seeing that no arbitrary imprisonment or arbitrary harassment was inflicted upon the people anywhere in the district and that there was perfect amity and concord between one religious sect and another.

The Aśoka inscriptions speak of two or three other classes of officials, such as *stryadhyaksha-mahāmātras*, *vachabhūmikas* (*vrajabhūmikas*) and *anta-mahāmātras*.[3] The first of these are no doubt superintendents of women. Anybody who has studied the *Arthaśāstra* knows full well what different and complicated questions connected with woman, such as her maintenance, transgression, elopement and so forth, had to be tackled by the state. The state also recognised its duty of providing subsistence to helpless women when they were with child and also to the children they gave birth to. It is quite conceivable that there was appointed an officer especially for this purpose who was called *stryadhyaksha*. It is, however, somewhat difficult to understand who the *vrajabhūmikas* were. The term *vraja*, according to the *Arthaśāstra*,[4] denotes herds of cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep, asses and camels, or horses and mules. It seems there were different castes and tribes which reared different herds of cattle, that they were settled on grounds (*vraja-bhūmi*) round about towns and villages, and that the state realised some revenue by levying light taxes on them. It seems that every district had some *vraja-bhūmi* under its jurisdiction for supervision and assessment, and that the officer who was in charge of this duty was designated *vrajabhūmika*. The *anta-mahāmātras* alone now remain to be accounted for. Wherever Aśoka uses the word *anta*, he takes it in the sense of 'a frontier kingdom or people' or the ruler thereof. They therefore appear to be the high officials who accompanied his envoys to foreign countries.

AŚOKA'S CONVERSION TO BUDDHISM

Aśoka became a Buddhist in the ninth year of his reign, that is, about a year after his conquest of Kaliṅga. For one year he did not exert himself strenuously on behalf of his new religion. But thereafter a change

[1] Separate RE. I (B), Hultzsch, p. 111 ; KA. pp. 20, 245
[2] Separate RE. I (E)
[3] RE. XII (M), Hultzsch, p. 20 and 22, *n.* 5
[4] ii 6

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came over him, and he was seized with an unflagging zeal. From about the middle of the tenth year he began to live with a Buddhist *saṅgha* and continued to do so for more than a year.[1] While he was thus with the *saṅgha*, it seems that he temporarily entrusted the reins of the government to the crown-prince, or *āryaputra* as he has been called, who was then stationed at Suvarṇagiri, presumably the well-known hill of that name at Rajgir. And it further seems that as soon as he joined the *saṅgha* he went on pilgrimage with them and visited first the *saṁbodhi* (Bodh Gayā), the very place where Buddha became *saṁbuddha* or enlightened,[2] and later, in the twentieth year after his coronation, Lumbinigrāma, the place of the Buddha's birth, and the *stūpa* of Buddha Kanakamuni which he had enlarged six years earlier. What with the elevating intercourse with the *saṅgha* and the enthralling sanctity attaching to this place, he became completely transformed and forthwith developed into a zealot. To such an extent, indeed, did he display his religious fervour during the year or so of his sojourn with the *saṅgha*, brief as it was, that he could impartially and fearlessly say about his work that 'men who were so long unmixed with gods were now mixed with them throughout Jambu dvīpa.'[3]

What Aśoka doubtless means is that through his missionary activity men became so good and virtuous that gods came down and mingled with them. Instances are not wanting, in the literature of any Indian religion, of men being worshipped by gods in this world as soon as their spiritual elevation was complete. And knowing as we do how miracles spring and cluster round the name of a saint even in India of the modern day, it is no wonder if some men following the *Dhamma* of Aśoka became so holy and pure that they were believed to be visited by gods.

This seems to be the real history of the initial period of his missionary career. This is just what we know from a critical study of his own records. It is worthy of note that they make absolutely no mention of any Buddhist saint or teacher who first converted him or who afterwards permanently influenced his later life. The Buddhist stories, on the other hand, tell us a number of things about his conversion which conflict with one another. Thus the Ceylonese chronicles say that he was first converted to Buddhism by Nigrodha, a boy monk who was just seven years old, and that he afterwards came in contact with Moggali-putta Tissa, the Head of the Buddhist *saṅgha*, who produced such a deep impression on his mind that he sent his son Mahinda (Mahendra) and his daughter Saṅghamittā (Saṅghamitrā) to Ceylon to spread Buddhism there.[4] Northern Buddhism, however, credits one Upagupta, a Buddhist teacher, with the conversion of the king and further tells us that Mahendra who converted Ceylon to Buddhism was not his son but rather his younger

[1] Rupnath inscr., Hultzsch, p. 166-7
[2] RE. VIII (c), Hultzsch, pp. 36-7; Rummindei and Nigalī Sāgar pillars, ibid. pp. 164, 165
[3] Rupnath
[4] *MV.* v

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brother.[1] It will be seen that there is a discrepancy in the monkish legends, not only in regard to the teacher who made Aśoka a Buddhist, but also about his relationship with the princely monk who first implanted Buddhism in Ceylon. And what is most strange is that in his inscriptions Aśoka makes no mention at all of the Buddhist saint who was his spiritual preceptor, though he played such a prominent part in his life. Knowing as we do what profound reverence the Indians have for their *guru*, whether they are private individuals or royal personages, it is indeed inexplicable that Aśoka should make no mention of his, at least when he gives an account of his conversion or when he describes his multifarious missionary activities. The only inference that seems natural in these circumstances is that no Buddhist teacher of his day played any important rôle in the matter of his conversion. Indian kings in ancient times were fond of doing honour and showing liberality to the various religious sects, and it seems that in the cause of the study of religious truth, Aśoka found Buddha's doctrines and sayings to be the most soul-enthralling of his age, and therefore declared himself an adherent of Buddha's *Dhamma*.

That Aśoka was a man of individuality in the matter of religion is amply proved by his Bhābrū Edict. It opens with an expression of his faith in the Buddha's *Dhamma* and *Saṅgha*, and his declaration that the utterances of the Buddha are the gospel truth. It is thus impossible to dispute the sectarian character of this record. But its real object is to enumerate certain canonical texts and inculcate the paramount necessity of their study on the minds not only of the laity but of the clergy. In the first place the scriptural texts selected by him clearly show that he was fascinated not by the ritualistic or metaphysical intricacies of Buddhism, not by any set of rigid rules and regulations to be observed externally and mechanically, but rather by the fundamentals of that religion which conduce to real inner growth and help and guide in the path of spiritual elevation. This is a most important point to remember about Aśoka. A mere monk's life has no glamour for him. His mind is perforce attracted to the constituents of lofty and sublime character which are beneficial as much to a layman as to a monk. Secondly, we have to notice that he inculcates the contemplation of these canonical texts not only on the laity but also on the monks and nuns. The king was himself a layman and not a monk, and was certainly never the head of the *saṅgha*. Yet he impresses upon the monks and nuns the supreme necessity of pondering over his favourite religious texts. Such a wish emanating from a king might well be executed by the Buddhist *saṅgha*, and certainly no Buddhist king who had any awe and reverence for the teacher who has converted him would ever venture to issue such a mandate to the *saṅgha* except through him. But the very fact that Aśoka does so shows that, when he became a Buddhist, he must have converted himself to that faith as the consequence of an impartial quest for religious truth, and that he

[1] *Divyāvadāna*, xxvi ; also Przyluski, *La Légende*.

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felt an irresistible inner urge to play the rôle of a preacher not only to the Buddhist laity and clergy but to the whole world.

That Aśoka was a man of individuality in the sphere of religion is further proved by the extreme catholicity of mind he has displayed in various places in his edicts. Thus in Rock Edict XIII he admits that the practices of *Dhamma*, which he is never weary of exhorting his subjects to follow and which we shall soon consider in detail, are common to all sects, whether Brahmanic or Śramanic. It is therefore quite intelligible if in Rock Edict VII he expresses the wish that 'all sects may dwell at all places in my kingdom, because they all desire self-restraint and purification of heart.' And further it is no wonder that he showered gifts and honours on men of all sects, whether recluses or householders, as he clearly informs us in Rock Edict XII. It is in this edict that his penetrating insight into the sphere of religion reaches its highest pitch. For he proceeds further to say that although he has lavished gifts and honours upon all sects without any distinction, that does not give him satisfaction. What he hankers after is the growth of the essentials, *sāra-vadhī* amongst them. But how is this growth of the essentials to be accomplished? 'The root of it,' says he, 'is restraint of speech. One should not do reverence to one's own sect or disparage that of another without reason. Or it may be for specific reasons only. On the contrary, the sects of the others deserve reverence for one reason or another. By doing otherwise one hurts one's own sect and does disservice to another's sect. He who shows reverence to his own sect and condemns that of another, because he is attached to his own sect and wants to glorify it, inflicts, most assuredly, a severe injury on it.' What course of action then is commendable ? Aśoka replies 'people shall hear and desire to hear one another's *Dhamma* in order that all sects may be well-informed and conducive of good.' 'The fruit of it is this, namely, the exaltation of one's own sect and the illumination of *Dhamma*.' These extracts from the edict are enough to give an idea of the message of Aśoka which is for all climes and for all ages. He seems to have carefully studied the doctrines of all the religious sects of his time, and the impartial conclusion at which he arrived seems to have been this: so far as the ethical side of religions is concerned, there is perfect unanimity and no divergence, because they all aim at self-restraint and purification of heart and inculcate the same moral virtues and the same moral practices. In fact, this is the essence of all religions. This should be seen clearly, and with every individual this should be the object of his life and the subject of his conduct, to whatever sect he belongs. Dissent and conflict arise apparently when the intellectual side alone of a religion is considered. This is the reason why there is so much diversity of view, acrimony of debate, in regard to the articles of belief and details of ritual, between one sect and another. It is this which tempts people to eulogise their own sect and run down that of others, thus rendering disservice to both the sects, whereas, as a matter of fact, they are in perfect union so far as the essence of religion

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is concerned. Aśoka therefore insists upon the peoples listening to the *Dhamma* of one another's sects. In this way their minds will become well-informed, and their narrow sectarianism put under proper control. This will enable them to perceive the essence of religion which has so long remained in the background. The consequence would be that they would not only exalt their own sect but also illuminate *Dhamma* which had so long remained hidden under a thick crust of ritual and doctrine. Anybody who critically studies the utterances of Aśoka cannot but come to the conclusion that this Mauryan emperor, though he was a Buddhist, had yet brought an unbiased, unobsessed mind to bear upon the subject of religious truth and, like a true seer, distinguished the essential from the non-essential element of a religion and fearlessly proclaimed it to the world.

Before, however, we describe the career of Aśoka as missionary, it is essential to understand, what he meant by *Dhamma*. He not only enumerates the attributes that fall under *Dhamma* but also mentions the specific practices thereof. According to him *Dhamma* consists of :[1] *sādhave* or *bahu-kayāne*, much good ; *apāsinave*, freedom from depravity; *dayā*, mercy ; *dāne*, liberality ; *sache*, truthfulness ; *sochaye*, purity and *madave*, gentleness. Aśoka also tells us how to translate these virtues into action. Thus *dayā* means 'non-slaughter of animate beings' and 'non-injury to creatures', *dāne* is 'liberality towards friends, acquaintances and relatives and liberality to Brahman and Śramana ascetics;' *madave* is to be manifested by 'hearkening to father and mother', 'hearkening to the elders', 'seemly behaviour towards friends, acquaintances and relatives', 'seemly behaviour towards Brahman and Śramaṇa ascetics', and so on. By *sādhava* or *kayāna* he evidently means works of public utility such as he carried out himself, and such as he describes in the following passages.[2] 'On the roads I planted the banyan trees. They will offer shade to man and beast. I have grown mango orchards. I have caused wells to be dug at every eight *kośas*, and I have made many watering sheds at different places for the enjoyment of man and beast.' He winds up this enumeration of charities by remarking that he has mentioned them in order that men may follow in this practice of *Dhamma*. The qualities and practices just specified form the positive character of *Dhamma*. But Aśoka's *Dhamma* has also a negative side which may be summed up in the word *āpāsinava*, 'freedom from *āsinava*'. Aśoka explains *āsinava* by placing it side-by-side with *pāpa*[3] 'sin' and specifying the malevolent affections that lead to *āsināva*, such as violence, cruelty, anger, conceit and envy. Thus not only the performance of moral duties and charities enumerated by him, but also freedom from the passions just mentioned, are necessary for the full and adequate fulfilment of *Dhamma*.

No account of Aśoka's *Dhamma* can be complete unless we know with

[1] PE. II (C), Hultzsch, p. 120 ; VII (EE), ibid. p. 131

[2] PE. VII, l. 23, Hultzsch, p. 130

[3] PE. III, Hultzsch, p. 121

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what ultimate end this *Dhamma* was to be practised. Did Aśoka believe in the next world? This question has, of course, to be answered in the affirmative, because he often contrasts this world with the next, *hidata* with *palata*, *hida-lōkika* with *pala-lōkika*, and so on. But what is it in the next world that a man secures through *Dhamma*? Aśoka replies:[1] *svarga*, 'heaven'. In one place, he tells us that the performance of *Dhamma* 'begets endless merit (*puṇya*) in the next world,'[2] and thus enables a man to attain to *svarga*.

It will be seen that the *Dhamma* which Aśoka preached is of a simple character. It is no wonder if it has much puzzled the scholars. Its Buddhist affiliation many have questioned, because here there is no mention at all of the Four Grand Truths (*ārya-satyāni*), the Eightfold Path (*ashtāṅgika-mārga*), the chain of causation or the *Nirvāṇa*, so intimately associated with the *Dhamma* enunciated by the Buddha. It is however forgotten that Buddhism has always been of a twofold character : (1) *Dhamma* for the monks and nuns for whom alone the Four Grand Truths, the Eightfold Path, and *Nirvāṇa* exist, and (2) *Dhamma* for the householders which alone Aśoka, as a lay-follower of Buddhism, preached. And further it will be seen that whereas the qualities that go to form his *Dhamma* have been taken mostly from the 'Lakkhana-suttānta' of the *Dīgha-Nikāya*, the courses of conduct enumerated by him are exactly those prescribed for the Buddhist laity in the 'Sigālovāda-sutta' of the same *Nikāya* which for that reason has been designated *gihi-vinaya*, 'Institute for the house-men.' Similarly the Buddha holds up *svarga* as the reward of *Dhamma* to a layman in the next life, the goal of *Nirvāṇa* being reserved for a *bhikshu*. It is thus impossible to doubt that the *Dhamma* preached by Aśoka is Buddhism, such Buddhism, indeed, as is practised by a lay-Buddhist. Again, it is true that Aśoka's *Dhamma* contains nothing that will not be assented to by other religious sects, such as Jainism, Ājīvikism and so forth. But so far as the courses of conduct laid down by Aśoka are concerned, it is impossible to find them mentioned in that specific group in any Jaina or Ājīvika scriptures or, for the matter of that, anywhere except in the Buddhist 'Sigālovāda-sutta' which is rightly styled *gihi-vinaya* as stated above.

We thus see that Aśoka was a Buddhist and also that the *Dhamma* he preached was not that simple piety which is common to all religions, but the specific code of moral duties laid down for a lay-follower of Buddhism. Let us now see what means he adopted for the promotion and propagation of *Dhamma*. In Rock Edict VIII he tells us that up to the tenth year of his reign he, like the previous kings, used to find recreation in *vihāra-yātrā* or tours of pleasure, where he indulged chiefly in hunting. In that year, however, he ceased going to the *vihāra-yātrā* and started instead the *dhamma-yātrā*. And what relaxation did he find here?

[1] Cf. e.g., RE. VI (L), Hultzsch, p. 11
[2] RE. IX (M), Hultzsch, p. 37

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Here first he paid visits and made gifts to the Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa ascetics, and made visits and largesses of gold to the aged. He thus developed *Dhamma* in himself. Secondly, during these religious tours he came in contact with the provincials, delivered instruction in *Dhamma* to them and also held discussions about *Dhamma* with them. In other words, Aśoka turned preacher in the right sense of the term.

In Pillar Edict VII Aśoka tells us that the question of propagating *Dhamma* amongst men was for a long time revolving in his mind. He admits that he was not the first king who thought of diffusing *Dhamma* far and wide. But the efforts of the past kings were not crowned with success. He therefore gave this matter all the serious and careful thought that it deserved, and hit upon a line of action for carrying out what earlier kings were unable to achieve. He knew that howsoever hard he worked as a missionary he was but a single individual, and it was not possible for him to approach all people. He therefore wisely thought of ordering his representatives, the officers, to follow in his footsteps and become missionaries like him. Thus Rock Edict III informs us that in the twelfth year of his reign he commanded the district officials, the *yuktas*, the *rājūkas* and the *prādeśikas*, whenever they were going on their circuit tour every five years, to deliver instruction in *Dhamma* to the people in that district in the discharge of their official duties. These district officers of the highest rank were thus not only officers but preachers too. This was a novel and ingenious mode of reaching all his subjects and propagating *Dhamma* amongst them. The idea was certainly Aśoka's own and is not known to have been put into practice before his time nor even after him until the time of Portuguese rule in India, when the highest officials combined the work of preachers with their ordinary duties.

But mere preaching by a royal personage and his official hierarchy could not have gone very far if Aśoka had not hit upon another ingenious mode of impressing his religious instruction upon the minds of the people. Here he took his cue apparently from a Buddhist work called the *Vimānavatthu*. It describes the various rewards which are in store for a virtuous man in his next life as he becomes one kind of *Deva* or another according to the degree of his merit. One of the rewards is the *vimāna* or column-supported palace, which is a centre of supreme bliss and which could be moved at the will of its divine owner. Another such reward is the *hastin*, or well-caparisoned, all-white, celestial elephant. These gods, again, are described as possessed of a resplendent complexion which is compared to lightning, a star, or fire. He thus seems to have begun his missionary career with the exhibition of the different orders of gods, their varying resplendent complexions, their heavenly palaces, celestial elephants, and so forth. These spectacles he must have exhibited in the *samājas*, not the *samājas* or feasts where the people were treated to meat and drink and which Aśoka condemned, but the *samājas* or amphitheatres where the people were entertained with shows, music

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and dancing, and which he regarded with favour. The graphic representations of the various classes of gods and the felicities they enjoyed, showing vividly what practice of virtue in this life ensured what heaven in the next, must certainly have produced a profound impression on the minds of the people. And there is nothing surprising if in the space of one year or so there was wide increase of *Dhamma*, such, indeed, as had never been accomplished ever before, as Aśoka assures us.

In Pillar Edict VIII Asoka further says, 'The same [object] being in view, I have set up *dhamma-stambhas*, appointed *dhamma-mahāmātras* and made *dhamma-śrāvaṇas*.' The last of these, namely, *dhamma-śrāvaṇas* or proclamations of *Dhamma*, is the same thing as *dhammā-nuśasti* or instruction in *Dhamma*, which we have just seen were carried out by himself and the superior district officers personally preaching to the people. The *dhamma-stambhas* do not denote any material pillars as one is apt to suppose, but rather works of public utility which have been described above, in explaining the term *sādhave* or *kalyāṇa* an activity which according to Aśoka is the first of the virtues constituting *Dhamma*. Even here he admits that he was not the first to provide man and beast with these comforts and that many kings preceding him carried out these works of benevolence. 'But I have done this,' he says 'with the intent that men may follow these practices of *Dhamma*.' In other words he says he had done so, so that others might follow his example and perform similar charities. There can be no doubt that this was Aśoka's real motive, for a little further on in the same edict he says : 'Whatever charitable works I have performed, these have been conformed to among men, and these they will perform [in future].' So we may take it that the gentry and moneyed classes in his kingdom were thus induced to tread in the footsteps of the king and perform similar works of public benevolence.

The third measure which Aśoka adopted for promoting *Dhamma* was the creation of the *dhamma-mahāmātras*. They had to look to the spiritual as well as to the temporal good of the people. One of the duties with which these officers were entrusted was to occupy themselves with all religious sects, especially the Buddhist, the Ājīvikas and the Nirgranthas. By this we have most probably to understand that they were to bring about amity and concord between one sect and another, by emphasizing the points of agreement and putting an end to all acrimony and animosity so that every sect would thereby exalt itself, and *Dhamma* would shine more effulgently. There was also another duty assigned to them, connected with the organisation of charities just mentioned. He wished that in his philanthropic activity the members of his royal family should heartily co-operate. He therefore instructed the *dhamma-mahāmātras* to approach them and elicit money grants from them for charitable purposes. In fact, they were to concern themselves with anybody who might be found to be 'leaning on *Dhamma*, to be an abode of *Dhamma*, or be devoted to alms-giving.'

No accurate estimate of Aśoka's work as a missionary can be formed

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unless we take into account what he did for the animal world. His work in that connection falls under two heads : firstly the means he took for the prevention of injury and slaughter of living creatures, and secondly, the steps he adopted to augment their physical happiness. Some light is thrown on the first of these points by Pillar Edict V, from which it appears that he first laid an embargo on the killing of any living creature that was neither eaten nor required apparently for any decorative or medicinal purpose. With that object in view he gives a long list of the fishes, birds and quadrupeds whose killing was prohibited. He also stops some of the brutal practices that were prevalent in his time. Thus he says : 'Cocks shall not be caponed. Husks containing life shall not be burnt. Forests shall not be set on fire for mischief or injury [to life]. One living being shall not be fed with another living being.' He further proceeds to state on what days of the month no fish shall be killed, and no animal shall be castrated or even branded. It is, however, worthy of note that these restrictions on the injury and destruction of life are not Aśoka's own invention but are practically the same as those specified in the *Artha-* or *Dharma-śāstra*. But these restrictions sanctioned by Polity and Law, however rigorously they may have been enforced, could not have amounted to much. In fact, Aśoka himself admits this in Pillar Edict VII, and says that he was able to achieve his real object, not by restrictions, but by *nijhati* that is, by exhortations.[1] The latter, we have seen, were carried on by his superior district officers, and two of the ethical practices they inculcated were *anārambho-prāṇānaṁ*, 'non-slaughter of animate beings,' and *avihīsā bhūtānaṁ*, 'non-injury to creatures.'[2] Here his object is not merely to curtail injury and slaughter of life, but to prevent it altogether if he can. *Pari passu* with instructions on *ahimsā*, he himself set an example to the people in this respect. First, he stopped those *samājas* where he treated his subjects to a feast, and where many animals must have been killed to provide meat. Secondly, he discontinued the time-honoured custom he had been observing of doling out meat to the people from the royal kitchen. Thirdly, he did not spare even himself, and placed restrictions on the meat served at his own table. And finally he must have given up eating meat altogether, even the peafowl dish which was considered to be the finest dainty in Madhyadeśa.

So much in regard to the prevention of injury and slaughter of creatures in general. Let us now see briefly what measures he adopted for the promotion of their physical happiness. One of these consisted in the execution of charitable works for the enjoyment not only of man but also of beast. They have been described in Pillar Edict VII, and we have seen what they are. Practically the same works of benevolence have been enumerated in Rock Edict II. But the latter mentions additional works which he executed and which are of great importance.

[1] Hultzsch (p. 137) renders the word 'Conversion', *n.* 1—*Ed.*
[2] RE. IV (c), Hultzsch, p. 6

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Here Aśoka says that he has established two kinds of *chikitsā* or curative arrangements, one relating to men and the other to animals. What he actually did in this connection had better be described in his own language. Thus : 'Where medicinal herbs, wholesome for men and wholesome for animals, are not found, they have everywhere been imported and planted; roots and fruits, wherever they are not found, have been imported and planted.' What we have further to note here is that he carried out this work not only in his dominions but also in those of all the *antas* or the neighbouring independent kings. We have seen who they were. Well may Aśoka therefore say, as he does in Pillar Edict II, that he conferred various benefits 'on bipeds and quadrupeds, on birds and aquatic animals even to the boon of life !'

This in brief is how Aśoka managed to promote *Dhamma*. It will be seen that it was not simply within the boundaries of his own empire, extensive as it was, but also in the realms of the independent kings far and near, that Aśoka claims to have spread his *Dhamma* : 'But this conquest is considered to be the chiefest by the Beloved of the gods, which is conquest through *dhamma-vijaya*. And that again, has been achieved by the Beloved of the gods here and in the bordering dominions, even as far as six hundred *yojanas*.'[1] We have thus to note that Aśoka disseminated his *Dhamma* not only over the whole of India and Ceylon, but also over those parts of Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus and Cyrene which were under Greek domination. But this is not all. For, 'even where the envoys (*dūtas*) of the Beloved of the gods do not go', says the Buddhist monarch, the people, 'on hearing the utterances, the ordinances and the teaching of *Dhamma* by the Beloved of the gods, practise *Dhamma* and will so practise.'[2] This may perhaps refer to China and Burma where his religious propaganda was not carried on. What is worthy of note here is that everywhere he pushed forward his mission work through his own officials, through the *rājūkas*, *yuktas*, *prādeśikas* and *dhamma-mahāmātras* so far as his own territory was concerned, and through *dūtas* and *anta-mahāmātras* in the foreign countries.

Aśoka, it must be admitted, assures us that he achieved his *dhamma-vijaya* not only over the whole of India and Ceylon but also over the independent Greek states holding Western Asia, Eastern Europe and Northern Africa. Is it 'mere royal rodomontade,' as the late Prof. Rhys Davids remarked? Or is there any foundation of truth in it? If *Dhamma* or Buddha's doctrine was spread in those regions as Aśoka claims to have spread it, the question arises whether Buddhism exercised any influence over the religions prevalent there. The most prominent of these was Christianity which, it is worthy of note, possesses some important features in common with Buddhism, such as confessions, fasting, rosaries and so on. Above all, there is Māra, the tempter, who was to Buddha what

[1] RE. XIII, (P) and (Q), Hultzsch, pp. 69-70
[2] Ibid. (S)

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Satan was to Christ. The Buddhist books nowhere say that Buddhism was preached in those regions by the Buddhist monks. On the other hand, Aśoka distinctly says that he had employed his official legations to the courts of contemporary Greek princes as much to propagate Buddha's *Dhamma* as to carry out his humanitarian purposes. It is possible that the missions of Aśoka to the West indirectly contributed something to the shaping of the tenets and practices of Christianity. But questions of cultural origins seldom admit of simple answers and often we lack the evidence for supporting confident assertions. The apparent analogy between Satan and Māra may well be due to both the concepts resting upon an earlier background of religious beliefs common to the whole of Western Asia and India, and the influence of Zoroastrianism should not be ignored. There were, however, at least two orders of pre-Christian Judaism namely, the Essenes and the Therapeutae (Thera-putra ?), in whose precepts and modes of life scholars have recognised the influence of Buddhism.[1]

From this discussion of Aśoka's *Dhamma* it is quite clear that first, the Buddhist emperor felt that he was concerned not simply with his subjects but the whole of mankind, not again merely with mankind but with the whole animate world; and that, secondly, he felt that his supreme duty was to secure the temporal weal of them all, and further of mankind the spiritual good also. He makes his position quite clear in Rock Edict VI, where he says : 'There is no higher duty than the welfare of the whole world. And what little effort I make is in order that I may be free from debt to the creatures, that I may render them happy here and they may gain heaven in the next world.' The question that now arises is to what source was he indebted for this grand and noble ideal. Evidently Aśoka is here aspiring to be a *chakravarti dhārmika dharmarāja* who is defined in a Buddhist Pāli-sutta as conquering 'this earth to its ocean bounds, not by the chastising rod, not by the sword, but by righteousness (*dhamma*) and living supreme over it.'[2] And as a matter of fact, one such *chakra-varti* we find actually described in the *sutta*, where he is asked not only to care for men but also for beasts and birds and where he is represented to follow the progress of the Celestial Wheel and to go on, conquering, to the east, south, west and north. This *chakravarti* does not receive any political homage from enemy kings but preaches to them about ethical virtues and practices. Anybody who reads this story carefully will be convinced that we have here a case not of terrestrial, but of spiri-tual, conquest, and that the *chakravarti* is a supreme ruler of the earth, not by physical might, but by moral and spiritual power. Evidently he becomes a *chakravarti*, not by *vīra-vijaya*, but by *dhamma-vijaya*. There

[1] Mention is made at p. 875 of *JRAS.* 1898 of some Ptolemaic grave-stones with the Buddhist symbols of the wheel and *triratna* on them ; evidence of an Indian colony in Memphis *c.* 200 B.C. is discussed by Petrie in *Man* (VIII), 1908 no. 71—*Ed.*

[2] 'Chakkavatti Sihanāda Suttānta' of *Digha Nikāya.*

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can hardly be any doubt that Aśoka took his cue for *dhamma-vijaya* from Buddhist *suttas* and aspired to become a *chakravarti dhārmika dharmarāja.*

Let us now see how the missionary activity of Aśoka affected India politically. Even in the reign of Chandragupta, the Mauryan empire extended from the Hindukush to the frontiers of the Dravidian kingdoms occupying the apex of the peninsula. Aśoka himself had for a time aided this centripetal force that had originated with Bindusāra by conquering Kaliṅga. And if the vision of the *chakravarti dhārmika dharmarāja* had not possessed and absorbed his mind, the empire of Magadha in the first instance would have extended over the whole of this country, making India one nation and afterwards might also have spread even beyond, making Pāṭaliputra, like Rome, the capital of a world power. But in consequence of the foreign policy of *dhamma-vijaya* inaugurated by Aśoka, India was lost to nationalism and political greatness. Nevertheless, she has doubtless gained in cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism which have now become the basic principles of Hindu society.

Another result of the missionary activity of Aśoka was the immense stimulus it imparted to Indian art. The architecture up to his time was mostly of wood. It was he who made it lithic. Megasthenes says, as we have seen, that Pāṭaliputra was 'surrounded by a wooden wall.' In the Buddhist Pāli Jātakas which throw light upon the Mauryan period, we find copious references to wooden buildings, a few to brick structures. This does not mean that the art of the stone-cutter was unknown, as reference to it is not wanting in the Jātakas themselves. Again, actual specimens of this art are preserved in a statue found at Parkham in Bihar, in a cyclopean enclosure-wall of a shrine at Nagari in Rajputana, and in a stone structure known as *Jarāsandh kī baiṭhak* existing at Rajgir also in Bihar. The first two are of about Aśoka's time and the last, of a somewhat earlier period. Perhaps the best specimen of the stone art is the massive stone coffer which was exhumed from the Piprahwa *stūpa* and which enshrined some relics of the Buddha. It is of the pre-Mauryan age, and betokens the highest quality of craftsmanship. Now, in his Edicts Aśoka often says that one of his objects in inscribing them on rocks and columns is that they may endure permanently. When this idea dawned upon his mind, he availed himself of the stone-cutter's art which was already in a highly evolved state. The effect of it was the inscribing of big rocks, the construction of huge monolithic pillars, and the excavation of rock-cut dwellings. The idea of engraving religious edicts on rocks may have been suggested to the Mauryan emperor by the decrees of the Achaemenian monarch Darius, one of which at least contains 'the last solemn admonition of Darius to his countrymen with respect to their future conduct in policy, morals and religion.' If, again, big rocks have been polished and inscribed, Aśoka's workmen probably did not show any superiority over the Persian craftsmen. The Mauryan emperor, however, carried the idea one step further by bringing the columns into requisition. Pillars were not unknown to Persian architecture, but the

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erection of pillars which were independent and did not form part of any edifices, seems to have originated in India, and is not traceable in Western Asia or Europe before the rise of the Roman empire.

The reign of Aśoka forms one of the brightest pages in the history of India. Lapse of time has not dimmed its lustre, nor has an increasingly minute study of its records revealed any reason for detraction. Aśoka was one of the master minds of the world. Inheritor of a wide and highly organised empire, he proved fully worthy of his heritage. His greatness lay in his early and clear-eyed recognition of the true scale of human values, and in his steady endeavour thereafter to rouse India to listen to the call to a high moral effort which she received through him. A man of unbounded energy, he gave himself without stint to the tasks of perfecting the administration of his empire and ensuring the happiness of his subjects. The range of his sympathies was wide, and included in its sweep not only the lowly and the lost in the land of his birth, but the physical and moral well-being of the peoples of neighbouring lands and even of remote countries, not to speak of his compassion for our fellow creatures of the animal kingdom. He displayed both his mental power and aesthetic taste when, without the least hesitation, he accepted whatever was best in foreign models in making his government more effective and in the erection of lasting monuments of strength and beauty. At his accession Buddhism was a struggling creed hardly different from any of its rivals. But he found solace in the company of its votaries when smitten with remorse for his military conquest of Kaliṅga. In return, after actively aiding the *saṅgha* to put its house in order, he set the Buddha's creed on the road to become a world religion. His memory has been kept green through the ages in all the vast lands where the Buddhist tradition has prevailed to this day. At the close of the thirteenth century A.D. the Burmese recognised an old *chaitya* in Bodh Gayā as one of the 84,000 *chaityas* built by Siri Dhammāsoka when 218 years of the era of Lord Buddha had passed away.[1] Today India accepts his Sārnāth lion-capital and the Dharma-chakra as the symbols of her new life.

Aśoka is the one conspicuous instance of a great monarch renouncing war as an instrument of policy in the hour of victory; he exhorted his successors to follow his example and 'display the same zeal for the welfare of all men,' but he also knew and said : 'It is difficult to accomplish this without great zeal' (RE. VI). There is no evidence that he neglected the defences of his empire or directed any of his numerous regulations against Brāhmaṇas, whom he always mentions before the Śramaṇas and speaks of with high regard. His figure, like that of all heroes of nations, was soon decked by legend with rainbow hues and the sculptors of Sañchī visualized parts of the growing saga. But much more alive and imposing than any legend is the real king as he emerges from his words and his work. He makes us think of Marcus Aurelius, of Constantine, of Charle-

[1] *EI.* XI p. 119

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magne, of St. Louis; but detailed comparisons are only likely to mislead, because for Aśoka there was no question of a state religion or of persecution or war even for a holy cause. He was indeed a great monarch whose reign constitutes one of those 'rare and lightning epochs' in the annals of nations when a people is vouchsafed a glimpse of happiness, perceived, if not possessed.

THE SUCCESSORS OF AŚOKA

Aśoka died about 236 B.C. The genealogical lists, given in the Brahman or the Buddhist works, are after him hopelessly confused and discrepant. The Purāṇas, however, in spite of the luxuriant growth of recensions, agree in one most important fact, namely, the duration of the Maurya rule for 137 years. Another important fact in which they very nearly agree is the number of Maurya kings who ruled, this number being either nine or ten. If we now stick to the regnal period assigned by the Purāṇas to each prince, the Maurya order of succession may be arranged as follows, so as to satisfy the above conditions :

1.	Chandragupta	24 years.
2.	Bindusāra, son of 1	25 ,,
3.	Aśoka, son of 2	36 ,,
4.	Daśaratha	8 ,,
5.	Samprati, son of 4	9 ,,
6.	Śāliśūka	13 ,,
7.	Devadharman	7 ,,
8.	Śatadhanvan, son of 7	8 ,,
9.	Bṛihadratha	7 ,,

It will thus be seen that the immediate successor of Aśoka was Daśaratha who, according to some Purāṇas, was his grandson, His father's name given is Suyaśas,[1] which is known neither to epigraphy nor to Buddhist tradition. Suyaśas was possibly an epithet of Kunāla or, what is more probable, his personal name. Buddhist legends say that Kunāla was the heir apparent of Aśoka but that he tore out his eyes and made himself blind on account of the intrigues of his step-mother Tishyarakshitā. He could not thus have succeeded Aśoka to the throne. Kunāla's son, Daśaratha, was consequently the immediate successor of Aśoka. On the other hand, the Purāṇas apparently speak of another Mauryan line springing up from Kunāla. We are thus told that Kunāla's son, Bandhupālita, was king for eight years and Bandhupālita's successor, Indrapālita, reigned for ten years. It seems likely that this was a branch line of the Mauryan dynasty set up at the instance of Daśaratha himself for the administration of the Maurya empire. The case is not unlike that of Govinda III of the main Rāshṭrakūṭa family of Mānyakhēṭa who placed

[1] Pargiter, *DKA.* p. 28 *n.* 30

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his elder brother, Indra, in charge of the Lāṭa province. Indra thus became the originator of a branch feudatory line of the Rāshṭrakūṭas holding South Gujarat.

Fortunately for us Daśaratha is known not from the Purāṇas alone. That he was a historical person is clearly proved by the fact that three inscriptions of his are on the walls of caves in the Nāgārjunī Hills in Bihar, which he dedicated to the Ājīvikas, just as Aśoka did in the Barābar Hills not far distant. He too, like Aśoka, styled himself *Devānāṁ-priya*, —a title which in India, at any rate, is found associated with the Mauryas. The language and alphabet, again, of these records leave no doubt as to Daśaratha's being separated from Aśoka only by a short interval. These cave dwellings were bestowed upon the Ājīvikas by Daśaratha immediately after his coronation. We know of no other event of his reign, which seems to have been of a brief duration, the Purāṇas allotting him only eight years.

Daśaratha was, according to the Purāṇas, succeeded by his son, Samprati. In the matter of the propagation of the Jaina faith, Jaina records speak as highly of him as Buddhist works do of Aśoka in respect of Buddhism. In his *Pāṭaliputra-kalpa* Jinaprabhasūri, the well-known Jaina Āchārya and author of the *Tīrtha-kalpa*, says : 'In Pāṭaliputra flourished the great king Samprati, son of Kunāla, lord of Bhārata with its continents, the great Arhanta who established *viharās* for Śramaṇas even in non-Aryan countries.' Samprati is said to have raised thousands of temples to Tīrthaṁkaras just as Aśoka is reported to have erected thousands of Buddhist *stūpas*. He was converted to Jainism, we are told, by Suhastin who was separated by about seventy years from the patriarch Bhadrabāhu, the *guru* of Chandragupta who also was separated from Samprati by practically the same period, if our chronology is accepted. According to the Jaina traditions, Samprati had two capitals, one at Pātaliputra and the other at Ujjain. Besides, the fact that all the Jaina monuments in Gujarat, Kāthiāwār and Rajputāna, whose builder is not known, are attributed to Samprati, shows that he ruled over Western India. There is nothing therefore to support the surmise that after the death of Aśoka the Mauryan empire was partitioned among his two grandsons, Daśaratha and Samprati, the former holding the eastern and the latter the western division of the dominions. Moreover, such a surmise runs counter to the concurrent testimony of the Purāṇas that Samprati was a son of Daśaratha, and, therefore, not a grandson, but a great-grandson, of Aśoka.

Saṃprati was succeeded by Śāliśūka, which is a rather curious name. It seems to be an Indian form of the Greek Seleucus. Just as sons of the Indian princes are sometimes given, out of friendly feeling, the names of the royal dynasty of England, Śāliśūka may have been named by his father, out of affection, after Seleucus III (226-223 B.C.) who was his contemporary and whose dynasty and the Mauryan were always on intimate terms. Śāliśūka is mentioned not only in the Purāṇas but also in the historical

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chapter of the *Garga-samhitā* entitled the 'Yuga-purāṇa' or 'the History of the *yugas*.' The text is corrupt. Nevertheless, what it tells us is that in Pushpapura (Pāṭaliputra) there will be a king called Śāliśūka who will be 'devoted to the work of abolishing sacrifices,' who will be 'irreligious though talking about religion,' and who 'will establish conquest by *Dharma* (*vijayam nāma dhārmikam*) and will raise a memorial to [his] virtuous eldest brother, famous through good qualities.' This reminds us of Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka where he speaks of the *dhamma-vijaya* achieved by him and calls upon his descendants to follow in his footsteps. Whether and how many of his successors actually carried out a similar spiritual conquest is a matter of doubt. But on the testimony of the 'Yuga-purāṇa' it seems that Śāliśūka was at least one of them. There can be no mistaking the meaning of this Purāṇa. It distinctly speaks of *dhārmika-vijaya* and associates it with Śāliśūka. He is also reviled for trying to suppress the performance of sacrifices. No doubt can therefore be reasonably entertained as to Śāliśūka being at least one descendant of Aśoka who, like him, dedicated his energies to *dhamma-vijaya*.

It was about the close of Śāliśūka's reign, that is, about 206 B.C., that the Seleucid army for the second time crossed the frontiers of India. Antiochus III was, like his predecessors, too much occupied with political tensions in the west to maintain an effective control over the eastern part of his empire. And it was not till 212 B.C. that he appeared in the east at the head of an army to reassert the Seleucid supremacy over the revolting kingdoms. He vanquished the Parthian rebel, Arsaces III, in 208, and thereafter turned his arms against Bactria. After a siege of about two years, a formal alliance was concluded between him and Euthydemus of Bactria, that is, about 206 B.C. And it was in the same year that Antiochus crossed the Hindukush, marched down the Kabul Valley and found himself in the kingdom of a prince whom Polybius styles 'Sophagasenus, King of the Indians.' The passage referring to this king runs as follows*: 'He [Antiochus III] crossed the Caucasus and descended into India; renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the King of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving to Androsthenes of Cyzicus the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him.' Sophagasenus obviously corresponds to the Sanskrit Subhagasena. But who was Subhagasena? V. A. Smith conjectures that he was some local chief who had taken advantage of the decay of the Maurya empire to establish himself in the Kabul Valley. But as Dr. Raychaudhury has pointed out, Subhagasena is here called 'King of the Indians' a title which was applied by Greek writers to great kings like Chandragupta and Demetrius. Subhagasena must therefore be taken to be an epithet of the Maurya emperor Śāliśūka who was reigning in 206 B.C. Again, Dr. George Macdonald in this connection remarks that Subhagasena 'was quite unfit to offer an effective resistance to the seasoned troops of his

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adversary,' Antiochus III, who therefore inflicted 'a heavy indemnity' upon him.[1] It is not clear upon what grounds exactly he has based this conclusion. Possibly he has taken his stand on the statement of Polybius that Subhagasena agreed to hand over some treasure to Antiochus and that the duty of taking it home was assigned by him to Androsthenes of Cyzicus. But this treasure does not mean an indemnity and refers apparently to the elephants made over to the Seleucid emperor. Macdonald's conclusion is controverted by the further statement of Polybius that Antiochus 'renewed his friendship with Sophagasenus, the king of the Indians,' which means, as Dr. Thomas rightly understood it, that they renewed their ancestral friendship[2]—an inference supported by the fact that Śāliśūka was probably so named after Seleucus, father of Antiochus III. This renewal of friendship, with the present of elephants, reminds us of the classic meeting of Seleucus I and Chandragupta on the Indian frontier more than a century before, which developed into an alliance, bringing the two imperial families so intimately together. If the whole passage of Polybius is interpreted dispassionately, it clearly shows that relations of perfect amity and concord persisted between the Mauryan and Seleucid dynasties up to 206 B.C.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* speaks of one Jalauka as the son and successor of Aśoka in Kashmir. He is described as a great warrior who cleared the land of the oppressing *mlechchhas*. He was a bigoted Śaiva and was an opponent of Buddhist worship. Sir Aurel Stein rightly points out that this account of Jalauka bears in its main part a manifestly legendary character. Possibly, this Jalauka was no other than Śāliśūka as both the names partially correspond in sound; and his defeat of the *mlechchhas* probably refers to his meeting with Antiochus III. The Kashmir tradition has doubtless reversed his religious attitude. It should have stated that Śāliśūka was a bigoted Buddhist and an opponent of Śaivism and not *vice versa* as it has done.

According to the Purāṇas, Śāliśūka was succeeded by Devadharman or Sōmaśarman, and the latter by his son Śatadhanvan. The last prince of the Maurya dynasty was Bṛihadratha. Their combined reigns covered twenty-two years. The Maurya rule thus came to a close about 184 B.C. We know nothing about any of these princes except the last who, according to the Purāṇas, was put to death by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga family. Bāṇa further informs us that it was on the occasion of a grand review of the army that Pushyamitra overthrew and slew his master. This, however, could not have been the only cause of the destruction of the Maurya power. At least a dozen years before this event, dark clouds were gathering on the north-west horizon of India. Bactria had already declared her independence about 197 B.C. under Euthydemus and his son Demetrius, and the latter expanded

[1] *CHI.* I p. 442
[2] Ibid. p. 512

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the original limits of Bactria by making himself master of the Indus Valley. It must have been this Greek invasion which in the first instance demoralised and disjointed the Maurya empire, and the military *coup d'état* of Pushyamitra seems to have been prompted and facilitated by the disastrous effects which this foreign incursion was producing in the morale of the Maurya government.

Thus came to an end the rule of the Maurya dynasty. There is good reason to suppose that India gained considerably during the supremacy of the Mauryas. They constituted an imperial power, and consequently India must have enjoyed all the advantages that accrue from an imperial power. The different parts of India must have been more closely and effectively knit together. The country must have been overspread with a network of roads which were traversed by armies in war, and by merchants and pilgrims in peace. All roads must have led to Pāṭaliputra as they did to Rome three centuries later. And perhaps 'the ports of the west coast were connected with Pāṭaliputra through Ujjayinī, the great emporium of the period.' Communication must thus have been brisk and frequent between the various provinces, and it is not difficult to visualise a busy life throbbing through the whole body politic of India. As all barriers that detached provinces from one another were thus being gradually broken, it is no wonder if the necessity of a common language for the whole country was keenly felt. At first, no doubt, the court language of Magadha was being foisted upon the neighbouring provinces, as is evidenced by the Rock and Pillar Edicts of Aśoka found in the Madhyadeśā and in Kaliṅga, which were conterminous with Magadha. But it soon gave way to a language which is called Monumental Prākṛit and bears the closest affinity to the Pāli of the Southern Buddhist scriptures. It seems to be the parent of the Prākṛit which in later times came to be known as Mahārāshṭrī. Perhaps it was this province which supplied its dialect to meet the new demand, how we do not at present know. What was originally a provincial dialect began to rise to the eminence of a universal language and became, as a matter of fact, the Hindustāni of Ancient India from *c.* 200 B.C. to A.D. 450. It became not only the official or political language of the country, but also the language of the scriptures and religious benefactions. Thus the royal charters issued by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi, the Vaishṇava inscription on the Besnagar Pillar of Heliodorus, as well as the Nānāghāt cave epigraph of Śātakarṇi describing his numerous Brahmanical sacrifices, have all been couched in the Monumental Prākṛit. Nay, the scriptures of the Buddhists which must originally have been composed in the Māgadhī were now recast in this lingua franca of Ancient India, afterwards known as Pāli. When exactly this all-India language sprang into existence is not known. It may not have been in the reign of Aśoka, but it was certainly during the supremacy of the Mauryas and as a result of their imperial rule.

As the Mauryas held sway over practically the whole of India and for

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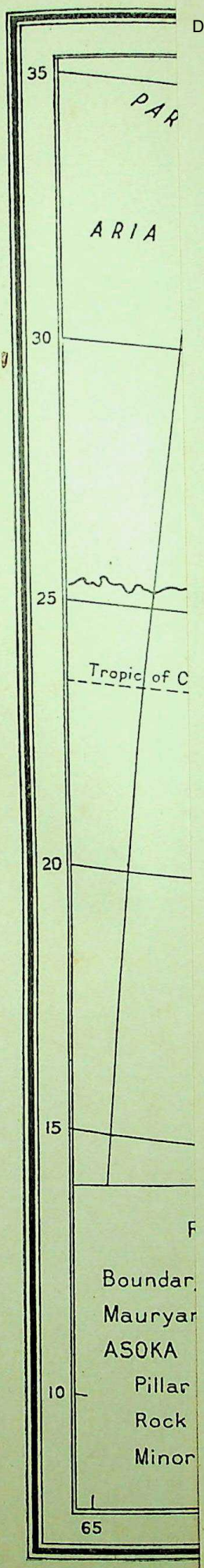
no less than 137 years, it is natural to expect some references to them in contemporaneous or semi-contemporaneous writings or to find some traces of the clan in some parts of India even in later times. Thus Patañjali, who flourished during the reign of Pushyamitra, the destroyer of the Mauryan power, speaks of *Chandragupta-sabhā* side by side with *Pushyamitra-sabhā*. Here, of course, 'Chandragupta' must stand for the founder of the Maurya family. Nor is reference wanting to the Mauryas in general in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*. This occurs in his exposition of Pāṇini v. 3.99. It seems that there were images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha which the Maurya kings were compelled to bring into requisition, to yield them gold. How exactly this was done is by no means clear. Nor is it easy to explain the financial straits which drove the Mauryas to raise money by such methods. Wars were being constantly waged during the reigns of Chandragupta and Bindusāra. We do not know whether there were any after the conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism. The only wars that really mattered in the later Maurya period were the wars of the Bactrian Greeks. But their incursions synchronised with the overthrow of the Maurya dynasty. Wars, however, could not have been the only cause of the drain on the Mauryan exchequer. In this connection may be noted two plaque inscriptions in Mauryan Brāhmī, one found at Sohgaura in the Gorakhpur district, U.P., and the other at Mahasthāngarh in the Bogra district, Bengal.[1] Both speak of the state granaries instituted to combat the ravages of famine, wherever and whenever such a contingency arose. This means that the Mauryan empire had already been confronted with the devastations of a long-standing famine, as a fortification against which these granaries and store-houses were being put up at various important places in the kingdom. While speaking of Bhadrabāhu, the Jaina *guru* of Chandragupta, we have already referred to the tradition that this Jaina teacher predicted that a famine would rage in Northern India for a period of twelve years. As tradition, like the Purāṇas, sometimes makes mention of an event after it has come off and has become well known, we may take it that this continuous famine began somewhere about the close of Chandragupta's reign and lasted for some years thereafter. We may further assume that the Mauryan state left no stone unturned, not only to combat this serious menace to prosperity but also to protect itself against a recurrence of the calamity. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* there is a chapter called *kośābhi-samharaṇam* which suggests ways and means, fair and foul, to enable kings in financial embarrassment to replenish their treasury and tide over a monetary crisis. The images mentioned by Patañjali were probably in state shrines and were a source of income to the state.

Though the imperial Maurya dynasty to which Chandragupta and Aśoka belonged came to an end about 184 B.C. scions of this family were not unknown in mediaeval times. Thus Hiuan Tsang who came to

[1] Sohgaura, *IA.* xxv pp. 261-6; *JRAS.* 1907, p. 509 f.; Mahasthan, *EI.* xxii pp. 1-3

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facing p. 48)

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1. THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

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India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. says that some time before his visit to this country there was a king of Magadha, called Pūrṇavarman who restored the Bodhi Tree, destroyed by Śaśāṅka, king of Karṇasuvarṇa (Bengal). And it is worthy of note that this Chinese pilgrim speaks of Pūrṇavarman as 'the last of the race of Aśoka-rāja.' As Pūrṇavarman was the last descendant of Aśoka, it seems that his kingdom of Magadha, which must have shrunk considerably in dimension, was conquered by Harsha Vardhana and incorporated into his dominions.

Though there was probably no ruler after Pūrṇavarman who claimed to belong to the family of Chandragupta or Aśoka, there can be no doubt that there were Maurya kings holding different parts of India, especially Western India. Thus two inscriptions[1] have been found in Rajputana which show that there was a king named Dhavala or Dhavalappadeva who was a supreme ruler of that country, of the Maurya lineage, and lived in V.S. 795 (A.D. 738). The celebrated Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II, again, speaks of the Mauryas as being defeated by this Chālukya king. As this record is dated Śaka 556 (A.D. 634-35) it shows that the Mauryas had a petty principality somewhere in the Konkan about the middle of the seventh century. A fourth inscription, which was found at Waghlī, in Khāndesh,[2] Bombay, mentions a Maurya chief Govindarāja, with the date Śaka 991 (A.D. 1069), as a subordinate of the Yādava Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Seuṇachandra II, and further informs us that his family came to this part of the country from Valabhī in Surāshṭra. It will thus be seen that the rulers of the Maurya race are known to history up to the eleventh century A.D., but nowadays they are merged among the Rajputs as Moris, and also among the Marāthas with the surname More.

[1] Kanaswa inscr., *IA.* XIX p. 56 and Dabok (Mewar) inscr., *EI.* XII p. 11, also XX p. 122

[2] *EI.* II p. 221

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Chapter III

GOVERNMENT, SOCIETY AND ART OF THE MAURYAN EMPIRE

The main features of the organization of the Mauryan Empire and its administration have been sketched in the last two chapters. It is the purpose of this chapter to complete the picture by filling in the details, and to give an account of the social, religious and economic conditions in the empire; finally, to describe the monuments of the period and discuss the problems connected with them.

SOURCES

The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, the observations of Megasthenes, and the inscriptions of Aśoka have provided us with a large volume of valuable information calculated to give a more complete picture of this epoch than of any other till we reach the time of Akbar and the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*. The three 'sources', however, differ a good deal in their nature and outlook, and their apparent contradictions have puzzled scholars and led them to question the date and authorship of the *Arthaśāstra*, the most comprehensive and systematic among them. The evidence, internal and external, in favour of the work being accepted as a genuine production of Kauṭilya, the celebrated chancellor of Chandragupta Maurya, was set forth by Dr. Shama Sastri in his introductions to his first edition of the book (1909) and to its English translation (1915). That evidence is strong and remains unshaken by the vague objections raised and surmises put forward in the long debates[1] to which the book gave rise for well over two decades after its publication. The polity of the *Arthaśāstra*, it has been said, is a small state surrounded by other small kingdoms, and its rules 'do not provide for the needs of an extensive consolidated empire.'[2] This is a rather hasty inference from the *maṇḍala* theory of inter-state relations (vi, 2) which Kauṭilya mentions, evidently in conformity with an established tradition. Indian imperialism moreover was seldom given to the centralization and consolidation characteristic of western imperialism; the conquered states generally retained their identity, and to some extent their relations with the suzerain power as well as to their fellow feudatories were regulated by considerations of inter-state policy. We know that in later times rulers of extensive kingdoms like the Rāshṭrakūṭas maintained *sandhi-vigrahis* for different parts of their realm to act as liaison officers and smooth over conflicts in the relations of the different units included in the empire. In

[1] For a brief critical review of many of them see K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* Part I, pp. 203-14; also Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 160-1

[2] Smith, op. cit., p. 146; also Monahan, *The Early History of Bengal*, p. 31

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any event, the author of a complete and systematic treatise on polity could not omit the subject of inter-state relations. On the other hand Kauṭilya's work exhibits some unique features unknown to other works on Indian polity; and these are best explained in the light of the historical conditions of the Mauryan empire. His definition of the term *Chakravartikshetram* (ix, 1) as applicable to the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is obviously based on the extent of the empire of Magadha under the Nandas and Chandragupta Maurya. The elaborate administrative regulations detailed in the *adhyakshaprachāra* (Bk. ii) compare not unfavourably with a modern manual of administration issued by the government of a large state. They could have no application to a small state, and they are not found in any Indian political work before or after Kauṭilya. Some of these regulations have been reviewed under the reign of Chandragupta, and others will be noticed further on. Again, the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts, the composition and duties of which are treated at great length in the thirteen chapters of Book iv, are clearly an innovation of the Mauryan epoch designed to control and guide the administration of a growing body of state regulations on almost every aspect of social and economic life, and at once to keep the growing and powerful bureaucracy in check, safeguard the freedom of individuals and groups from official encroachment, and protect social well-being. The expression *kaṇṭakaśodhana* (removal of thorns) is repeated in later treatises on polity, but, except in the *Manu-smṛiti*, parts of which are clearly not far removed from Kauṭilya in age,[1] the phrase is employed, not in the urgent and concrete sense in which we find it used in the *Arthaśāstra*, but much more vaguely, until at last it merges in the general expression *dushṭanigraha śishṭa paripālana* (suppression of the wicked and protection of the good) which is the general function of the political power. The *kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts of Kauṭilya were doubtless administrative courts which followed a more summary procedure than the ordinary (*dharmasthīya*) courts and which were rendered necessary by the almost revolutionary changes in the art of government that came in with Chandragupta and his chancellor.

Another notable feature of the *Arthaśāstra* is its exaltation of the royal power in a manner unknown to Indian tradition. Kauṭilya says:[2] '*Dharma*, contract, custom, and royal decree are the four legs of law (determinants of litigation). Of these, each later item is of superior validity to its predecessor.' The royal decree is thus exalted above all other sources of law in its superior validity. With the solitary exception of Nārada, later law-books allowed this un-Indian exaltation of royal authority to fall into oblivion. The usual rule was that the king was bound by *Dharma*—an elastic term which included revealed law, local and group custom, and every traditional practice—but not royal decrees. Kauṭilya, let us note, expressly states that in writing his treatise he followed not only the tradition of Indian writers who preceded him, but the usages

[1] Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I pp. 95-6 [2] iii 1

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obtaining in the contemporary world.[1] The reference to usages occurs at the end of the chapter on *śāsana* (royal writs, as Shama Sastri renders it), a chapter which, as it stands at present, shows, in the opinion of a shrewd critic, signs of having been remodelled in the light of the Roman imperial letters of a later time.[2] However that may be, the age when Kauṭilya wrote was an age of great monarchies in which the large Hellenistic kingdoms, particularly Syria and Egypt, were perfecting the traditions and institutions of royal absolutism which they inherited from the Persian empire of the Achaemenids. In these states we find the same exaltation of the royal edict above all other forms of law and convention, and the growth of a new and uniform civil law promoted by the exercise of royal authority either directly in royal decrees, or indirectly by the decisions and awards of the king's officers acting in his name. The position is well summed up by Rostovtzeff who says :[3] 'It is evident that a royal law, order, or regulation if it conflicted with other laws, was always regarded as overriding them, and that the royal verdict in law suits was final.' The Mauryan state was in active touch with its western neighbours, and the probability is great that the developments taking place under the Seleucids and Ptolemies were not altogether unknown to Kauṭilya.

A comparison in detail of data from Kauṭilya with those from Megasthenes, it has been held, goes to show that the two writers could not have belonged to one and the same epoch.[4] This opinion rests on rather mechanical and superficial comparisons of little value and has not stood the test of informed criticism.[5] Many points of substantial agreement between Kauṭilya and Megasthenes have been mentioned already in the study of the institutions of Chandragupta's reign. Megasthenes' distinction between the *astynomoi* (town officers) and *agronomoi* (rural officials) corresponds fairly closely to Kauṭilya's account of *durga* and *rāshṭra* and the duties assigned by him to the *nāgaraka* and *samāhartā* respectively.[6] The creation of Boards in charge of specific administrative duties in the city and in the army, far from being unknown to Kauṭilya as has been stated,[7] is in fact advocated by him with particular reference to the elephant corps, cavalry, chariots and infantry on the ground that a number of officials acting together would be a check on one another and less liable to corruption by enemy intrigues.[8] Let us remember that the *Arthaśāstra* is, as its name implies, a general normative manual of polity laying down arrangements suitable for any independent kingdom at any time and that Megasthenes recorded the impression he derived by observing institutions in their actual working round about 300 B.C. The Greek writer moreover had perhaps his own prepossessions natural to a high official of a large Hellenistic state, and it is obvious that some of his statements included

[1] i 1; ii 10 (final verse)
[2] O. Stein in *ZII.* VI (1928), pp. 45-71
[3] *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, pp. 1067-8
[4] O. Stein, *Megasthenes und Kauṭilya.*
[5] Breloer, *Kauṭilya-Studien.*
[6] Cf. Monahan, pp. 160-1
[7] Smith, op. cit., pp. 148-9
[8] ii 4. Cf. H. G. Rawlinson, *India and the Western World*, pp. 67-8

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an argument criticising or correcting what had been stated before him by other Greek writers who came to India in the company of Alexander. If we bear in mind the differences in the equipment and outlook of the Brahmin chancellor and the Greek ambassador, and interpret their statements making due allowances for them, we shall find that on important subjects like the ownership of the soil, slavery, social organization, legal procedure and administrative arrangements, the apparent differences are easily explained, and a much closer agreement discovered than Stein considered possible.

The *Indika* of Megasthenes is now available only in fragments preserved in citations by later writers, and of the nature of these citations Schwanbeck, who collected and annotated them, observes :[1] 'Since Strabo, Arrian and Diodorus have directed their attention to relate nearly the same things, it has resulted that the greatest part of the *Indika* has been completely lost, and that of many passages, singularly enough, three epitomes are extant, to which occasionally a fourth is added by Plinius.' The *Arthaśāstra* on the other hand has had a fairly correct and continuous text tradition. Its length is indicated as 6,000 *ślokas* in the text itself and by Daṇḍin, and our text, according to Shama Sastri,[2] 'is of about the same extent.' This does not, however, preclude the possibility of scribal errors particularly in the transcription of unfamiliar geographical names and occasional interpolations or even rehandling of parts of the text like the *śāsanādhikāra* (ii, 10).

GOVERNMENT

Even under the Nandas, Magadha had grown to be a large imperial state. The reports of the strength of its defences that reached the generals of Alexander fixed them in their resolve not to face an encounter with a foe far more powerful than Porus, and thus compelled Alexander to abandon his plan of marching further into India. The prestige of the Nanda empire, the failure of the tribal republics of the North-West to hold their own against the Greek invader, and the example of the empire of the Seleucids, doubtless favoured the tendency already at work towards the formation of an all-India empire and the materialization of the agelong dreams associated with the names of many legendary heroes like Pṛithu, Bharata, Rāma, and other monarchs whose names adorned the traditional lists of the performers of imperial sacrifices like the *rājasūya* and *aśvamedha*. Accordingly we find that with Kautilya for the first time the ideal of *chakravartin* comes down to earth from the cloud-land of religious myth and legend. As already indicated, he defines the *chakravarti-kshetram*, the sphere of the emperor's rule, as the whole of India extending from the

[1] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, p. 19*n*.
[2] English translation, p. vii

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Himalayas to the Indian Ocean and a thousand *yojanas* across.[1] Half a century later Aśoka, as has been pointed out above by Bhandarkar, once more linked up the conception with the Buddhist ideal of *chakravarti-dhārmika dharmarāja* who conquers the world not by strength of arms but by the force of his moral personality.

The Mauryan empire thus marks the definite triumph of the monarchical state over other forms, particularly the tribal republic which was a common and highly respected form from the days of the Buddha to the period of Alexander's campaigns in India. There is reason to hold that Chandragupta and Kauṭilya were not friendly to the non-monarchical states, and not unwilling to take advantage of their weak and impoverished condition after the Greek war. The short section (Bk. xi) of the *Arthaśāstra* on the *saṅghas* names the important republics still in existence and adumbrates ways of sowing dissensions among them open to a monarch who seeks to dominate them. In conformity with the scientific nature of the treatise, however, the section concludes with advice to the *saṅghas* on methods of counteracting the machinations of a neighbouring monarch. Kauṭilya mentions two groups of *saṅghas*: one devoted to economic pursuits or to warfare like the Kāṁbhojas, Surāshṭras, Kshatriya-śreṇi (Kathoi of the Greek writers) and others; the other used the title of Rāja, apparently to indicate the status of the members of the executive body, examples being Lichchhavis, Vṛijis, Mallas, Madras, Kurus, Pañchālas and others. The inscriptions of Aśoka mention Kāṁbhojas and some other tribes noticed already. Some of the republics retained their individuality and survived the Mauryan empire, though all of them were subject to strong monarchical influences and tended to give up election in favour of hereditary office.

The age of the Mauryan empire was the age of the large monarchical state not only in India but in all the lands that had for a brief period formed the empire of Alexander. The monarchies of Western Asia and Egypt naturally inherited the imperial tradition of the Achaemenids, and India too was by no means outside the sphere of influence of that tradition. The establishment and early break-up of Alexander's empire and the wars among his successors initiated several political and economic changes on a vast scale. A large increase in the volume of trade owing to the multiplication of armed camps, the accumulation of great fortunes by some and the rise of a proletariat (particularly in the cities), the dispersal of the hoarded gold of Persia and the quickening transition from a rural to a money economy, were some of the chief features of the new epoch. India was drawn more and more into this welter, and Chandragupta and his teacher Kauṭilya grew up in this atmosphere of rapid change and new

[1] *KA.* ix 1. Dr. Raychaudhuri's limitation of the passage to Northern India seems to be unwarranted by the text (reading *tiryak* for *atiryak*) or by the interpretations of other commentators, ancient and modern. See *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 220 *n.*; Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* sec. 365, and *Rangaswamy Aiyangar Comm. Vol.* pp. 81 ff.

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formations. War, trade, diplomacy and travel opened up channels of contact with the outer world, and India felt the stress of new ideas and influences pressing their way into the political and administrative system of the newly founded empire of the Mauryas. Rostovtzeff, the learned historian of Hellenism has observed: 'If one believes in the historical character and the early date of the kernel of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and in the radical centralization of Indian government effected by Chandragupta on "Hellenistic" lines, one may say that Chandragupta did more to hellenize India than Demetrius or Menander.' Mauryan monarchy was, however, by no means a mere copy of a foreign institution any more than Mauryan art was a mechanical reproduction of alien models; in either case there was borrowing, but what was borrowed was integrated with indigenous institutions and ideas so as to produce a harmonious whole.

The place of the monarch in the constitution and his daily routine of duties have already been described. In the traditional political theory of ancient India the royal power (*kshatra*) was sustained by the sacerdotal power (*brahma*). From the observations of Megasthenes on the pre-eminent rank of philosphers and their rôle in the polity, and the relation of Kauṭilya himself to Chandragupta, we may infer that the Mauryan state conformed to the theory. Kauṭilya himself states the position concisely and says: 'Royal power (*kshatra*) triumphs even without arms, and ever remains invincible when it is upheld by the Brāhmaṇas, is sanctified by the counsels of ministers, and follows the (precepts of) *śāstras*.'[1] However, it deserves to be noted that in Kauṭilya we do not find the stress laid in early law-books like *Baudhāyana*, and repeated in the *Manu-smṛiti* and later works, on the king's exclusive dependence on the counsels of a single Brahmin, the *purohita*.[2] Kauṭilya wants the king to be guided by the opinion of the majority in the cabinet, even absentee members being consulted by letter on important questions.

The *Arthaśāstra* fully bears out the observations of Megasthenes on the precautions taken to ensure the safety of the king's person within his palace.[3] All personal services were performed by women whose trustworthiness and efficiency had been tested in advance, and the procession for the royal hunt (*vihāra-yātrā* of the Aśoka inscriptions) was marked by elaborate dispositions. 'Crowds of women surround the king, and outside of this circle spearmen are ranged. The road is marked off with ropes, and it is death, for man or woman alike, to pass within the ropes. Men with drums and gongs lead the procession. The king hunts in the enclosures and shoots arrows from a platform. At his side stand two or three armed women. If he hunts in the open grounds he shoots from the back of an elephant. Of the women some are in chariots, some on horses, and some even on elephants, and they are equipped with weapons of every kind as if they were going on a campaign.'[4]

[1] i 9 (final verse)

[2] *Bau.* i 10, 7-8; *M.* vii 58-9

[3] i 20-1

[4] *Meg.* Fr. xxvii (pp. 71-3)= Strabo, xv 1, 53

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The princes were given careful training and employed in offices suited to their attainments and tastes. Kauṭilya (i, 17) discusses several ingenious views of his predecessors regarding the rearing of princes, always a troublesome question for polygamous kings, but dismisses all of them, and himself lays down a procedure dictated alike by common sense, propriety and public welfare. He is very clear that never should an ill-disciplined prince be installed on the throne even if he happens to be the only son of the king; his son, or a daughter's son should be preferred to him. Ill-natured princes were to be put under restraint and kept out of harm's way.

The question whether the ownership of land vests in the king or the cultivator, whether in modern phraseology the state's revenue from land is rent or tax, has often been debated, and support has been found for either view both in theory and practice. The *locus classicus* for the traditional view is the commentary of Śabarasvāmin on Jaimini (vi, 7, 3) where it is clearly laid down that the king is the lord not of the land itself but only of a sixth part of its produce which he earns by the protection he offers to it. This is in keeping with the practice attested by inscriptions in relatively late historical times which state that kings often purchased land from its owners before giving it away (as *dāna*, gift) to individuals or institutions. There are, however, other texts like Manu's declaration *bhūmer-adhipatir-hi saḥ* and the anonymous verse quoted by Bhaṭṭasvāmin in his commentary on Kauṭilya (ii, 24) declaring the king's ownership in land and water, which have been taken to support the opposite view.[1] But perhaps these texts are best interpreted as implying not absolute ownership for the king in contradiction to the *Mīmāṁsā* doctrine set forth by Śabara, but a prerogative of eminent domain, a meaning that may well attach to terms like *pati*, *adhipati* and even *svāmī*. Greek evidence for the age of the Mauryas, as also Kauṭilya's regulations, go to show that the royal prerogative was stretched to its utmost limit. Arrian says simply: 'they cultivate the soil and pay tribute to the kings and the independent cities.' Diodorus is more elaborate: 'They pay a land-tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land-tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil.' Lastly Strabo says: 'The whole of the land belongs to the crown and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving as wages one-fourth of the produce.'[2] The last statement of Strabo apparently reverses by mistake the true fact given by Diodorus. Though all the three writers base their statements on Megasthenes, none of them seems to reproduce his exact words. In the Hellenistic world to which Megasthenes belonged 'absolute rule meant the ownership of the state, of soil and subsoil, and ultimately of the products of the soil and the subsoil. The state was the house

[1] U. N. Goshal, *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other Essays*, pp. 158-66; Smith, *Oxford History*, pp. 89-91; *Early History*, pp. 137-8*n*.

[2] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 210, 42, 84. See also Monahan, op. cit., p. 153.

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(*oikos*) of the king, and its territory his estate. So the king managed the state as a plain Macedonian or Greek would manage his own household'.[1] This view of polity never obtained in India. But the close regulation of agricultural and marketing operations contemplated in the *Arthaśāstra* when put into actual practice might well have produced the impression of state-ownership of land on the mind of an observer quite used to the idea. The first two chapters of Book ii sketch a development plan for the foundation of new villages and disposal of uncultivable waste and forest land; land prepared for cultivation was to be given over to cultivators for their lifetime provided they paid taxes regularly; failure to cultivate meant forfeiture of the holding. The duties of the superintendent of agriculture (*sītādhyaksha*, ii, 24) are calculated to make all agriculture a vast state-regulated enterprise, and the scheme of warehouses maintained by the state and controlled by a superintendent (*koshṭhāgūrādhyaksha* ii, 15) shows that this plan of regulation included extensive market operations on the part of government. The evidence of the Sohgaura and Mahasthān records already mentioned in the chapter on Aśoka makes it clear that the policy adumbrated by Kauṭilya was actually put into force during the reigns of the first three Mauryan emperors. Thus though he nowhere expressly asserts the king's ownership of the soil, Kauṭilya advocates, and doubtless introduced into the administration, all the detailed supervision and control of agricultural production and marketing that would have flowed from such ownership.

What applied to land and its uses applied to almost every other aspect of the nation's economic life. Kauṭilya's treatise, particularly the *adhyaksha-prachāra* (Book ii), gives a detailed description of town-planning, fortifications and financial administration together with the duties of about thirty *adhyakshas*, heads of departments as we should call them now. It contemplates a vast bureaucracy busying itself over the study, regulation, and control of the entire field of the nation's social and economic activities with a measure of centralization not attained in India again till the period of British rule. The volume of authentic and up-to-date information at the disposal of the state regarding each city and village, the number of its inhabitants and their occupations, its resources in land, cattle and so on, must have been very considerable. The speedy and successful creation of an army of officials and their organisation into an orderly bureaucracy was no easy task, and the efficient performance of this task was perhaps another point of resemblance between the Mauryan state and the contemporary Hellenistic monarchies. Both doubtless followed the model set by the Persian empire of the Achaemenids. The Persian administration is known to have maintained itineraries containing descriptions of the roads in the empire with a record of distances and halts, besides a reliable census of the towns and villages, their inhabitants and resources, as an aid to taxation and preparation for war. Like its Hellenistic contem-

[1] Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 269

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poraries, the Mauryan state thus departed from the usual rule of the Indian state of not interfering actively in the daily avocations of the people, but limiting itself to the task of preventing hindrances to their lawful pursuits. Mauryan administration was a living, growing system subject to constant change under the stress of new conditions and problems. The trend towards centralised regulation and control had to respect the deep-rooted principle of local and sectional autonomy as is shown by the multiplicity of *métayage* arrangements contemplated in Kauṭilya's chapter on agriculture (ii, 24). The additions and alterations that came into the system with Aśoka, and the moral tone imparted to government by that monarch's example and precept, have been noticed already.

The machinery of government described in the *Arthaśāstra* may well be accepted as a representation of what obtained in Chandragupta's reign and that of Bindusāra. The *samāhartā* (collector-general) and *sannidhātā* (*lit.* one who is near or close at hand) were the most important officials at the centre. The former supervised the collection of revenue in the whole kingdom. He had to give his attention to all fortified towns (*durga*), rural areas (*rāshṭra*), mines (*khani*), irrigation works (*setu*), forests (*vana*), cattle and other useful quadrupeds (*vraja*), and trade-routes (*vaṇik-patha*) by land and water.[1] The chief sources of revenue in towns are enumerated as tolls, fines, fees for assaying weights and measures, police, currency, passports, liquor, slaughterhouses; the manufacture of yarn, oil, ghee and sugar; goldsmiths, warehouses, prostitutes, gambling, buildings, guilds of carpenters and artisans, temples, and dues collected at the entrance from troupes of performers (*bāhirikas*). Land and agriculture, trade, ferries, river and road traffic, and pastures formed, among others, the chief sources of revenue from rural areas. The *samāhartā* had control of expenditure also. The chief items of expenditure were religious worship and gifts, the royal family and royal kitchens, embassies, warehouses, armouries, factories, and free labour, the divisions of the army, cattle farms and menageries, besides the civil establishment. A wise *samāhartā* should bring about an increase of revenue and a decrease of expenditure. The duties of the *sannidhātā*[2] are not so clearly defined. He evidently did the work of a chamberlain and a treasurer, having charge of the construction of treasuries, warehouses, armouries and prisons according to requirements in different localities. He was also responsible for the erection of royal trading houses, courts of justice and offices of ministers and secretaries (*mahāmātrīyā*). All these buildings were to be equipped with wells, bathrooms, fire-fighting appliances and other accessories, besides cats and mongooses to keep down rats and snakes. A rain gauge was to be installed in the storehouse of agricultural produce. The *sannidhātā* was the custodian of all revenue realized in cash or kind. He cut

[1] ii 6

[2] ii 5

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counterfeit coins (to disable them from further circulation), and received for custody only articles of approved quality.

The accounts branch had an elaborate organisation, and the accounting year began with Áshāḍha (July-August) as it does even now with indigenous firms and banks. Expenditure was classified into current, recurring, occasional and so on. A number of registers was prescribed to facilitate checking, and detailed instructions laid down for the detection of embezzlement. Evasion of detection by clever officials was looked upon as an ever present possibility, and frequent transfers were considered a means of preventing fraud. The central accounts office was also a general record office (*akshapaṭala*) which contained books well arranged according to departments, 'relating not only to accounts but also to the history of customs, professions, and transactions of countries, villages, families, and corporations, titles to possession of land and remission of taxes, and treaties with, or ultimata issued to, friendly or hostile kings.'[1]

Each administrative department was under an *adhyaksha* (superintendent). No fewer than thirty-two of these *adhyakshas* are named in the *Arthaśāstra*, and there might have been others, their number and the division of duties among them being liable to variation from time to time. They were all subordinate to the *samāhartā* and their duties were not confined to the exploitation of crown property[2] as has sometimes been stated, but covered the entire range of the social and economic life of the community. The departments mentioned specifically by Kauṭilya are : treasury (*kośa*), mines (*ākara khani*), metals (*loha*), mint (*lakshaṇa*), salt (*lavaṇa*), gold (*suvarṇa*), storehouse (*koshṭhāgāra*), trade (*paṇya*), forest produce (*kupya*), armoury (*āyudhāgāra*), weights and measures of capacity (*pautava*), measurement of space and time (*māna*), tolls (*śulka*), spinning and weaving (*sūtra*), agriculture (*sītā*), intoxicating liquor (*surā*), slaughterhouses (*sūnā*), courtesans (*gaṇikā*), shipping (*nau*), cattle (*go*), horses (*aśva*), elephants (*hasti*), chariots (*ratha*), infantry (*patti*), passports (*mudrā*), pastures (*vivīta*), elephant-forests (*nāgavana*), spies (*saṁsthā*), religious institutions (*devatā*), jails (*bandhanāgāra*), and ports (*pattana*). The duties of some of these officials have been noticed already, as also the fact that some of them were assisted in their work, as Megasthenes saw, by Boards. It is not possible, nor perhaps necessary, to enter further into the administrative details found in Kauṭilya's work. But we must note that the government displayed an uncommon energy and undertook even such delicate tasks as the regulation of the rates charged by courtesans and their relations with their paramours, the punishment of householders who turned ascetics without making adequate provision for their depen-

[1] Monahan, op. cit., p. 45

[2] Monahan (op. cit., pp. 37, 65) renders *paṇya* and *sītā* into 'Royal trade' and 'Crown lands' and thus limits the sense of the terms in an unwarranted manner. It may be noted also that *svabhūmau* in ii 24, 2 has been interpreted by Ganapati Sastri as 'in land suited to particular crops' (*tattaddhānyānuguṇāyām bhūmau*) and not as 'Crown lands' (Shama Sastri).

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dents, and of controlling the visits to villages of peripatetic parties of musicians, dancers, and acrobats so as not to interfere with the productive activity of the villagers. The village elders took care of the property of minor orphans till they attained majority, and of the property of temples.[1] Traders had to tell the village headman the nature and the value of their merchandise when they entered the village, and the headman made good any loss incurred by them during their stay in the village.[2] Prisoners who were young, old, sickly or helpless, and those who were ransomed by charitable persons were released from jail on the king's birthday and on full-moon days. There were gaol-deliveries of prisoners who by their work, by payment of fines, or by undergoing corporal punishment had earned their freedom; this happened once in five days if not every day. When a new country was conquered, or the heir-apparent installed on the throne, or a prince born to the king, prisoners were usually set free.[3] Practices and regulations like these provide the background against which similar rules set forth by Aśoka in his inscriptions must be viewed. That great monarch continued unimpaired the efficient system he inherited; only he imparted a deeper moral tinge to its working, and employed it for the propagation of the Buddhist gospel by persuasive means. An instance of the moral tone of Aśoka's government is seen in his *dhamma-mahāmātras* being occupied 'in supporting prisoners [with money], in causing [their] fetters to be taken off, and in setting [them] free, if one has children, or is bewitched, or aged respectively'[4] and thus exercising revisory judicial powers in suitable cases.

The provincial administration was doubtless a replica of the arrangements at the centre, but exact details are not forthcoming, and we have no certain knowledge even of the number of provinces into which the empire was divided. What we do know from inscriptions and literature has been set forth under the reigns of Chandragupta and Aśoka. The revenue and general administration in rural areas was entrusted to *sthānikas* and *gopas* who had their own subordinate staff. The *gopa* had charge of five to ten villages where he supervised the maintenance of boundaries, registered gifts, sales and mortgages, and kept an accurate census of the people and their material resources. The *sthānikas* supervised the work of a number of *gopas*, and were responsible to the *samāhartā* who commanded the services of the *pradeshṭṛis*, doubtless the same as the *prādeśikās* of the Aśoka inscriptions, for regulating the details of local administration.[5] The towns were administered by *nāgarakas* on similar lines, the *gopas* having charge of the details of a fixed number of families in the city instead of a number of villages as in rural areas. The villages were as ever in ancient India semi-autonomous and regulated land and water rights in their area, though central control doubtless became stricter under Mauryan rule, and the *grāmaṇī* an official of the central

[1] ii 1
[2] iv 13
[3] ii 36 (end).
[4] RE. V (L), Hultzsch, p. 33
[5] ii 35; iv 6

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government. Village elders (*grāma-vṛiddhas*) are often mentioned by Kauṭilya, and they must have played a considerable part in guiding the people in their daily affairs and assisting officials of government in disposing of petty disputes arising in the village. Cultivable land was divided into individual estates, but pasture and forest were held in common. The work of officials was controlled not only by the inspection, audit and report of higher officials like the *pradeshṭṛis*, but by the regular employment of spies and *agents provocateurs*. The rôle of spies is doubtless greatly exaggerated in the *Mudrārākshasa* which purports to dramatize the political revolution by which Chandragupta was enabled by Kauṭilya to displace the Nandas; but the constant employment of secret means in administration, diplomacy, and war was taken for granted as it still is to a very large extent.

'All undertakings', says Kauṭilya, 'depend on finance; hence the first attention should be paid to the Treasury.' The chief items of revenue and expenditure were briefly indicated under the duties of the *samāhartā*, and the subject may now be considered in a little more detail. The main head of income was land-revenue, a share in the produce of land, a sixth part in theory, but in practice generally a higher proportion varying with local and economic conditions. There were also other dues and cesses laid on land including a water-rate, and a tax on houses in towns. Income from crown lands and from forests, then much more extensive than now, was another important source besides mines and manufactures, some of which, like salt, were monopolies. Profits of coinage and gains from trade operations carried on by government, fees for licences to be taken out by artisans, craftsmen, professional men and traders, and fines levied in law-courts, were the other items, besides miscellaneous receipts of the nature of windfalls like escheat of ownerless property, presents and share in treasure troves. In times of emergency 'benevolences' (*praṇaya*) were resorted to, and the rich were forced to contribute considerable amounts under one pretext or another. Patañjali hints at one method of raising money adopted by the Mauryas by means of images and says : *Mauryair-hiraṇyārthibhir-archāḥ prakalpiṭāḥ*, 'in their eagerness to get gold the Mauryas made (or invented) images'. The exact import of this statement is not clear. Perhaps images were installed in large public temples throughout the empire and contributions levied from its different parts towards this purpose, a good part of the amount raised being annexed to the royal fisc.[1] Even at this early period, the practice of granting exemptions from land-revenue to learned persons and religious institutions had come into vogue, as also that of making assignments of revenue in whole or in part in favour of state officials either in lieu of or in addition to their salaries; and a careful record was kept of such exemptions and assignments. The village of Lumbini, for instance, received from Aśoka a partial remission of its revenue dues when he visited the place 'because

[1] Cf. Bhandarkar, *ante*, p. 48

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the Buddha Śākyamuni was born here,' and it was required to pay only an eighth share of its produce (*aṭhabhāgiye*) to the royal fisc instead of the usual fourth.[1]

The monarch and his court, the maintenance of the members of the royal family in due pomp, and the salaries of ministers and other officials, high and low, formed the first charges on the revenues of the realm. The allowances to members of the household and the salaries of officials are detailed in the *Arthaśāstra* (v, 3), but neither the unit of currency nor the period, month or year, to which the figures relate is expressly mentioned, and there is no reliable means of deciding between the rival interpretations offered by scholars. Public works including buildings, roads and irrigation works, the demands of the vast army in its various sections, the erection and equipment of forts and arsenals, grants to religious institutions of all denominations, the maintenance of the families of soldiers and civil servants dying in state service, the care of the unemployed and the indigent, are other heads that figure prominently in the *Arthaśāstra*. In providing for the care of the sick, the unemployed and the destitute as well as of widows and orphans, Kauṭilya only systematized and amplified administrative duties which had been accepted in principle by earlier Indian writers. There must have been considerable outlay on industrial, mining and other enterprises directly worked by the state which recognized a special responsibility towards skilled artisans. Herdsmen and hunters were encouraged by allowances granted to them to check the ravages of wild beasts and secure the safety of the roads. Aśoka spent large sums in establishing hospitals for men and animals and in raising gardens of medicinal herbs within his vast empire and even outside it.

As already indicated, there were two sets of courts, besides the village tribunals, for the administration of justice. They were styled respectively *dharmasthīya* and *kaṇṭakaśodhana*. At the top of the entire system stood the king who could no longer assume personal responsibility for administering justice as in the smaller kingdoms of earlier times reflected in the *dharma-sūtras*, but he was ever ready to hear important cases on appeal and dispose of them without undue delay. The regular *dharmasthīya* courts were presided over by three *dharmasthas* (jurists) learned in the law and three *amātyas*, and were held in all important cities and other convenient centres.[2] There were rules about circumstances which rendered agreements void and about stages in judicial proceedings—plea, counter-plea, and rejoinder. The main heads of civil law according to Kauṭilya were : marriage and dowry including divorce (*moksha*); labour and contract; sale; violence; abuse; assault; gaming and miscellanea. The law as laid down by Kauṭilya alters and liberalises the precepts of the ancient texts in some ways, and his exposition of the whole subject strikes

[1] Hultzsch, pp. 164-5

[2] iii 1. At places where districts meet (*janpada-sandhi*) and in all *saṅgrahaṇas*, *droṇamukhas*, and *sthānīyas* which commanded respectively 10, 400, and 800 villages (ii 1).

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one as rational and progressive rather than as orthodox and conservative. Punishments were graded carefully and executed by royal authority. They included fines, imprisonment, whipping and death with or without torture. *Pañchāyats* of castes and guilds doubtless functioned alongside the king's courts and village *pañchāyats*, and they must have regulated the affairs of communities and professions and settled disputes among them in the first instance.

Three *pradeshṭris* or *amāṭyas* constituted a *kaṇṭakaśodhana* court. How exactly this differed from the *dharmasthīya* is nowhere explained, and we have to make our own inferences from the procedure and duties laid down for this type of court. Mahāmahopādhyāya Kane has suggested that while the *Dharma* courts disposed of disputes brought before them by the parties themselves, action in the other type of courts started on the initiative of the executive.[1] Plausible as the suggestion is in the light of modern juristic ideas, it may well be doubted if the distinction between the two sets of courts was so simple and clear-cut. The nature of the *kaṇṭakaśodhana* courts and the need for their organization in the Maurya epoch have been indicated already. The topics dealt with by Kauṭilya in the section dealing with these courts relate mostly to the police power of the state and concern the safeguarding of society against anti-social acts by officials, private individuals, and corporations. Their functions were only quasi-judicial, and their methods were more akin to those of a police force than of a judiciary. They employed spies to detect and forestall crime, and torture to extort confessions. The use of short measure or false weights, an artisan's failure to keep his contract with an employer, the death of a patient from the incompetence of a medical man, swindling or corruption on the part of officials, and treasonable conspiracy against the king, came under the purview of these courts. Theft, murder, burglary, combinations to raise or depress prices, rape, defiant violation of caste rules and so on, were also brought before them.

In the sphere of foreign policy Kauṭilya conformed to the tradition of his predecessors which was concerned more with systematic theory than with political realities. It is often true that neighbouring states are not friendly to each other; but the theory of the *maṇḍala* erects this into a principle, and makes the unvarying assumption that the neighbour is *ipso facto* an enemy and the state next after that an ally, and works out the implications in tedious detail. The concepts of *vijigīshu* (a king intent on conquests), the four *upāyas* (instruments of policy), *shāḍguṇya* (six-fold policy) and others, Kauṭilya shares with other writers on polity through the centuries. These concepts had little validity in the best days of the Mauryan empire when practically the whole of India acknowledged its sway. Modern writers have often remarked on the 'Machiavellian' nature of many of these precepts; but will the practice of modern foreign and war offices, if described with a due regard not to their professions but to their

[1] *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III p. 257

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actual performance, be seen to evince a better regard for moral principles? On the other hand the ascertained facts bearing on the relations of the first three Mauryan emperors, particularly of Aśoka, with the few independent states of India and the Hellenistic monarchies outside, constitute by no means an ignoble record.

Speaking of the Prasii, and most probably basing himself on Megasthenes, Pliny says : 'Their king has in his pay a standing army of 600,000 foot-soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9,000 elephants. Whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources.'[1] He does not mention chariots, but their number was placed at 2,000 by Diodorus and Curtius, and at 8,000 by Plutarch, all recording reports that reached Alexander about the army of the king of the Prasii, that is, the Nanda predecessor of Chandragupta. Chariots of different types are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*, war chariots and chariots used for assaulting fortresses among them.[2] There are references, not all equally clear, to the war chariots of the Mauryas in early Tamil literature.[3] There were *adhyakshas* (superintendents) for each of the four sections of the army, and Kauṭilya's description of their duties has much in common with Megasthenes' account of the military administration cited already. Stress is laid by Kauṭilya on the importance of the elephant corps, which one scholar has compared to the tanks of modern warfare, and great attention was devoted to the proper maintenance of elephant-forests (*nāgavana*). Kauṭilya distinguishes different types among the foot-soldiers.[4] They were, in order of importance, the hereditary troops (*maula*), doubtless the same as the fighting class (*kshatriyas*) whom Megasthenes placed next to the cultivators in numbers and importance; hired troops (*bhṛita*) who drew a regular salary from the state, and apparently formed part of the standing army like the hereditary troops; troops maintained by guilds (*śreṇi*) and corporations (*saṅghas*), and available to the state at need; and lastly, forest tribes who furnished troops to the king in time of war. A corps of camels and asses supported the cavalry in operations in very dry country.[5] The array of the army in the field was an elaborate affair, and there are discussions in the *Arthaśāstra* of the value of different formations based on clear distinctions between vanguard, centre, rear, wings, reserves and so on, and between the necessities of march, attack and defence. The appropriate occasions for the use of different types of weapons are also discussed, and these weapons included a variety of stationary and mobile engines, one of them being known as the hundred-slayer (*śataghnī*). The art of fortification was well understood and the forts of the time were designed systematically with ditches, ramparts, battlements and other appurtenances; mining, counter-mining and the flooding of mines were known and practised as methods of attack and

[1] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, p. 139

[2] *KA.* ii 33

[3] Ch. xvi. *post*

[4] ii 33

[5] ix 1

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defence. Other details on the equipment of troops and their mode of fighting given by Greek writers have been noted already. The superintendents of the different military arms functioned alone or with the assistance of boards and were probably subject to the general control of the *senāpati* (commander-in-chief) who ranked among the most important officials of the state. Below the *senāpati* were different grades of officers of the army like *praśāstṛi*, *nāyaka*, and *mukhya*. There were periodical inspections of all the troops by the *senāpati* and the emperor, and it was at one of these military reviews that, according to Bāṇa, Pushyamitra contrived to do away with the last Maurya emperor, the weak and shiftless Bṛihadratha. Kauṭilya mentions a *nāvadhyaksha*, superintendent of ships, which may have included fighting units besides merchantmen and ferries, as he is required to destroy pirate vessels. In the battlefield surgeons with instruments, medicines and bandages, and nurses with prepared foods and beverages were in constant attendance behind the lines.[1] The soldiers were encouraged to fight by suitable and timely addresses from the king, his ministers and *purohita*, and by rewards and honours for distinction in the field.

The picture which the *Arthaśāstra* presents is that of a paternal government tempered by respect for religion and custom, and limited by the privileges of guilds and corporations. In some respects it was characterised by wise borrowings and adaptations from contemporary foreign models, immediately Hellenistic, but ultimately traceable to the Achaemenid empire of Persia; but the alien part of the system failed to take root and evidently disappeared with the Mauryan empire. In some of its essentials the Mauryan administrative system, like Mauryan art, was a parenthesis that broke the course of normal development; but both were splendid efforts marked by a great measure of success in their time. Though in some places the *Arthaśāstra* advocates methods and expedients repugnant to our ideas of public morality, its general spirit is enlightened and humane. The welfare of the people claimed the first place in all considerations of policy, and the dominating aim of government was the maintenance of law and order, the punishment of the wicked and the protection of the peaceable citizen. Kauṭilya does not overlook the supreme importance of the presence of an able, energetic and good monarch for the proper functioning of his system; that such monarchs were not forthcoming after Aśoka was the tragedy of the Mauryan empire, as of all hereditary monarchies. Kauṭilya's ideal of good government is best seen in his exhortation to the king to place the happiness of the people above his own personal comfort, and feel that his happiness consists in their well-being.

Prajā-sukhe sukhaṁ rājñaḥ prajānāṁ cha hite hitaṁ
nātmapriyaṁ hitaṁ rājñaḥ prajānām tu priyaṁ hitaṁ

'The happiness of the subjects is the happiness of the king; their well-being,

[1] x, 3

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his. The King's welfare lies not in his own pleasure but in that of his subjects.'

SOCIETY

Megasthenes' statement on the population of India being organised in seven classes has been cited above. Diodorus concludes his summary of this class-organization thus : 'Such, then, are about the parts into which the body politic in India is divided. No one is allowed to marry outside of his own caste, or to exercise any calling or art except his own; for instance a soldier cannot become a husbandman, or an artisan a philosopher.'[1] Arrian adds: 'It is permitted that the sophist only be from any class; for the life of the sophist is not an easy one, but the hardest of all.'[2] By sophist is meant an ascetic. Strabo also gives these restrictions regarding marriage and occupation, but adds that the philosophers are exempt from them on account of their superior merit.[3] By philosophers doubtless Brahmins are meant. The emphasis laid on endogamy and hereditary occupation clearly implies that Megasthenes did mean to describe the 'caste-system'. Either he did not hear of the theory of the four *varṇas* and of mixed castes which looms so large in our *smṛiti* works, or he was carried away by a desire, natural in a Hellenistic Greek, to establish a similarity between Egypt and India in social organization. 'The Egyptians,' says Herodotus, 'are divided into seven distinct classes—these are the priests, the warriors, the cowherds, the swineherds, the tradesmen, the interpreters, and the boatmen.'[4]

The agriculturists formed the bulk of the population, and Megasthenes observed that their avocation was so clearly defined (by the rules of caste) that they were seen pursuing it peacefully within sight of contending armies. The account of the conquest of Kaliṅga given by Aśoka in his Rock Edict XIII is sufficient proof that war did sometimes involve much misery to the non-combatant population; but there must have been some foundation in practice for the statement of Megasthenes which is supported by a simile in a Buddhist work, *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*[5] that philosophers while destroying the opinions of their adversaries must carefully respect the principles of logic which are useful to all, just as kings while destroying the soldiers of their enemies respect the field-labourer who is the common help of both the armies.

The intellectual class, the 'philosophers' of the Greek writers, commanded respect in the court and society by their learning, integrity, and readiness to serve the king and the people in various ways. They were entitled for their maintenance to a definite portion of the revenue allotted to them in one way or another. They were the custodians of the education and culture of the community. A Brahmin who committed a crime

[1] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 43-4
[2] Ibid. 213
[3] Ibid. pp. 85-6
[4] ii 164
[5] Breloer, *KS.* I p. 118*n*

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was exempt from torture; he was branded on his forehead with a sign that proclaimed the nature of his crime and then either banished from the kingdom or sent to the mines for the rest of his life.[1] Kauṭilya who headed the national reaction that led to the establishment of the Mauryan empire did not look with favour on the inroads made into the social and religious order by the multiplication of proselytizing sects of extempore origin and the growth of ascetic orders with large claims upon the livelihood of the people. He forbade the practice of abandoning domestic life haphazard and made it a rule that only old men could become ascetics, and then only after making adequate provision for their dependents and getting sanction from the *dharmasthas*.[2] But we cannot be sure that the policy was strictly enforced as a permanent measure, and the emphasis laid by Aśoka in his inscriptions on seemly conduct towards Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa ascetics and the cultivation of tolerance among the different sects (*pāshaṇḍas*) produces the impression that the evils of sectarian asceticism had by no means abated. Perhaps the real remedy for this state of affairs did not come until 'the great doctrine of the *Bhagavadgītā*, gained general acceptance 'that salvation is attainable not by the rejection of civil duty, but in and above the performance of it.'[3]

The Kshatriyas or fighting class, who were 'second in point of numbers to the husbandmen', led, according to Arrian,[4] 'a life of supreme freedom and enjoyment. They have only military duties to perform. Others make their arms, and others supply them with horses, and they have others to attend on them in the camp, who take care of their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare their chariots, and act as their charioteers. As long as they are required to fight they fight, and when peace returns they abandon themselves to enjoyment—the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can with ease maintain themselves and others besides.'

The common people including cultivators, artisans and traders were exempt from military service and lived in villages in the country, seldom going to towns 'either to take part in its tumults or for any other purpose.' There were, besides, hunters and herdsmen who led no settled life, but lived in tents and were always on the move. In totally denying the existence of slavery in India,[5] Megasthenes apparently went too far. Strabo points out that in saying this Megasthenes extended to the whole of India what Onesicritus noted as a custom peculiar to the country of Musicanus.[6] Arrian's summary of Megasthenes shows further that Megasthenes criticised his predecessor for stating that the Spartans and Indians were at one in this respect, and pointed out that the former held Helots as slaves and employed them in servile labour while the Indians did not use even aliens as slaves, much less their own countrymen. It is clear that Megasthenes was thinking of slavery in its full legal sense as it obtained in the

[1] *KA.* iv 8
[2] ii 1
[3] *CHI.* 1 p. 484-5
[4] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, p. 211
[5] Ibid. pp. 40, 68-9, and 206-8
[6] McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 58

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West, according to which the slave was the chattel of the master with no rights of any kind whatsoever. The *dāsas* of India were not slaves in that sense; for they could not be employed in unclean work—'servile labour' as Megasthenes puts it—and they could hold and transmit property and under certain conditions regain their freedom as a matter of right. It is laid down that no *ārya* (freeman, including *Śūdra*) could be made a *dāsa*.[1] In times of distress a man might agree to become a *dāsa* of another or provide for his children in that manner; but *dāsas* usually came from the class of *mlechchhas* and captives in war. When correctly understood, Megasthenes, it is clear, was neither misled by the mildness of Indian slavery into denying its existence, nor did he idealise Indian conditions for the edification of the Greeks, but simply stated a fact as he saw and understood it in the light of his own prepossessions, commenting incidentally on the view of Onesicritus.[2]

It is worth a passing mention that the orthodox terms for the four *varṇas* are not found in the Aśoka inscriptions. They speak of Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas but not of Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas or Śūdras, terms which, it has been suggested, were employed only in theoretical discussions and did not correspond to definite social groups. The *ibhyas* of the inscriptions are often equated with the Vaiśyas. But the Buddhist texts explain the term by *gahapati*, householder, and there is much to be said for the view that they were 'an aristocratic class always ranking after the Kshatriyas and Brāhmaṇas.' The common folk seem to be included under the heads of *bhṛitakas*, hired labourers, and *dāsas*, serfs, kindness to whom is inculcated in the inscriptions. Buddhist works furnish several examples of Brāhmaṇas and householders (*gahapatis*) engaging themselves in agriculture and hiring themselves out as cowherds, goatherds, and otherwise.[3]

In domestic life the joint family system prevailed, but it could be dissolved at the will of the parties. A girl was deemed to attain majority at the age of twelve and a boy at sixteen. Eight kinds of marriage are enumerated, of which only four are regular, though Kauṭilya adds that there is no prohibition against any form of marriage that produces satisfaction to all concerned.[4] Marriage could be dissolved by mutual consent or prolonged absence. A married woman had property of her own in the form of bride-gift (*strīdhana*) and jewels, and this was to some extent at her disposal in case of widowhood. If she remarried a relative of her deceased husband with her father-in-law's consent she retained properties given her by her father-in-law or her first husband. Cruelty by either party to a marriage to the other was punishable. In the absence of male issue, a man was free to marry another wife without paying compensation to his first wife.

The terms *asūryaṁpaśyā* (one who does not see the sun), *avarodhana* (secluded one), and *antaḥpura* (inner apartments), applied to the women

[1] *KA.* iii 13
[2] Breloer, *KS.* ii (i), pp. 11-69; see also *ZII.* vii pp. 194-204 and 205-32
[3] Hultzsch, p. 33 *n.* 6; Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, pp. 182-4 and pp. 287-8 *n.* 5
[4] iii 2 and 3

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of the royal household, imply the practice of a certain amount of seclusion among royal women certainly, and probably among women of the upper classes as well. *Satī* noticed by Greek writers was rarely practised and would appear to have been limited to the women of the higher classes. There is frequent mention of women of the commonalty moving about with freedom and engaging themselves in gainful occupations. Offences against women of all kinds were severely punished, and Kauṭilya lays down penalties against officials in charge of workshops and prisons who misbehave towards them.[1] Concerning *gaṇikās* or public women and their rôle in the palace and in social life, both Kauṭilya and the Greek writers have a good deal to say. The class included actresses, dancers, musicians and other artists, besides educated women corresponding to the Greek *hetaerae*.

There is clear Greek testimony to the high state of civilization prevalent in Mauryan India. 'The Indians', says Strabo,[2] 'all live frugally, especially when in camp. They dislike a great undisciplined multitude, and consequently they observe good order. Theft is of very rare occurrence. Megasthenes says that those who were in the camp of Sandrocottus, wherein lay 400,000 men, found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of two hundred *drachmae* [about 120 rupees]... They live happily enough being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice pottage. ..Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess good, sober sense.' 'Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem'. Strabo then goes on to notice what must have struck the Greeks as strange though Indian religious law and social practice made the custom obligatory. He says : 'But other things they do which one cannot approve : for instance, that they eat always alone, and have no fixed hours when meals are to be taken by all in common, but each one eats when inclined. The contrary custom would be better for the ends of social and civil life,' an observation often repeated by later observers. 'Megasthenes,' writes Athenaeus,[3] 'in the second book of his *Indika* says that when the Indians are at supper a table is placed before each person, this being like a tripod. There is placed upon it a golden bowl, into which they first put rice, boiled as one would boil barley, and then they add many dainties prepared according to Indian receipts.' In the cities inns, eating-houses, *serais* and gaming-houses were numerous; sects and crafts had their separate meeting-places and establishments.[4] Luxury was displayed chiefly in dress, though ordinary folk wore only a pair of simple cotton garments as noted by Arrian. 'Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction, applied in various ways, but especially by passing smooth

[1] *KA.* ii 23 and 36 ; iv, 12
[2] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 69-70
[3] Ibid. p. 74
[4] *KA.* ii 36

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ebony rollers over the skin. . . In contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones, and they also wear flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up umbrellas over them : for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks.' 'Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead lowly.'[1]

INDUSTRY AND TRADE

In the organization of industry and trade the Mauryan empire was marked by an all-round advance on the conditions of an earlier age reflected in Pāli Buddhist literature, and the government, as already observed, played a much larger part than ever in the economic sector of national life. The establishment of a large empire with a strong and fairly centralized government doubtless created a new sense of security which acted as a stimulus to production and exchange. The increased attention paid to the laying out and maintenance of roads and waterways facilitated the movement of goods and promoted the growth of trade, internal and foreign. Kauṭilya mentions different types of roads and pathways such as the king's highway, the merchants' road, rural roads, paths to fields, forests, and so on, and prescribes their respective width and the arrangements for their proper maintenance,[2] and the creation of market towns in State colonization schemes in rural areas. The villagers everywhere had a large measure of collective responsibility for the maintenance of roads and other works of public utility and they were liable to be fined if they failed to co-operate in an enterprise for the common good.[3] Several important roads are mentioned by the Greek writers as well as by Kauṭilya and the Buddhist works. Megasthenes was struck by the Royal Road leading from the Indus to Pāṭaliputra which was continued from there to the mouth of the Ganges, and Pliny has noted its different stages with the distances in Roman miles in a difficult and much discussed passage;[4] the Sutlej near its junction with the Beas, the Jamuna near the present Bureah, the Ganges somewhere near Hastināpura, Dabhai about twelve miles south of Anupshahr, Kanauj or some smaller place in its vicinity, and Prayāga at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna, formed, according to McCrindle, the principal stages in the road to the capital. The road was marked by mile-stones indicating distances and cross-roads. A road from Śrāvastī to Rājagṛiha is mentioned in the Jātakas,[5] and up to Kusināra this must have passed along the foot of the Himalayas where the rivers were more easily crossed; from Kusināra to Rājagṛiha there were twelve halts including one at Vaiśālī, with a single crossing of the

[1] McCrindle, op. cit., p. 70
[2] *KA.* ii 4; vi 12
[3] Ibid. iii 10
[4] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 129ff. and notes.
[5] Text i 92

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Ganges at Patna, as we learn from the itinerary of the Buddha recorded in the *Dīgha Nikāya*.[1] Another route from Śrāvastī to the 'Borders' is mentioned in the Jātakas[2] This, taken along with Pāṇini's reference to a north-west route (*uttarapatha*),[3] may mean that there was another road from Śrāvastī to the north-west across the land of the Five Rivers linking it up with the great highways of central and western Asia; or possibly the road joined the Royal Road at some point. Another road led from Śrāvastī to the south-west by way of Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā and Pratishṭhāna on the Godavārī. There was also a road to Sind, the home of horses and asses, and Sauvīra with its capital at Roruva or Roruka. Seaports like Tāmralipti in the east, Bharukachchha and Śūrpāraka (Sopara) in the west, were connected with the main trade-routes. The road to Sind led across the deserts of Rajputana which took several days to traverse, and caravans going east and west by that route marched in the cool of the night guided by stars and land-pilots[4] (*thalaniyāmaka*). Bridges were not known, but only fords and ferries. The roads, particularly through forests, were infested by robbers against whom the merchants protected themselves by hiring the services of forest guards and maintaining their own armed forces.

In spite of the cheapness and ease of transport by water, Kauṭilya prefers land routes as less risky and because they were open to use in all weather.[5] He prefers coastal trade to oceanic trade as the former touches many port towns and brings in more profit. River traffic he considers very good as it is uninterrupted and its risks are easily avoided or endured. The Ganges was the most important inland waterway ; from Champā boats sailed up to Benares, the great industrial and trading centre of the time. Thence they went further up as far as Sahajāti and up the Jamuna to Kauśāmbī. The Jātakas have preserved the memory of daring sea-voyages to Bāveru (Babylon) in the west and Suvarṇabhūmi, perhaps a generic name for Burma and Malaysia, in the east. Merchants from Bharukachchha who traded with Suvarṇabhūmi must have found a convenient half-way house in Ceylon. The Jātakas mention also 'shore-sighting birds' which were used in locating the nearest land when the ship's position became doubtful.

India maintained connection with Egypt by the Red Sea route and with the Seleucid empire by the Persian Gulf. Both these routes were controlled by powerful Arab tribes engaged in highly developed and lucrative trade.[6] Strabo has preserved an interesting reminiscence of the Indian share in the western trade. In the reign of Ptolemy Eurgetes II (145-116 B.C.), an Indian who was stranded on the shore of the Arabian Gulf (Red Sea) was brought to Alexandria. Having learnt Greek there, he gave the king information of the sea-route to India. Then Ptolemy sent two expeditions under Eudoxus of Cyzicus, both of which made successful

[1] II Sutt. xvi pp. 81ff.
[2] I p. 377 f.
[3] v 1, 77
[4] Jat. I pp. 98 and 107
[5] vii 12
[6] Rostovtzeff, op. cit., p. 457

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voyages to India and returned laden with goods.[1] Besides these sea-routes, India was connected with the West on land by three roads. The northernmost was along the Kabul river across the narrow section of the mountains of Afghanistan where only the Hindukush separates the basins of the Oxus and the Indus; the second lay about five hundred miles to the south-west where the Afghan mountains end and open up an easy way across 400 miles of plateau from Kandahar to Herat, and another way from the south-east of Kandahar through the Bolan pass into the lower Indus valley; lastly a third route led across the deserts of Makran or along the coast of Baluchistan.[2]

Production was in the main governed by the demands of the local market, only precious articles of small bulk and rare commodities entering into long-distance trade. Agriculture was the most important and universal industry. From a fiscal point of view Kauṭilya classifies villages as revenue-free, and paying the revenue in the form of military service, in grain, cattle, cash, forest produce, or labour. In the villages, except where the working of mines or other enterprises created special conditions, husbandmen, cowherds and shepherds must have formed the bulk of the population. The village servants (*grāmabhṛitakas*) such as the potter, blacksmith, carpenter, barber and washerman were paid in cash, but were liable to be called upon to cultivate holdings which were left fallow.[3] Among the crops grown are mentioned : rice of different varieties, coarse grain (*kodrava*), sesamum, millet, varieties of pulses, barley, wheat, linseed, mustard, vegetables and tubers, fruits like pumpkins, gourds, plantains and grapes, safflower and sugar-cane.[4] Government had its own farms and gardens, undertook the cultivation of commercial crops like cotton and flax (*kshauma*), and marketed the produce along with other producers. Besides peasant proprietors there were day labourers (*karmakaras*) and serfs (*dāsas*) to provide labour in the fields, farms and gardens. The owner of land of even a small extent commanded a higher status in society than the landless labourer. The livestock on the farms included cows, buffaloes, goats and sheep besides poultry; there were also asses, camels, pigs and dogs.[5] The state maintained cattle, dairy and stud-farms with the necessary staff and engaged hunters and their hounds to keep pastures clear of wild animals.[6]

In the towns, which were numerous, we hear of labourers, craftsmen, traders, inspectors and officials. The crafts were varied, particularly those dealing with textiles and precious metals and gems. The doctor, actor, singer, dancer and soothsayer are mentioned among the professions. Trade was partly in the hands of officials and partly in those of shop-keepers or travelling merchants. The *śreshṭhiṇ* or rich merchant was an important social figure.

[1] Ibid. pp. 926-9 ; also McCrindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 97-8
[2] E. H. Warmington, *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 21
[3] *KA*. ii 1, 3
[4] Ibid. ii 24
[5] Ibid. v 2
[6] Ibid. ii 29, 34

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Greek observers were struck by the richness of India's natural resources and the skill of her population in exploiting them, and the *Arthaśāstra* confirms their impressions. 'India,' says Diodorus (ii, 35-37) epitomizing Megasthenes,[1] 'has many huge mountains which abound in fruit trees of every kind, and many vast plains of great fertility, more or less beautiful, but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers. The greater part of the soil, moreover, is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year.' He then mentions that Indian elephants exceed those of Libya in strength, and being caught in great numbers and trained for war, they turn the scale of victory. 'The inhabitants,' he continues, 'in like manner having abundant means of subsistence, exceed in consequence the ordinary stature, and are distinguished by their proud bearing. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. And while the soil bears on its surface all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also underground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as implements and accoutrements of war.' His description of the agricultural produce is very similar to that of Kauṭilya reproduced above. He affirms that famine has never visited India because the soil is never ravaged even during war—statements which must be accepted with reservation in the light of the Sohgaurā and Mahasthān inscriptions which contain provisions against famine, and the Jaina legend regarding the twelve years' famine at the close of Chandragupta's reign. Diodorus adds: 'India, again, possesses many rivers both large and navigable.'

Cotton manufacture held the first place among textile industries from very ancient times. Early Buddhist texts speak with high praise of cloth from Benares and the Śivi country. Arrian cites Nearchus and says that the cotton cloth worn by Indians had a brighter white colour than any cotton found elsewhere.[2] The Mālavas and their allies presented a large quantity of cotton cloth to Alexander when they made peace with him after a severe fight. Kautilya gives a full account of the industry and notes that Madhurā (Madurai), the Pāṇḍyan capital, Aparānta (Konkan), Kaliṅga, Kāśī, Vaṅga, Vatsa (Kauśāmbī region), and Mahisha, produced the finest cotton fabrics.[3] In the same context he distinguishes three varieties of *dukūla* (an unidentified, but fine fibrous fabric) : those from Vaṅga (E. Bengal) being white, from Puṇḍra (N. Bengal) black, and from Suvarṇakuḍya ruddy like the rising sun. Linen fabrics (*kshauma*) from Kāśī and Puṇḍra, and fabrics made of fibres of specified trees (*patroṛṇā*, *lit.* leaf-wool) from Magadha, Puṇḍra and Suvarṇakuḍya also find specific mention. Among costlier textiles silk and silk cloth are frequently referred

[1] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 30 ff.

[2] Ibid. p. 219

[3] ii 11 (p. 81)

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to in the Buddhist books.[1] Greek testimony on the dress of the rich has been cited already, and Kauṭilya mentions *kauśeya* from the Chīnabhūmi which seems to mean not China but the land of the Shin tribe of Gilgit and its neighbourhood.[2] He also describes woollen blankets from Nepal called *bhingisī* and *apasāraka*, made of eight pieces, black in colour and rain-proof (*varsha-vāraṇam*). Many other varieties of fabrics of sheep's wool are distinguished by their colour, manufacturing processes and their uses, besides other fabrics made from the hair of wild animals. A wide variety of the skins of animals are likewise distinguished by their colour, size, place of origin and uses, and various Himalayan regions played a large part in the trade in skins and furs. A casual allusion to the skill of the Indian leather-worker occurs in Arrian's statement that Indians wear shoes made of white leather and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and of great thickness to make the wearer seem taller.[3]

Carpentry was a long-established trade, and the Jātakas make many references to woodwork, including shipbuilding, house-building, and the making of carts, chariots and machines of various types. The extraordinary perfection of the craft in Mauryan times is attested by the seven large but mysterious wooden platforms that have been dug up at Kumrahar in the neighbourhood of Patna,[4] and probably belong to the reign of Chandragupta. Each of the platforms is 30 feet in length, 5 feet 4 inches in width and 4 feet 3 inches in height from the base. 'The platform,' says Dr. Spooner who made the discovery, 'was found to be merely a solid accumulation of logs. But the neatness and accuracy with which it has been put together, as well as the preservation of the ancient wood, whose edges were so perfect that the very lines of jointure were indistinguishable, evoked the admiration of all who witnessed the experiment. The whole was built up with a precision and a reasoned care that could not possibly be excelled to-day, and which I fancy is only rarely, if ever, equalled in India.' Again, 'in short, the construction was the absolute perfection of such work. The builders who erected those platforms would find little indeed to learn in the field of their own art, could they return to earth to-day.' The excellent sculpture of Aśoka's day presupposes a long tradition of carving in wood and ivory. The use of ivory ear-rings by wealthy Indians was noted by Arrian.

Stone-cutting was another highly developed art and the stone-cutter (*pāsāṇa-koṭṭaka*) figures often in the Jātakas. Even the Harappa people are known to have used stone for sculpture to a limited extent. A stone structure known as *Jarāsandhkā baiṭhak* existing at Rājgīr in Bihar may well belong to a time earlier than that of the Mauryas. The cyclopean enclosure-wall of a shrine at Nagari in Rajputana may be of the Mauryan

[1] See s. v. Koseyya in *P. T. S.* Dictionary.
[2] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, I 212 *n.*1 where xi *ii* in the reference to *KA.* is a misprint for ii, 11.
[3] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, p. 220
[4] *ASIAR.* 1912-13, pp. 73 ff.

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period, if not earlier. One of the best specimens of the stone art of the pre-Aśokan period is the massive stone coffer exhumed from the Piprāhwa *stūpa*; it contained a relic casket bearing a Brahmī inscription meaning : 'This receptacle of the relics of the blessed Buddha of the Śākiyas [is the pious gift of] the brothers of Sukīrti, jointly with their sisters, their sons, and their wives.'[1] It is a large monolith in grey sandstone of superior quality measuring $4' 4'' \times 2' 8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2' 2\frac{1}{4}''$ and hollowed at vast labour and expense from a block of solid rock. And the relic casket of rock crystal with a hollow fish-shaped handle which it contained, and another casket of beryl from Bhaṭṭiprolu[2] of somewhat later date, constitute two of the most beautiful examples of the stone-cutter's art. In fact so far as is known at present the Indian craftsman of the early Mauryan epoch found his highest aptitude not so much in the plastic treatment of form for which he had to go to school elsewhere, but in his technical competence in the cutting and polishing of refractory stones, and, let us add, in the application of delicate designs to metal objects. The perfect execution of some of the Aśoka inscriptions on stone also deserves particular mention here. The stone monuments of the reign of Aśoka will engage our attention at a later stage.

India has always been famous for its fragrant woods, and Kauṭilya mentions five kinds, namely *chandana*, *agaru*, *taila-parṇika*, *bhadraśrī* and *kāleyaka*, each including varieties distinguished by their place of origin, colour or other characteristics. Kāmarūpa, the Himalayan regions, and Ceylon and South India furnished most of these varieties according to the commentator on Kauṭilya.

There is much in the *Arthaśāstra* (ii, 12) on the technique of mining and metallurgy. The characteristics of ores and methods of smelting and purification of ores are discussed; the metals noticed include gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, iron and *vaikṛintaka* (unidentified). The manufacture of copper, lead, tin, bronze, brass, iron, and other wares is detailed, the qualities of varieties of gold and silver, the methods of purifying them, and the processes of their manufacture, are specially noticed (ii, 13 and 14). Greek testimony confirms all this. The Mālavas offered to Alexander, among other things, a hundred talents of 'white iron' (*ferrum candidum*), usually taken to refer to steel.[3] Strabo observes that during the festival observed when the king washed his hair, 'each person sought to outrival his neighbour in displaying his wealth' in the presents he sent to the king. Further, 'in the processions at their festivals, many elephants adorned with gold and silver are in the train, as well as four-horsed chariots

[1] *JRAS.* 1898, p. 574-5; *IA.* 1907, pp. 117-24. 'Notwithstanding the fracture (of the cover)' says Peppé, 'the coffer remained perfectly closed. The lid or cover was provided with a deep groove which fitted perfectly into the flange of the sides of the coffer, and the pieces of the lid were thus firmly held together, and were removed without injury to the contents of the box.' The lid weighs 408 pounds, the whole coffer (lid included) about 1,537 pounds in weight.

[2] Rea, *S. Indian Buddhist Antiquities*

[3] McCrindle, *The Invasion of India*, p. 252 (Curtius) and *n.* 1

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and yokes of oxen. Then comes a great host of attendants in their holiday attire, with vessels of gold, such as large basins and goblets, 6 feet in breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking cups and lavers, all made of Indian copper and many of them set with precious stones—emeralds, beryl, and Indian garnets.'[1] Similarly, according to Curtius, 'when the king condescends to show himself in public his attendants carry in their hands silver censers, and perfume with incense all the roads by which it is his pleasure to be conveyed. He lolls in a golden palanquin, garnished with pearls, which dangle all round it, and he is robed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold.' 'The palace is adorned with gilded pillars clasped all round by a vine embossed in gold, while silver images of those birds which most charm the eye diversify the workmanship.'[2]

Kauṭilya (ii, 11) shows acquaintance with pearls (*muktika*), jewels (*maṇi*), diamonds (*vajra*), and coral (*pravāla*), Indian and foreign. He notes the qualities of good and bad pearls, as well as the colours and qualities of various types of ruby, beryl, sapphire, crystal, diamond and coral. The complexity of the taste that prevailed in the jeweller's art can be surmised from his mention of five varieties of pearl necklaces (*yashṭi*), which are again subdivided into other classes. The same varieties are said to apply also to the ornaments for the head, arms, feet and waist.

It is not necessary to go into the details of other industries mentioned in the literary works of the time, such as the manufacture of dyes, gums, drugs, perfumes and so on, as well as of pottery. But a word may be said on the making of implements and weapons of war. The *Arthaśāstra* (ii, 18) notices bows, bow-strings, and arrows and arrowheads, of different materials such as palmyra, bamboo, bone, and horn. Swords of different types with handles made of the horn of the rhinoceros or buffalo, and of wood, ivory or the root of the bamboo; axes, discuses and other sharp-edged razor-like (*kshura-kalpāḥ*) weapons; armour of different varieties made of iron, skins, or other material, and much other equipment of which the details need not be reproduced here, are mentioned besides machines (*yantrāṇi*) of different descriptions which include nine varieties of the fixed and sixteen varieties of the movable type. It is interesting to note that among the movable machines is one for use against attacking elephants (*hasti-vāraka*), which, according to the commentator, was a big rod with two or three points. The Greek accounts of the military equipment of the Indians, cited already, agree with much that is found on the same subject in Kauṭilya's work.

As has been already indicated, the improving conditions of trade in the Mauryan empire are reflected in the pages of the *Arthaśāstra*. This is seen not only in the greater attention devoted to roads and market towns, but in the intelligent appreciation of the relative value of different trade-routes. According to an unnamed teacher quoted by Kauṭilya

[1] xv 1. 69; McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 75

[2] viii 9, *Invasion*, pp. 188-9. The description has been confirmed by the excavations at Kumrahar where gold vines have been found.

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(vii, 12) the costlier merchandise consisting of elephants, horses, fragrant products, tusks, skins, gold and silver were plentiful in the Himalayas, and consequently the routes leading to the Himalayas were better than those leading to Daskshiṇāpatha. 'Not so,' says Kauṭilya, 'for with the exception of blankets, skins and horses, other articles of merchandise such as conch-shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and gold, are plentiful in the South. And of routes leading to the South, that which traverses a large number of mines, along which valuable articles are moved, and which is frequented by traders because of its easy nature, is to be preferred; as also that by following which an abundance of merchandise of various kinds can be obtained.' It is quite probable that the first view was the older one, valid when trade with the South had not developed so much as under the Mauryas, and Northern India found trade with the Himalayan regions more worth while. With the establishment and spread of Mauryan power, the balance shifted in favour of the South as more routes leading to that part of the country were opened up and the volume of trade increased. The remarkable list (ii, 11-12) of agricultural, manufacturing and other products of the different regions of India which Kauṭilya mentions and which has been reviewed above, gives an idea of the extent of internal trade and the objects which entered into it.

The Mauryan empire controlled not only all the internal trade-routes, but most of the land and sea routes leading outside the country to the West and East. The liberation of the Indus valley and the territorial gains arising from the repulse of Seleucus and the treaty with him gave Chandragupta Maurya control over the north-western and western land routes which linked India to the Mediterranean lands. The conquest of the Deccan brought some of the most important ports into the empire, and the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka completed the process by eliminating the only possible rival for the mastery of the eastern trade. The wise policy of friendship with the Hellenistic states which was maintained throughout the best days of the Mauryan empire was another important factor that favoured the expansion of India's trade with Western Asia and Egypt. Prof. Rostovtzeff has made a masterly study of these developments and no apology is needed for citing him at some length. 'India supplied Egypt with ivory, tortoise-shell, pearls, pigments and dyes (especially indigo), rice, and various spices, e.g., pepper, nard, costum, malabathron, some rare woods, various medicinal substances, and cotton and silk.'[1] 'The routes of immemorial antiquity which connected India with Babylonia were, for the most part, far more frequented, more important and better developed [than the more northerly route]. They converged on Seleuceia on the Tigris, the great political and commercial city of Seleucus I, the eastern capital of that king and his successors, the inheritor of Babylon's pre-eminence.' 'A channel of Indian trade not less important than that by the Persian Gulf was provided by the ancient

[1] Rostovtzeff, op. cit., pp. 386-7, 456-7, 459, 461

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roads across the Iranian plateau to Seleuceia . . . Transport by these routes, long and difficult as it was, was nevertheless safer and perhaps cheaper than by the Persian Gulf, since their whole course lay in Seleucid territory. It was probably to secure the safety of these routes that Seleucus gave up his claims to part of India and preferred peaceful traffic with Chandragupta and his empire of Magadha to continuous and ruinous war. Through cordial relations and repeated embassies (such as those of Megasthenes and later of Daïmachus) the Seleucids ensured a steady supply of war elephants and of Indian wares. When the communications with India were endangered by the secession of Bactria and Parthia, Antiochus III launched his famous expedition, which led to an *entente cordiale* with Bactria and a temporary withdrawal of the Parthians, and re-established for some time the supremacy of the Seleucids along the routes in question.' 'In order to facilitate Bactrian trade with India, Antiochus I at the time of his joint rule with Seleucus (285-280 B.C.) made a special issue of coins of the Indian instead of the Attic standard.' The existence of a brisk commercial intercourse with foreign lands along various routes doubtless had a large part in suggesting to Aśoka the great idea of sending his missions to these lands to spread the gospel of Buddhism.

Guilds known as *śreṇis* or *saṅghas* played a large part in the conduct of crafts and trades, and even the growing centralization of the Mauryan government had to respect their constitutions and privileges. Gautama, who is counted among the earliest writers on polity, declares (xi, 21-2) that traders and artisans, among others, had the authority to lay down rules for their respective classes. Greek evidence and the Jātakas show that occupations were generally hereditary, and the Jātakas mention 'the eighteen guilds', several instances of industries localized in particular towns and villages, of the separate crafts each having a *pamukha* (president) or *jeṭṭha* (alderman) presiding over it, and of a judge from among themselves settling disputes among the guilds.[1] We hear also of *satthavāhas* (caravan leaders) whose directions were obeyed by caravans along the trade-routes. Of the *saṅghas* described by Kauṭilya (Bk. xi) as ruled by *mukhyas*, some adopted *vārttā* (agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade) as their profession. He also wants the customs and regulations of *śreṇis* to be ascertained and recorded in official registers (ii, 7). But at no time did the guilds so completely cover the field of industry as to leave no scope for hired labour (*karmakara* of Kauṭilya) or the labour of serfs (*dāsas*). That the two classes last named formed an important element in society is seen from Aśoka's repeated stress on their being treated with kindness and consideration.

The rôle of the State in the sphere of industry and trade was important and has been referred to incidentally in the course of the preceding account of the social and economic conditions of the Mauryan empire. The

[1] Jāt. (Text) III 281 for *kammāragāma*, and *jeṭṭhakammāra*; VI 22 for *aṭṭhārasa seṇiyo*; also Index to Eng. Tr. s. v. Guilds, Caravans.

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foundation of market-towns in rural areas; the making and maintenance of roads and the ensuring of safety on them, were accepted as among the primary duties of government. The king is enjoined to prevent obstruction on trade-routes from his favourites (*vallabhas*), officers, and frontier-guards (*antapālas*) as well as from thieves and animal herds (ii, 1). The intimate association of the industrial and commercial classes with the court becomes clear from the rules (ii, 4) relating to the planned settlement of the fortified capital. This description also conveys an idea of the relative social status of the different groups among them. Dealers in scents, garlands, grains and liquids, and expert artisans had their habitations to the east of the royal palace along with members of the Kshatriya caste. Dealers in cooked food, liquor, and flesh lived on the southern side along with Vaiśyas, prostitutes and musicians. The western side was allotted to the Śūdras, the makers of woollen and cotton goods and armourers. Workers in base metals and precious stones lived on the north along with Brāhmaṇas. The State's direct share in the extractive and manufacturing industries and in trade has been noticed already. The value of natural resources and the need for efficient exploitation of them were well understood. Among the qualities of a good country (*janapada sampat*, vi, 1) are mentioned the possession of fertile agricultural tracts, mines and forests of different types, easy land routes and waterways. Towards his neighbours (vii, 1) the king is advised to pursue a policy which would conduce to the exploitation of his own resources and obstruct that of his neighbours'. There is evidence (vii, 11-12) of much academic discussion among writers on polity on the relative advantages of tracts rich in mines and in food-grains, of mines yielding a precious and small output and those with an inferior but large output and, as already noticed, of different types of trade-routes; such discussions must have proceeded at least to some extent on the basis of known facts.

Another aspect of State policy was the more or less strict control of artisans and traders, to which is devoted a good part of the section on *kaṇṭakaśodhana* (Bk. iv). Artisans and merchants are looked upon with suspicion, as likely to act against the public interest, and once Kauṭilya roundly characterises them as thieves in fact though not in name (iv, 1). There was a general attempt at regulating prices, wages and profits; penalties were laid down against mixing up old goods with new, and the sale of old wares required the permission of the market superintendent.[1] Kauṭilya holds oppression by traders to be worse than even that caused by the *antapālas* (viii, 4). On the other hand, both artisans and merchants enjoyed the special protection of the State, and offences against their person or property were severely dealt with.[2] According to Strabo, if a person caused the loss of a hand or an eye to a craftsman, he was put to death.[3] The economic policy of the Mauryan State is thus

[1] *KA* iv 6; Strabo xv (1) 51 (McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 54)

[2] iv 10 and 13

[3] xv (1) 54

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seen to have aimed at a systematic control of the evils of a free competitive economy, partly by direct participation in industry and trade, and partly by bureaucratic paternalism.

RELIGION

The Vedic religion, Jainism and Buddhism appear to have been the important religions prevalent at the time, besides a number of minor religious orders including that of the Ājīvikas, of which we have little definite knowledge, though their presence is indirectly attested by our sources. Chandragupta doubtless began as an orthodox follower of the Vedic religion as is seen from his association with Kauṭilya. The Jaina tradition that he embraced that faith later in life may well be true, and may have had something to do with his rather abrupt exit from the stage of history. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*[1] 'Aśoka's father had shown hospitality to sixty thousand Brāhmaṇas, versed in the Brahma-doctrine and in like manner he himself nourished them for three years.' The *Arthaśāstra* lays it down that 'in the centre of the capital city (*pura-madhya*) should be situated the temples (*koṣṭhakas*) of Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta, as well as the abodes (*gṛiha*) of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvins, Śrī and Madirā (Durgā).'[2] Elsewhere in detailing the magic formulae used for different purposes, the same work mentions Aditi, Anumati, Sarasvatī, Savitā, Agni, Soma, Kṛishṇa, and Paulomī.[3] The pantheon, it will be noted, stands fairly close to that of the later Vedic age, and does not yet show signs either of the strongly marked Purāṇic associations or of the development of emotional devotion (*bhakti*) that still lay in the future. The Brahmins practised the Vedic religion of sacrifice, and they were encouraged in the practice of learning and spiritual pursuits by the endowment of *Brahmadeya* lands yielding sufficient produce and exempted from taxes and fines (*adaṇḍakarāṇi*).[4] Near the royal palace a sacrificial hall (*ijyāsthānam*) was provided (ii, 4). *Tapovanas*, forest retreats for ascetics, are mentioned; but Kauṭilya did not look with favour on ascetics who were not *vānaprasthas* (i.e. followers of the Vedic religion in the third stage of their life), and forbade their entry into the villages of the kingdom.[5] The tendency to adopt the life of a homeless, wandering ascetic was evidently still rather pronounced. Though in an age of religious stir this life was often adopted from sincere religious motives, it was perhaps as often due to a mere love of vagrancy and dislike of honest work. It was not limited to any particular class of people and seems to have been more prevalent among the lower classes. The attempt to check this by the scheme of regulated *āśramas* (stages of life) had evidently

[1] v 34

[2] ii 4. Shama Sastri's rendering of *śrīmadirāgṛiham* as 'the honourable liquor house' is obviously wrong in the context. Monier-Williams (Dictionary) notes that *Madirā* is a name of Durgā in the *Harivaṁśa*.

[3] xiv 1, 3

[4] *KA*. ii 1

[5] Ibid.

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not produced satisfactory results, and Kauṭilya advocates the exercise of the power of the State towards this end. Government was required to stop persons from taking to asceticism until they had discharged their legitimate social duties, including provision for their dependents, to prevent the vagrants of non-vaidic sects from disturbing the life of the villagers, and to forbid the entertainment of Śākyas, Ājīvikas and Śūdra ascetics at religious ceremonies (iii, 20).

Aśoka's Rock Edict I forbade the killing or sacrifice of animals in all his territory. This has sometimes been understood as a measure directed particularly against the Brahmins and their religion, and the suggestion has been made that it led to a reaction which culminated in the Brahmin empire of the Śuṅgas. But for every animal sacrificed in a Vedic ritual, there must have been hundreds killed to propitiate popular deities of various sorts in the villages and towns, and there is no reason to hold that Aśoka was actuated by any motives other than humanitarian. That there ensued in course of time a marked reaction in favour of the Vedic religion, as against Buddhism which enjoyed great patronage from Aśoka, was quite another matter.

Popular faith was then as ever manifold in its trends. Besides worship at the temples of the deities already named, it included adoration of the deities of *vāstu* (site) and *dik* (quarters). Fire, rivers, Indra, Gaṅgā, and the sea-shore (iv, 3) were worshipped with offerings, oblations, and incantations to ward off natural calamities and invite natural benefits. Forests, mountains, and *chaityas* were sacrificed to, with the rituals of the Atharvaveda to ward off danger from demons (iv, 3). Pilgrimages to sacred shrines (*puṇyasthānas*) and *tīrthas* were common (ii 35-6; iii, 9-10). Images of snakes (*nāgapratimas*), and flagstaffs standing for particular deities were also worshipped. Those who practised black magic invoked Bali, Śambara, Vairochana, and a host of minor godlings to aid them in achieving their ends. Astrologers and fortune-tellers, interpreters of dreams and birds' voices, and medicine-men who pretended to heal by magic more than by drugs, seem to have flourished on the credulity of the masses.

Our knowledge of Jainism in the Mauryan epoch is very limited. The legends relating to Chandragupta and Bhadrabāhu, their migration to Mysore to escape the consequences of a twelve years' famine in the North, an event which is said ultimately to have given rise to the division between the Digaṁbaras and Śvetāṁbaras, have been already noticed. The strongholds of Jainism seem to have lain more in Western India than in its original home where the rival creeds of the Buddha and the Ājīvikas seem to have prevailed. The Ājīvikas received gifts of cave-dwellings in the hills near Gayā both from Aśoka and his grandson Daśaratha. They were the followers of Gosāla Maṁkhaliputta, a contemporary of Mahāvīra, whose disciple he had been for some years, before he developed antinomian proclivities and cut away from him; he then claimed to have attained enlightenment two years earlier than Mahāvīra himself, and founded a new sect. Sometimes the Ājīvikas are identified with Digaṁ-

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bara Jainas, and it has been held that 'the terms Nigaṁtha and Ājīvika denote the two Jaina Orders which are known to us as the Śvetāṁbaras and Digaṁbaras'.[1] But this view is not correct, though some South-Indian Ājīvikas seem to have merged with Digaṁbara Jainas in later times, while others drew close to Vaishṇavism. And it is remarkable that in his Pillar Edicts Aśoka states that his *dhamma-mahāmātras* were 'occupied with the affairs of the Buddhist Order (*Saṅgha*) as well as with Brāhmaṇas (ascetics), the Ājīvikas, the Nigaṁṭhas, and in fact with all the various sects (*pāshaṇḍa*)'. But then there were other groups of ascetics of a dubious character who also bore the name of Ājīvikas and lived apart under separate leaders, of whom two are known by name from the Buddhist scriptures, viz., Kissa Samkichcha and Nanda Vachcha, who are represented as the friends of Gosāla. Of the followers of all the three leaders it is said that they discarded all clothing (*achelaka*), dispensed with all decent habits (*muttāchāra*), and that they licked their food out of their hands (*hatthāpalekhana*). We have no means of deciding to which of these groups belonged the Ājīvikas who got the caves from Aśoka and Daśaratha; most probably they were the followers of Gosāla who had a long history as a regular Order in later times. Samprati, as has already been noticed, was a great patron of Jainism who occupies in the history of the Jaina religion a place similar to that of Aśoka in Buddhism.

Buddhism[2] was, for all we know, one of several rival faiths struggling for ascendancy till Aśoka adopted it. During the first two centuries after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa*, his creed could hardly be distinguished from other Śramaṇa or ascetic movements. It was evidently in the Mauryan period that it emerged as a distinct religion with great potentiality for expansion. Even then its activities were at first mainly confined to Magadha and Kosala. Small communities of brethren may have come into existence also in the West in Mathurā and Ujjayinī. At the time of the Second Council which was held at Vaiśālī about 100 years after the *nirvāṇa*, invitation was sent to communities in distant places like Pātheya, Avanti, Kosāmbī, Sāṅkāśya and Kanauj. Monks of the western countries, which probably included Mathurā, were known as Pātheya. Mathurā had become an important centre of Buddhism in the early years of the Mauryas. The Aśokan legends of the North attach great importance to the monastery of Naṭabhaṭa on the Urumuṇḍa hill at Mathurā. Sāṇavāsin and his disciple Upagupta who, according to these accounts, later became the spiritual guide of emperor Aśoka, were of that monastery.

Aśoka was the first Mauryan monarch to be associated with Buddhism as its imperial patron. The most important events in the history of the Buddhist church were the two Councils, the Second and the Third, both of which seem to be connected with Aśoka in spite of chronological difficulties. The traditions say that the Second Council was held at Vaiśālī,

[1] *ERE.* I 267 *n. Contra:* A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, p. 277 (London, 1951).

[2] The sketch of Buddhism that follows has been contributed by Prof. P. C. Bagchi.

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one hundred years after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha. This council was called to decide on certain doctrinal issues. The monks of Vaiśālī had introduced a number of minor innovations in the rules of discipline.[1] Others were of opinion that they were contrary to the teachings of the Buddha. The Council appointed a committee of eight monks, four from the east and four from the west to decide the issue. The eastern group was headed by Sabbakāmi, an Elder of Vaiśālī, who had received *upasaṁpadā* (ordination) 120 years earlier, and the western group by Sāṇavāsin, the same as the teacher of Upagupta. The committee declared against the monks of Vaiśālī. The Vinaya was then recited in the plenary session, and the monks of Vaiśālī were excommunicated. These monks, however, convened another meeting which was a great council (*mahāsaṅgīti*) and decided to form a separate school which came to be known as the Mahāsāṅghika school.

This story, apparently reliable, raises difficulty in point of chronology. The Council is said to have been held in the time of Kālāśoka, the son of Susunāga (Śiśunāga). But the traditions on this king do not agree. Some call him Kākavarṇi. He may even be the same as Aśoka in his earlier days. Some of the Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist sources, however, place Aśoka about 117 years after *nirvāṇa*, that is about the time when the Second Council is said to have been held. They say further that Aśoka before his conversion to Buddhism was living a life of black deeds and was then a Chaṇḍāśoka or Kāmāśoka. He became a Dharmāśoka only after his conversion to Buddhism. The name Kālāśoka seems meant to remind us of the earlier stage of his life. Whether Kālāśoka was the son of Śiśunāga or was Aśoka himself, the Second Council could not have been held much earlier than the time of Aśoka.

The account of the Third Council is still more confused. It was held, according to tradition, eighteen years after the coronation of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra. Aśoka's inscriptions, however, are silent about it. It was a meeting of the Theravādins as distinguished from the Mahāsāṅghikas. It was therefore not a general session of all Buddhists but a sectarian meeting. The Pāli accounts give the following story : 'When 236 years had elapsed after the *nirvāṇa*, sixty thousand monks dwelt in Aśokārāma. Sectarians of different descriptions, all of them wearing the *kāshāya*, ruined the Doctrine of the Jina. It was then that Tissa Moggaliputta convoked a Council, attended by one thousand monks. Having destroyed the false doctrines and subdued many shameless people, he restored the true faith, and propounded the Abhidhamma treatise *Kathāvatthu*. It was from him that Mahinda, the future apostle of Ceylon, learnt the five *nikāyas*, the seven books of the Abhidhamma and the whole Vinaya.' This account has a pronounced sectarian tendency and is evidently of Theravāda inspiration. The meeting was in all likelihood a party meeting. Its historicity may not be disputed, but the story of the compilation of the

[1] Geiger, *MV.* (Trans.) p. 19 *n.* 3

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Kathāvatthu which presupposes the existence of the entire Pāli canon is improbable.

The history of the Buddhist church in this period in all appearance was not an undisturbed one. On account of the gradual expansion of Buddhism and for want of regular communications between the distant communities the church was gradually losing its unity. Local influence was slowly affecting the conduct of the various communities and shaping them in different ways. This ultimately gave rise to various schools. The Vaiśālī community must have formed a school either before the time of Aśoka or at least at a time when Aśoka had not yet taken up the cause of Buddhism. This was the first schism in the church giving rise to two schools, the Theravāda and the Mahāsāṅghika.

Under Aśoka's patronage the Buddhist community of Pāṭaliputra, which claimed to be more loyal to the teachings of the Buddha, became rich in its endowments and revenues, and attracted the adherents of the relatively neglected creeds, Ājīvikas and sectarians of different descriptions, who began to wear the yellow robe and disturb the life of the Aśokārāma, proclaiming their own heresies as the doctrine of the Buddha. The Third Council was the occasion when the community reorganized itself and tried to check corruption and schism in the church. It was probably under the instruction of the elders (*theras*) that Aśoka appointed *dhammamahāmātras* who were not only to look after the Saṅgha but to foster the preservation of unity in the Saṅgha as well. The Sārnāth Pillar Edict which is addressed to the *mahāmātras* of Pāṭaliputra says:[1] '..The Saṅgha cannot be divided by anyone. But indeed that monk or nun who shall break up the Saṅgha, should be caused to put on white robes and to reside in non-residence.' This meant expulsion from the community. The same instruction was also issued to the *mahāmātras* of Kauśāmbī, and in the Sāñchī version it is preceded by the declaration:[2] 'The Saṅgha both of monks and of nuns is made united as long as [my] sons and great-grandsons [shall reign] and as long as the moon and the sun [shall shine].'

The greatest event in the history of Buddhism in this period was the conversion of Aśoka. The Aśokan cycle of legends in the Pāli and Sanskrit canons make exaggerated claims on his behalf; but there is no doubt that he was not only a patron of Buddhism but a Buddhist himself. In the edicts he calls himself a Śākya, a Buddha-Śākya. The *Divyāvadāna* tells us that after his conversion to Buddhism he undertook to build 84,000 *stūpas*. It was under the influence of Upagupta that he started on a pilgrimage to places hallowed by the memory of the Buddha such as Lumbini, Kapilavāstu, Gayā, Saṅkāśya, and Kuśinagara. He also visited the *stūpas* erected in memory of Śāriputra, Maudgalyāyana, Mahākaśyapa, Vakkula and Ānanda. He besides convoked a council at Gayā, the

[1] Hultzsch, p. 162
[2] Ibid. p. 161

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place where the Buddha attained his *Bodhi*. The edicts more or less confirm the account of some of his religious activities, and the extent to which they do this has been discussed in the account of Aśoka's reign. We may note further that Aśoka placed great emphasis on the higher aspect of the moral law. While speaking of the many works for the good of humanity he says : *Lahuke chu esa paṭibhoge nāma*,[1] 'but this so-called enjoyment is of little consequence.' The most important point in the practice of the law was according to him to give up want of perseverance (*āsulopena*), cruelty (*niṭhūliyena*), hastiness (*tūlanāye*), want of application (*anāvūtiya*), laziness (*ālasiyena*), and weariness (*kilamathena*).[2] By doing so, Aśoka says, one attains endless heavenly bliss (*vipule svage*). He then tells us how he realized it in his own life through exertion (*pakame*). Through much exertion he made the gods 'mix with men in Jambudvīpa, gods who were formerly unmixed with men.' Elsewhere[3] he says that through exertion it is not only for the great (*mahātpa*) but also for the small (*khudaka*) to make others attain the endless happiness of heaven. He also tells us that whatever exertion he made was for the other world and to make others free from demerit (*apuṁna*).[4]

It may be mentioned that the virtues necessary for spiritual progress as mentioned by Aśoka such as *dāna*, *sochave*, *mādave*, *pakame* etc. are the same as the six *pāramitās* of Buddha: *dāna*, *śīla*, *kshānti*, *vīrya* etc. While speaking of various degrees of spiritual progress, Aśoka distinguishes *khudaka* or small men from *mahātpa* or the more elevated. According to Aśoka it was one of the natural qualities of the great (*mahātpa*) to attain the heavenly bliss not only for himself but also for others by his exertion (*pakame*). He was thus placing himself in the position of the latter when he says that he had succeeded through his exertion in causing gods formerly unmixed with men to mix with men. He also claims such powers as causing others to attain heavenly bliss, showing the people such supernatural spectacles as the celestial chariots, elephant and fiery bodies (*vimāna dasaṇā ca hastidasaṇā ca agikhaṁdāni ca añāni ca divyāni rūpāṇi*). These were claims to *ṛiddhi* or magical powers which were usual for an *uttaramanushya*—a man endowed with supranormal powers according to Buddhist literature. So as a Buddhist, Aśoka, although a common *upāsaka* or lay-follower at the beginning, laid claims to the qualities of a *mahātpa* or *uttaramanushya* probably at an advanced age.

Aśoka for the first time in the history of Buddhism seems to have been responsible for directing missionary activities both in and outside India. The first step towards this was to circulate instructions on *Dhamma* and inscribe them on rocks and pillars overlooking the highroads. Officials were asked to encourage and afford facilities to those who wanted to follow the *Dhamma*. His despatch of officials to distant countries beyond the frontiers of his empire was probably characterised by a missionary zeal.

The Buddhist literature further tells us that on the conclusion of the

[1] PE. VII (U), Hultzsch, pp. 132, 135
[2] Dhauli I Sep., Hultzsch, p. 92
[3] Brahmagiri (G), (H), Hultzsch, p. 175
[4] RE. X, Hultzsch, p. 17

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Third Council, Tissa Moggaliputta sent missionaries to various countries. Thus Majjhantika was sent to Kāśmīra-Gandhāra, Mahādeva to Mahishamaṇḍala, Rakkhita to Vanavāsa, the Greek (Yona) Dhammarakkhita to Aparāntaka, Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahāraṭṭha, Mahārakkhita to the Greek (Yona) country, Majjhima to the Himalayan zone, and Soṇa and Uttara to Suvaṇṇabhūmi. Mahinda and Saṅghamittā were sent to Ceylon. Nepal also claims that Aśoka himself went to Nepal and founded four *stūpas* which are still shown around the city of Lalitapattana. Besides, a spurious Chinese Buddhist tradition claims that seventeen Buddhist missionaries were sent by the emperor to the capital of China during the reign of Ts'in She-huang (246-209 B.C.).

Some of this information is confirmed by epigraphy. Aśoka himself speaks of his mission to Taṁbapaṇṇi (Ceylon) and to such countries as Kāṁboja, Nābhaka, Nābhiti, Bhoja, Pitinika, Andhra and Pulinda, and border regions. Kāṁboja and the border countries included the Himalayan zone, Bhojas and Pitinikas probably lived in Mahārāshṭra and some of the countries like Andhra and Satiyaputra belonged to the South. While speaking of the mission to the Himalayan zone, the *Mahāvaṁsa* mentions only Majjhima, but the *Dīpavaṁsa* mentions Kassapagota, Majjhima and Dundubhisara. This is unexpectedly confirmed by the inscriptions of Sāñchī. In one inscription Kassapagota is mentioned as the apostle of all Himalayan Buddhists. Another inscription mentions Majjhima and Dundubhisara.

To whomsoever the initiative might have been due, whether to Tissa Moggaliputta or to Aśoka himself, it seems clear that efforts to carry Buddhism to distant countries were made after the reorganisation of the Magadhan church under the patronage of Aśoka. These efforts were crowned with success within the Mauryan empire. This is abundantly proved by the records and monuments of the subsequent period. The independent fraternities of Buddhist monks, in spite of their diversities, formed a definite brotherhood. The sons of Śākya constituted one family. The doctrine was perhaps not yet clear in all respects, nor the discipline quite definite; the canon was still in its formative stages. But worship of relics and the cult of earlier Buddhas was already well known.

ART

In architecture and art, as in other spheres of national life, the age of the Mauryas constituted a notable epoch. Most of the surviving monuments of the period belong to the reign of Aśoka whose striking individuality is borne out by his works of art no less than by his administrative and religious policy. The use of stone in art production was rare, though not altogether unknown, in the centuries that immediately preceded his reign, but with him not only did it become common, but there sprang up suddenly and in full panoply a school of art which drew its inspiration

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from many sources and whose achievements take a very high place in the art history not merely of India, but of the world. This magnificent art which flourished for about fifty years had no precedent and left no long-standing tradition as it failed to strike root. It was a parenthesis in the development of the indigenous art of India, just as the Mauryan polity with its bureaucratic and pervasive paternalism was an exception to the norm of the ancient Indian state.

There are no striking examples of architecture or sculpture that can definitely be called pre-Mauryan, with the exception of some walls and remains of dwellings of cyclopean masonry in the site of the old city of Rājagriha. In the ancient world, art was generally the handmaid of religion, and R. P. Chanda[1] has argued that the Vedic religion of sacrifice which needed only a simple sacrificial hall or fire-chapel offered little scope for architecture or the development of the decorator's art; the beginnings of art must be traced to more popular cults dating from very early times which embraced the worship of sacred trees, *chaityas* and animal standards. On this view the order issued by Aśoka fairly early in his reign (Rupnāth and Sahasrām edicts) that his inscriptions were to be engraved wherever stone pillars were found in existence gains significance, and the Kolhua (Basarh-Bakhira) pillar and that at Rāmpūrva with the bull-capital may well be assigned to Bindusāra's reign as suggested by Chanda; the former is a rather heavy and ungainly column and the abacus of its lion-capital is square and plain; of the latter, the crowning bull fails to harmonize with the capital on which it stands and the honeysuckle ornament on the abacus is rather stiff.[2] The two columns bearing the lion of Durgā and the bull of Śiva may well have been the precursors of the more finished columns of Aśoka's time, marking a stage in the evolution of their magnificent forms from relatively simple animal standards of an earlier time. The pillar of Sāṅkisa bearing the elephant of Indra, and that at Lauriya Arāraj with the Garuda of Vishnu may also belong to the same group. The fragmentary capital with four addorsed bulls from Salempur are, however, perhaps not pre-Aśokan.

Mud or mud-bricks, bamboo, timber and thatch were the materials employed in the construction of dwelling-houses and palaces. But the use of such material, while it led to the almost total disappearance of the structures, evidently implies no deficiency in the size, grandeur or comfort of the buildings, and at a time when the true arch was not much employed in structures, wood must have come in handy for roofing in wide spaces. The imperial palace at Pāṭaliputra was as already noted, described by Greek writers as excelling in splendour the Achaemenid palaces at Susa and Ecbatana, and we may assume that the palace and the public offices in the capital of the Mauryan empire were quite worthy of its power and prosperity. Indian art doubtless had an earlier history, and the influence

[1] *MASI.* no. 30
[2] *JRAS.* 1908, p. 1088; N. R. Ray, *Maurya and Sunga Art*, p. 27

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of lost works and wooden prototypes can be traced in the stone work of Aśoka's time. Percy Brown points out that Megasthenes' slight account of the architecture of Pāṭaliputra may be eked out by pictures of towns carved in *bas relief* on Buddhist monuments of a slightly later age as backgrounds to battles and processions, particularly on the Sāñchī gateways. All towns seem to have been surrounded by high walls with battlements and a moat with water bearing lotuses and other aquatic plants, the whole being surrounded by a railing palisade. Only fragments of the wooden ramparts of Pāṭaliputra have been unearthed at Bulandi Bagh near Patna, but the size of the beams is enough to show that the account of Megasthenes was by no means exaggerated. Timbers of twelve to thirteen feet in length were laid in parallel lines corresponding to the thickness of the rampart at its base, and upright parts were tenoned on them. A part of the upper portion of the stockade preserved in the Calcutta Museum comprises huge teak posts connected by transverse bars. Another survival of the woodwork of those days has already been mentioned, the huge platforms found buried deep in the silt. They formed, according to Brown, a kind of raft to support the foundations of the façade or propylaeum of the palace.

In his forty years' rule, Aśoka must have improved the wooden walls and buildings of the capital city, and partly replaced them by more substantial edifices. Literary sources attribute to him the construction of hundreds of structures in masonry and stone throughout the empire, and the palace of Pāṭaliputra, as he had left it, was, in later times, considered the work of spirits as Fa-hien attests; so astonishing was his work as a builder. The palace seems to have been destroyed by fire soon after as may be inferred from the ashes found in the site of Kumrahar in the neighbourhood of Bulandi Bagh. An immense pillared hall in three stories covering a square of 250 feet side seems to have formed an important structure within the palace enclosure. The remains of this hall were discovered by Dr. Spooner at a depth of seventeen feet and over to the north of the wooden platforms already mentioned. The lower part of the shaft of only one stone column measuring 14 feet 3 inches was found in almost perfect condition, and the existence of others could only be inferred 'from heaps of fragments of polished sandstone and ash pits in which they had sunk being regularly at a distance of 15 feet from centre to centre of the heaps and the underlying ash circles.' The hall had a wooden floor; the pillars stood on wooden bases and supported a wooden superstructure. A belt of silt about eight feet thick shows that the hall was flooded once before it was burnt down by the fire which, besides reducing to ashes the wooden superstructure and roof, cracked off innumerable fragments from the part of the stone columns above the silt and 'by expanding the metal bolts which fitted into their socket holes caused the vertical cleavage which the larger fragments show.' The arrangement of pillars in square bays over the whole floor of the hall and their finely polished surface were traced by Dr. Spooner to the example of the Achae-

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menian Hall of a Hundred Columns, and there is good reason to believe that Aśoka consciously adopted the plan of the Achaemenian hall of public audience to proclaim the glory of his empire to his subjects. The hall, according to Percy Brown, was reared in three stories on a high stylobate, and contained fifteen rows of fifteen pillars each; colossal stone caryatid figures supported the ceiling of one of the stories, and polished stone was used for a variety of purposes in the structure; the single shaft that has survived is some twenty inches in diameter, tapers like a pine trunk with no sign of base or capital, and bears a mason's mark similar to a symbol used at Behistun in Persia.

Seven rock-cut sanctuaries in the hills less than twenty miles to the north of Gayā, four on the Barābar hill, and three on the Nāgārjunī hill half a mile to the north-east, also belong to the time of Aśoka and his successors. Another at Sītamarhi, thirteen miles south of Rājagriha and twenty-five miles east of Gayā, may also be of the same period. These form the earliest known examples of the rock-cut method, and some of them are faithful copies in stone of structures in wood and thatch, particularly the façade and the doorway with sloping jambs of the Lomas Ṛishi cave in Barābar, which bears no inscription and is apparently unfinished, and so perhaps is the latest in the series, not excavated till after Daśaratha's reign. The Gopī cave excavated in the reign of Daśaratha is a plain tunnel-like excavation with an apse at either end, 44 feet long, 19 feet wide, and 10 feet high to the apex of the vaulted roof—itself a relic of the early use of bamboos in roof construction. The caves are chaste and severe, and their interiors polished in the Aśokan fashion.

The most striking monuments of Aśokan art, however, are the celebrated *dharma-stambhas*, free-standing pillars with sculptured capitals of which both shaft and capital strike one by their size and finish. Perhaps not all these columns were set up by Aśoka or meant to honour Buddhism; we know definitely that the caves already mentioned were dedicated to Ājīvikas. Besides the monuments themselves, there are the inscriptions on some of the pillars and elsewhere, which are models of careful and accurate engraving and therefore entitled to a place in the art of the age; the perfect execution of the brief record on the Rummindeī pillar is unrivalled. Likewise the finely polished surface of the monolithic columns and their capitals and of the interiors of the cave-dwellings are the high-water mark of the mason's and stone-cutter's skill, 'The art of polishing hard stone,' says Smith,[1] 'was carried to such perfection that it is said to have become a lost art beyond modern powers. The sides of the Barābar caves excavated in most refractory gneiss rock are polished like glass mirrors. The burnishing of Firoz Shah's *Lāt*, the column from Topra, now at Delhi, is so exquisite that several observers have believed the column to be metallic. Quaint Tom Coryate in the seventeenth century described the monument as "a brazen pillar" and even Bishop Heber, early in the

[1] *The Oxford History of India*, p. 113

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nineteenth century, received the impression that it was "a high black pillar of cast metal".'

The original number of such columns was at least thirty.[1] Ten of those that have survived in a more or less perfect state bear the inscriptions of Aśoka. Two with lion-capitals are still *in situ* and in a fair state of preservation—these at Kolhua (Basarh-Bakhira) and Lauriya Nandangarh. The latter has been described as 'the most graceful of all the Aśoka columns' on account of the proportions of its shaft which is 32 feet 9½ inches high, and diminishes from a base with a diameter of 35½ inches to only 22½ inches at the top. Percy Brown suggests that some of the notable pillars mark the stages of Aśoka's pilgrimage especially in Champaran and Muzaffarpur districts, Rāmpūrva, Lauriya Āraraj, Lauriya Nandangarh and Kolhua lying on the route from Bihar to the holy land of Buddhism bordering Nepal. Sāñchī may have belonged to a series on a more westerly line of approach. The remains of *stūpas* and other buildings near some of the pillars indicate extensive Buddhist settlements that once flourished at the spots. Each of these columns is a plain monolithic shaft of circular section, thirty to forty feet in height, rising straight from the ground without a base, and tapering like the trunk of a palm or pine tree. Above this is a bell-shaped capital, also monolithic, crowned by an abacus which serves as a support for a large sculpture, an animal in the round, or a group of animals supporting a Buddhist symbol, the latter most undoubtedly due to Aśoka. Shaft and capital together attain sometimes a height of fifty feet. The design and execution of the capitals and the sculptures on them received the utmost attention of the artists, and give clear evidence of their superior taste. The shaft and the capital were joined by a copper bolt fitting into the tenons with no cement or other binding material. A bolt from Rāmpūrva which has survived is barrel-shaped and over two feet in length, an excellent specimen of the coppersmith's art. 'Those who employed this copper dowel were quite aware of the destructive action of iron and other metals in such circumstances.'[2]

The art of Aśoka's time as seen in these pillars and capitals is a mature art, in some respects 'more mature than the Greek art of the time' in the opinion of Percy Gardner. The sudden introduction of stone on a large scale as a medium was due to Graeco-Persian influence. Like the hall of Pāṭaliputra, these columns owed much to Achaemenid models. Achaemenid art was itself a choice blend of characteristics drawn from several sources—Assyria and Babylonia for the representation of animals, Egypt for the employment of columns, and Ionia for the technique of *bas relief*. As in the work of the contemporary Seleucids, the filtered Hellenism which underlies the sculpture of Aśoka owes much indirectly to these sources. This definite and distinct school of sculpture is to a large though uncertain extent un-Indian, quite distinct from all other Indian work

[1] Smith, *ZDMG.* 1911

[2] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Buddhist and Hindu Periods*), p. 10

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before and after. In spite of the highly stylized character of these sculptures, they are marked by a striking naturalism seldom rivalled in Indian art.

The columns themselves, unlike the Persepolitan pillars, are monoliths of enormous size. The quarrying, fabrication, transport and erection of such huge masses—the heaviest column weighs about fifty tons—are sufficient proof that the stone-cutters and engineers of Aśoka's time 'were not inferior in skill and resource to those of any time or country.'[1] All the columns came from the celebrated sandstone quarry at Chunar in Bihar which seems to have attracted a small group of workmen from outside India assured of Aśoka's patronage and engaged to collaborate with the best craftsmen from within the country.

The capital of each pillar, as already indicated, comprised three members, which are most clearly marked in the Sārnāth capital which crowned the column raised in the deer-park where the Buddha delivered his first sermon, and which has been adopted as the emblem of the Indian Republic. This magnificent capital, discovered in 1905, is the best extant specimen of Aśokan sculpture executed late in the reign. The lowest member of this richly decorated capital is an inverted lotus, bell-shaped, with its petals indicated by bold fluting of its entire surface. Above it is an entablature with a frieze bearing sculptures in very high relief with the plastic qualities of sculptures in the round; they comprise four animals, an elephant, a galloping horse, a humped bull, and a lion, representing respectively the east, south, west and north, a symbolism traceable to Vedic sources. The four animals are separated by as many wheels (*chakras*) in the interspaces. At the summit of the capital there are four lions, or rather the forequarters of four lions, standing addorsed, which carried on their backs, to crown all, a stone wheel, 2 feet 9 inches in diameter, of which only fragments remain. 'It is difficult to find in any country', says Smith, 'an example of ancient animal sculpture superior or even equal to this beautiful work of art which successfully combines realistic modelling with idealistic dignity, and is finished in every detail with perfect accuracy. The *bas reliefs* on the abacus are as good in their way as the noble lions in the round.'

Within the limits of the general scheme, the artists enjoyed considerable freedom, and this accounts for wide differences in detail among the capitals, the abacus being rectangular or circular to suit the sculpture above it. Nearly as beautiful as the Sārnāth capital is that of one of the Rāmpūrva pillars, with its base equally campaniform, its entablature decorated by a delicious floral frieze of lotus and palmettes, and, to crown all, its admirable statue of a humped bull in the round. Another pillar from Rāmpūrva carries a seated lion, not so well executed as the Sārnāth lions. It is also a lion which surmounts the columns at Kolhua (Besarh-Bakhira), and at Lauriya Nandangarh. The terminal statue is an elephant at

[1] Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 18

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Sāṅkisa, a horse at Rummindeī (Lumbini), the site of the Buddha's birth. The elephant at Sāṅkisa is well modelled, but unfortunately badly mutilated. The frieze of the abacus also varies with the pillars; at Lauriya Nandangarh and Sāñchī, the frieze is a row of sacred flying geese in low relief; the lotus and palmette or honeysuckle recurs at Allahabad and Sāṅkisa.

The perfection of the lion-capital of Sārnāth and its replica at Sāñchī was doubtless the result of sustained and progressive effort. Indeed the animal sculptures of Aśoka's reign constitute an epoch in art-history. 'These *animaliers*,' says Grousset, 'at one stroke produced masterpieces. They were doubtless masters who knew the Achaemenid technique. The treatment of the muscles of the face and paws of the lions of Sārnāth directly recalls Khorasabad and Persepolis. But here the vigour and dignity of the Assyro-Persians combine with elements truly indigenous. The poesy of the Jātaka, the Buddhist tenderness towards our brothers, the animals, have transformed the importations from Anterior Asia. They have quieted the Assyrian violence as they have restored to the dryness of the Achaemenid forms a plenitude of life and a new freshness. The hard realism of Ashur has become a liberal naturalism of marvellous suppleness; and Indian art is born. Look at the elephant of the Sārnāth capital, the easy gait of this enormous mass, the life which circulates in this quivering trunk. All the art of Ellora and Māvalipuram is already contained in this short relief.' The forepart of an elephant, about life-size, modelled in the round and cut out of the live rock that bears the well-known Kaliṅga Edicts at Dhauli in Orissa, also deserves mention in the same class of animal sculptures. A century or so later, an attempt to imitate the lions of the lion-capital on the pillars of the southern gateway at Sāñchī was a failure.

Though clearly inspired by foreign models, Aśokan art is as clearly different from them, and in some respects much their superior. In the age of Aśoka the chief schools of Greek sculpture flourished, not in Greece, but in Asia Minor at Pergamum, Ephesus and other places. Greek or rather Hellenistic art had absorbed much from Asian and African traditions, and as has already been indicated more than once, it is not easy to distinguish the Greek from Western Asian influences in Mauryan art. The acanthus leaves, palmettes and other motifs are as much Asian as Greek. The design and style of the Aśokan monuments owed something to alien models, and foreign artists may have been employed to plan them at large; but the details of decoration and execution were in Indian hands and the substantial originality of Indian art was maintained even on these monuments. The magnificent use of the free-standing column so characteristic of Mauryan art was unknown to Persia and the Hellenistic countries. The borrowings that can be definitely proved are confined to details such as honeysuckle and palmette, the bead and fillet, and the cable moulding and other decorative elements, some of which continued in use for many centuries. The fact remains, however,

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that Mauryan art as a whole exhibits enough un-Indian features in its make-up to place it outside the main line of Indian artistic tradition.

Besides the monuments already noticed, a small rail at Sārnāth and a throne in the interior of the temple at Bodh Gayā can surely be ascribed to the reign of Aśoka. They are devoid of ornament, and each is a monolith cut with exquisite precision. Other relics have been assigned to the Mauryan period on account of the use of Chunar sandstone and the brilliant polish imparted to its surface. Notable among them are two *yaksha* statues from Patna, fragments of a ribbed stone umbrella from Sāñchī, a chauri-bearing *yakshī* statue from Didārgañj, a more than life-size statue from Parkham and two mutilated stone images of Tīrthaṅkaras from Lohānipur, besides the torso of a *yaksha* or a king from Baroda (near Mathurā). The two *yaksha* statues bear Brāhmī inscriptions of about the beginning of the Christian era and the Parkham *yaksha* bears an inscription which Vögel assigns to the second century B.C. The *yakshī* from Didārgañj is perhaps artistically the best of these statues, and may be said, by the beautiful modelling of the torso, the abdomen and the neck, to anticipate some of the aesthetic traits of Indian women as they developed at Bhārhut and Sāñchī. But to treat these figures as of the same period as the magnificent sculptures of Aśoka's reign is not easy, though the argument has been advanced by Grousset that the human sculpture of the Mauryan epoch fell far short of its animal sculpture, because the artists still clung to the old indigenous technique involved in cutting the human form in a shaft of wood. Nihar Ranjan Ray has argued with much force that the art of polishing stone once learnt would have persisted for a time after the end of Mauryan rule, and that 'these life-size, plastically round statues belong to different aspects and phases of Indian art. They are all Indian in form and appearance, in style and treatment, and they have hardly any relation with the court art of the Mauryas.'[1] The same writer casts a doubt on the correctness of treating some sandstone heads, several terra-cottas from Sārnāth, Basarh, Bulandi Bagh, Kumrahar and elsewhere as Mauryan on merely stylistic grounds. Some of them show occasionally foreign facial types and Greek motifs in their head-dress; but Hellenistic contacts were potent and effective after the end of Mauryan rule when Hellenistic provincial art penetrated far into the Ganges Valley.[2]

[1] *Maurya and Sunga Art*, p. 53. See ch. xxii *post* for a further discussion of these statues.

[2] Ibid. pp. 53-5

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CHAPTER IV

POST-MAURYAN DYNASTIES

(184 B.C. to A.D. 200)

THANKS to the Purāṇic chroniclers the continuity of Indian history after the break-up of the Maurya empire is preserved up to the last quarter of the first century B.C. The narrative then begins to lose itself in the darkness of uncertainty which is occasionally dispelled by the light thrown by coins and inscriptions. The Purāṇic narrative can be verified and supplemented by other literary references, as well as numismatic and epigraphic evidence. For the period immediately following the overthrow of the Mauryas, the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali, the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa and the *Harshacharita* of Bāṇa supply interesting and important details. Direct epigraphic and numismatic evidence is altogether lacking for the earliest part of this period.[1] Some glimpses of later Śuṅga history are afforded by the inscriptions[2] from Ayodhyā, Vidiśā (modern Bhilsa) and Bhārhut, and the coins found at Kauśāmbī (modern Kosam), Ayodhyā, Ahichhatra, and Mathurā. For the third century A.D. coins constitute our main source of information. But the numismatic evidence is often insufficient, inconclusive and difficult to interpret. Therefore in weaving these stray items of information into a continuous narrative, we cannot claim finality for the solutions we have proposed of the problems that confront us.

THE ŚUṄGAS

According to the Purāṇas the suzerainty of Magadha passed from the Mauryas to the Śuṅgas by the murder of the last Maurya emperor, Bṛihadratha, at the hands of his own commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra.[3] This statement is confirmed by Bāṇa, the celebrated Sanskrit prose writer and court poet of Harshavardhana of Kanauj. Bāṇa tells us that the wicked commander-in-chief Pushyamitra, having paraded the entire army under the pretext of a military display, killed his master Bṛihadratha of

[1] The coin attributed to Pushyamitra by K. P. Jayaswal (*JBORS.* xx pp. 291-2) has been shown to be of king Pushpaśrī by A. S. Altekar (*JNSI.* iv pp. 136 ff). The coins with the legend *agimita* are not unanimously attributed to the Śuṅga king of that name.

[2] *EI.* xx p. 54; *ASIAR.* 1908-9, p. 126; 1913-14, p. 190. Lüders, *List* no. 687, 688, Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions.* Altekar has published a coin bearing the legend *Śuṅgarājas.* *JNSI.* iv pp. 14-15

[3] *DKA.* pp. 30-1

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the Maurya family, who was weak of intellect.[1] The murder of Bṛihadratha may be placed in 184 B.C.

The success of Pushyamitra's *coup d'état* was in no small measure due to the general feeling of dissatisfaction against the weak Maurya rulers for their failure to protect the realm against the adventurous Greek invaders who seem to have advanced without let or hindrance to the very outskirts of the imperial capital, Pāṭaliputra. We learn from the 'Yugapurāṇa' (a section of *Gārgī Saṁhitā*) that 'the viciously valiant Greeks overran Sāketa or Oudh, Pañchāla, Mathurā, and reached Pāṭaliputra.' There was a complete breakdown of the administration. Fortunately for India the invader was unable to reap the fruits of his military successes, as he had to hasten back to his home on account of 'a dreadful war having broken out amongst themselves.' It is not certain who the invader was, but most probably he was Demetrius,[2] who, we know, was compelled to withdraw from his Indian campaign on account of the successful advance of Eucratides. The memory of the Greek invasion was still green when Pushyamitra's sacrificial priest, Patañjali, was writing his *Mahābhāshya* on the grammar of Pāṇini, and illustrated the use of the imperfect tense in Sanskrit by referring to an event of recent occurrence and gave the following examples : *aruṇad-Yavanaḥ Sāketam ; aruṇad-Yavanaḥ Mādhyamikām*.[3] The Greek invasion had created chaotic conditions in Northern India, and as Demetrius beat a hasty retreat withdrawing all his forces which he urgently needed to meet his formidable foe, Eucratides, the field in India was open for an adventurous leader. Pushyamitra seized the opportunity and laid the foundations of a new ruling house.

The new dynasty was known as the Śuṅga[4]—a name of considerable

[1] *Prajñādurbalam cha baladarśanavyapadeśadarśitāśesha-sainyaḥ senānīranāryo Mauryam Bṛihadratham pipesha Pushyamitraḥ svāminam. Harshacharita*, ed. Führer, p. 269. In this passage *anārya* does not mean 'low born' as Cowell and Thomas have translated it. Bāṇa calls him *anārya* (ignoble) because of the treacherous act. Jayaswal has effectively demonstrated that the act was perfectly justified. See *JBORS.* 1918, p. 260 f.

[2] According to W. W. Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India* pp. 132-3) the invasion took place *c.*180 B. C. after Pushyamitra's accession. He places the retreat twelve years later in 168 B.C. when Eucratides arrived on the scene. It is, however, extremely unlikely that the Greek forces advanced with the swiftness of lightning up to the very walls of the imperial capital, when Pushyamitra was holding the reins of power. There is no definite evidence to place Demetrius's retreat in 168 B.C. What we know for certain is that Demetrius was in a position to undertake the invasion in *c.*187 B.C. and he must have retreated *some time before* 168 B.C.

[3] iii 2. 111, ed. Kielhorn II, p. 119

[4] The lineage of Pushyamitra has been a subject of controversy in recent years. H. C. Raychaudhuri, (*IC.* III p. 739 thinks that the name of the family was Baiṁbika. He draws attention to a verse in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (iv 14) where Agnimitra calls himself a Baiṁbika. In the *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*, '*Baiṁbikayaḥ*' are mentioned amongst the Kaśyapas, and Raychaudhuri connects this with the mention of a Kāśyapa Senānī in the *Harivaṁśa* (Bhavishyat Parva, ch. ii 40). It should however be noted that the form in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* is Baiṁbika whereas in *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra* it is Baiṁbiki. Raychaudhuri further remarks, 'It may be remembered in this connection that the dynastic designation Śuṅga is applied to Pushyamitra and his progeny

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antiquity which occurs in the *Vaṁśā Brāhmaṇa*, the *Āśvalāyana-śrautasūtra*, and the grammar of Pāṇini.[1] The association of the Śuṅgas in Vedic literature, cited above, with ancient priestly families, shows that they were Brahmins.[2]

Although opposition to Pushyamitra's accession seems to have been negligible, that astute statesman took adequate measures to ensure against all eventualities. It was obviously as a part of such a scheme that a minister of the late Maurya king Bṛihadratha was imprisoned.[3] This minister, we learn from Kālidāsa, was the brother-in-law of the ruler of Vidarbha, Yajñasena, who was a usurper. The rightful heir was Mādhavasena who had been put in prison by Yajñasena, while the former was crossing the frontier of Vidarbha along with his younger sister Mālavikā who had been betrothed to Pushyamitra's son Agnimitra, viceroy of Vidiśā. Yajñasena's action naturally necessitated the intervention of Agnimitra who called upon Yajñasena to release Mādhavasena. Yajñasena curtly replied that he had adopted the right course of action against a collateral and a rival claimant to the kingdom; and Agnimitra should remain neutral in this affair. However, he offered to set Mādhavasena free on condition that his brother-in-law, the ex-minister of the late Maurya Bṛihadratha, was released by the Śuṅga. The imposition of this condition was taken as an affront by Agnimitra who ordered an invasion of Vidarbha. The Śuṅga army advanced as far as the river Varadā (modern Wardha), and Yajñasena submitted. Vidarbha was divided between the two claimants Yajñasena and Mādhavasena—the river Varadā forming the boundary between the two parts. This extended the sphere of influence of the Śuṅgas to the south of the river Narmadā. There is no evidence to support Dr. Barnet's view that Yajñasena was a feudatory of the Andhras. Even if he had any hopes of help from that side, it is clear that the Andhra sovereign was not yet in a position to intervene effectively in the interests of Yajñasena.

only in the Purāṇas. It is not used in reference to the Senānī and his son in the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Mālavikāgnimitra* or even in the *Harshacharita* which mentions the dynastic revolution involving the overthrow of the last of the Imperial Mauryas.' (*IC.* VI p. 410). He concludes, 'the possibility is therefore not precluded that the Purāṇas may have included under the name Śuṅga, two distinct groups of kings, viz. the line of Pushyamitra which is styled Baiṁbika by Kālidāsa and the real Śuṅgas who succeeded this line and are referred to by Bāṇa and the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti' (ibid. p. 411). In spite of these forceful arguments we have preferred to designate Pushyamitra as a Śuṅga for two reasons. Firstly, the word *baiṁbika* in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* has been translated as 'a gallant lover' by Apte, and there is nothing to show that it was a proper name. Secondly, Dhanadeva of the Ayodhyā inscription who is a descendant of the *senāpati*, is apparently a Śuṅga as he is closely associated with the Śuṅga branch of Kosala, founded by Mūladeva.

[1] *Madragārā chchhauṅgāyaner Madragāraḥ Śauṅgāyaniḥ*, *Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, I kh.
Bhāradvāj āgniveśy Arkshā Śuṅgāḥ Śaiśirayāḥ Kataḥ Āśva. śrau. sū. Pariśishṭa.
Vikarna-Śuṅga Chhagalād Vatsa-Bharadvāj-Ātrishu Pāṇ. iv 1, 117

[2] For a contrary view see J. C. Ghosh, *IHQ.* XV p. 629. He argues, though unconvincingly, that the Śuṅgas were Kshatriyas.

[3] *Mālavikāgnimitra* i 7

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Pushyamitra was now the undisputed master of Northern India. In order to proclaim his sovereignty, he undertook the performance of the *aśvamedha* (horse-sacrifice), the time-honoured Vedic rite which was regarded as the symbol of royal glory. There is a reference to the performance in the *Mahābhāshya*. While commenting on Pāṇini, iii, 2, 123, Patañjali, giving an example of an act that has begun but is not yet finished, says *iha Pushyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ* (here we are performing the sacrifice for Pushyamitra). Although there is no record of any military activity undertaken by Pushyamitra as a condition precedent to the performance of the sacrifice, it may be safely inferred that he had thoroughly consolidated his position. No monarch could have let loose the sacrificial horse without making sure of its safe return. The act therefore must have been preceded by military campaigns in the approved fashion of the *digvijaya* (conquest of the quarters) and may be taken as a proof of Pushyamitra's secure hold over his dominions.

In the Ayodhyā inscription of Dhanadeva, Pushyamitra is credited with the performance of two horse-sacrifices. This indicates a period of continuous peace, prosperity, and success. The second of the two sacrifices, appears to be the one mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* and was performed at an advanced age, since Pushyamitra's grandson was already a grown-up youth at this time. The sacrificial horse let loose for this sacrifice was guarded by one hundred princes, and prince Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, commanded the escorting force. While wandering on the right bank of the Indus,[1] this horse was seized by a squadron of Greek cavalry, probably an advance column of Menander's forces.[2] After a hotly contested battle the Greeks were routed and the horse was brought back to Pāṭaliputra, and the sacrifice successfully concluded.

Pushyamitra is supposed to have met with two reverses. Firstly, Prof. Rapson thinks that he lost Ujjain to the Andhra monarch Śātakarṇi I[3]. Prof. Rapson places reliance on the Andhra coins bearing the name Śāta. He identifies Śāta with Śātakarṇi I and since these coins are of the 'Malwa fabric' they indicate Śātakarṇi's possession of Avanti. Recent discoveries, however, have taken away the very basis of Prof. Rapson's suggestion. That Śāta is an abbreviation of Sātavāhana and does not stand for Śāta-

[1] There is a sharp difference of opinion on the identification of the river Sindhu mentioned in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. According to Prof. Rapson, 'the choice seems to be between Kali Sindhu a tributary of the Charmaṇvatī (Chambel) flowing within a hundred miles of Mādhyamikā (near Chitor) which was besieged by the Yavanas,' and the Sindhu, a tributary of the Jumna.' *CHI.* I p. 520. But Dr. R. C. Majumdar has refuted the suggestion by adducing very strong arguments and has conclusively proved that the river meant is the Indus (*IHQ.* I p. 214). To his arguments it may be added that Kālidāsa also speaks of the *dakshiṇa* bank of the Varadā which also flows from north to south. Evidently Kālidāsa is using the word in the sense of 'right' and not 'southern.'

[2] After the death of Eucratides, Menander, who was in possession of Gāndhāra since the retreat of Demetrius, renewed the attempt to conquer India beyond the Indus. The Greeks suffered this defeat at the initial stage, but ultimately succeeded in occupying the Panjab up to the Rāvi.

[3] *CHI.* I p. 532

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karṇi is proved by the coins bearing the full legend *raño siri Śādavāhanas*.[1] Moreover the conquest of Avanti, is not attributed to Śātakarṇi I in the inscription of his queen Nāyanikā. Further, Jaina tradition as preserved by Merutuṅga counts Pushyamitra amongst the rulers of Avanti and assigns to him a reign of 30 years in this region. The Jaina *gāthas* quoted by Merutuṅga do not mention the Sātavāhanas even as the successors of Pushyamitra in Avanti; but instead mention Bālamitta and Bhānumitta, who are apparently some Śuṅga kings with variant names. As a matter of fact an Andhra-Śuṅga conflict at this stage was out of the question. We have seen above that the Śuṅga armies triumphantly marched across the Narmadā and not only forced the ruler of Vidarbha to submit, but to agree to a partition of his kingdom without a word of protest from the Andhras, who were the natural leaders of the South. The inference is clear that Sātavāhana suzerainty had not yet been established even over Vidarbha.

Equally unconvincing is the suggestion based on a statement in the Hāthīgumphā inscription that Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, attacked Magadha and defeated its king Bahasatimita, who is identified with Pushyamitra.[2] R. P. Chanda and Allan have demonstrated that the suggestion is untenable on epigraphical and philological grounds.[3] They point out that the reading Bahasatimita is impossible. According to Allan, 'the word in question begins with *bahu*, the certain elements in it seem to be *bahu* (*su*—) *idita*; it is very probably not a proper name at all, for the suggested reading of the preceding words as *māgadhaṁ cha rājānaṁ* is extremely improbable, philologically as well as palaeographically.' The use of synonyms in the case of proper names is absurd and the equation Pushya =Bṛihaspati, must be dismissed as ridiculous.

Professor Rapson has suggested that Śākala was wrested by Menander, perhaps during Pushyamitra's lifetime.[4] It is rather difficult to estimate the extent of the Greek conquests in the Panjab during the reign of Pushyamitra. But one thing is certain. As stated above, the references to the Greek invasion in the *Mahābhāshya* and the 'Yugapurāṇa' must be connected with the invasion of Demetrius during the reign of the last of the Mauryas. Moreover it must not be overlooked that these Sanskrit texts refer to a Greek *invasion* or siege and not to a Greek *conquest*. We must not confuse *aruṇat* with *ajayat*. As regards the reference in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, to the clash between the Greek and Śuṅga armies, it should be noted that the Greeks were still to the west of the Indus when Pushyamitra was performing an *aśvamedha* for the second time. He was at least sixty years old at that time. It is, however, possible that soon after the defeat of Menander's advance columns on the Indus, he launched a vigorous attack and pushed on to the banks of the Rāvi.

[1] *JNSI.* vii p. 1; *BDCRI.* vi No. 3. See however ch. x under Sātakarni I.
[2] *CHI.* i p. 537; *JBORS.* 1918, pp. 257 ff.; *AO.* i p. 29
[3] *IHQ.* 1929 p. 393 f., 595; *BMCCAI.* p. xcviii
[4] *CHI.* i p. 519

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According to the text of the 'Yugapurāṇa' as amended by K. H. Dhruva, Pushyamitra is said to have waged war against the Greek ruler of Śākala, for the sake of a beautiful damsel and died fighting.[1] That is the only piece of evidence from Indian sources which may be construed as supporting Rapson's suggestion.

Buddhist tradition as preserved in the *Divyāvadāna* and in the work of the Buddhist historian Tāranātha, depicts Pushyamitra as a great persecutor of Buddhism. According to the former source, Pushyamitra, acting on the advice of his Brahmin chaplain, resolved to annihilate the teachings of the Buddha. He went out to destroy the great monastery known as Kukkuṭārāma, at Pāṭaliputra, but was frightened by a roar and came back. He then marched out with a fourfold army destroying *stūpas*, burning monasteries and killing the monks, as far as Śākala. At Śākala he is said to have announced a reward of one hundred *dīnāras* for killing one *bhikshu*. In view of the fact that religious persecution in ancient India was an exception rather than the rule, and keeping in mind the tendency of the Buddhist writers to distort facts and invent imaginary accounts of the evil deeds of non-Buddhists—even Aśoka has not been spared—we cannot give the same credence to these accounts as has been accorded by some writers. While it may be conceded that some Buddhists, particularly the monks, may have suffered from certain disabilities, the story of a general persecution of all and sundry is evidently the invention of frustrated minds which found that the state patronage was rapidly being shifted to the Brahmins, and were aghast at the revival of the ancient Vedic ritual of the *aśvamedha*. It is not even unlikely that the hardships of the Buddhists were in many cases due to political reasons and were of their own inviting. The Buddhist population may not have readily reconciled itself to Pushyamitra's action in overthrowing a dynasty which had come to be looked upon as the bulwark of Buddhism. In the Panjab, Buddhism seems to have openly allied itself with the Greek invaders, and this must have given Pushyamitra sufficient cause for meting out to them the treatment which all traitors deserve.[2] The Buddhist religion as such appears to have escaped quite unscathed from the sanguinary fury of Pushyamitra. Some of the noblest Buddhist monuments —the *stūpas* of Sāñchī and Bhārhut—were not only spared, but continued to receive both private and royal support. A number of additions to the beautifully sculptured railings of these monuments were made during the Śuṅga régime, and there is a definite mention of a donation to the *stūpa* at Bhārhut during the rule of the Śuṅgas.[3]

[1] *JBORS.* xvi pp. 18 ff.

[2] Cf. K. P. Jayaswal, 'The political psychology explains the pitiless policy of the Śuṅga against Buddhism in the North. It is significant that it was at Sākala, the town and base of Menander, that Pushyamitra made his notorious declaration setting a price of 100 gold pieces on the head of every Buddhist monk. Buddhism was dealt with severely for having allied itself with the Greeks.' *JBORS.* 1918 p. 263

[3] Shri N. N. Ghosh has argued (*Early History of India*, pp. 163-5) that the Bhārhut inscription of Dhanabhūti cannot exonerate Pushyamitra from

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The Purāṇas assign a reign of 36 years to Pushyamitra. According to the generally accepted chronology his rule ended in 148 B.C.[1]

Pushyamitra was succeeded by his son Agnimitra in 148 B.C. From Kālidāsa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitra* we learn that Agnimitra had been governing the province of Vidiśā or eastern Mālava during Pushyamitra's reign. The title of *rājā* given to him in the play is only a courtesy title, and does not indicate his independent rule, although his father seems to have left in his hands a great deal of initiative in matters concerning the administration. He waged a war, for example, against the ruler of Vidarbha without referring the matter to his father. Agnimitra ruled for eight years. No events of this period of his rule are known. There are no inscriptions or coins of his reign, unless the copper coins bearing the legend *Agimitrasa* in Brāhmī characters of about the second century B.C. discovered from various places in Pañchāla, can be attributed to him.[2] Agnimitra was succeeded by Sujyeshṭha[3] who ruled for seven years. Numismatists are not inclined to assign to him the Kauśāmbī coins bearing the legend *Jeṭhamita*. No other information is available about him. He was succeeded by Sumitra[4] in 133 B.C. Sumitra as a prince had won laurels in the battle against the Greeks when commanding the force escorting the sacrificial horse let loose by his grandfather Pushyamitra. After his accession to the throne he does not seem to have kept up the martial spirit and vigour of his youthful days. He gave himself up to a life of ease and pleasure. This afforded a welcome opportunity to the forces of disruption, and the disintegration of the empire set in. We are told by Bāṇa that Sumitra, who was very fond of music and dancing, was killed by Mūladeva while enjoying a concert.[5] This Mūladeva is in all probability identical with the king whose coins have been found at Ayodhyā and may be regarded as a predecessor of Dhanadeva described

the blame attributed to him by the *Divyāvadāna* as this inscription does not belong to the reign of Pushyamitra. But he ignores the fact that the evidence of the *Divyāvadāna* is partial and stands uncorroborated.

[1] The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas assign a rule of 60 years to Pushyamitra. R. C. Majumdar thinks that this total may be made up by two distinct periods—first when Pushyamitra was a governor of Vidiśā under the Mauryas, but *de facto* ruler of the whole empire, and the second when he became the *de jure* emperor after overthrowing Bṛihadratha (*IHQ*. I p. 91 ff.) Sten Konow also has split up Pushyamitra's reign into two parts—30 years of rule in Mālava and 6 years in Magadha. (*AO*. I).

[2] Numismatists are generally reluctant to attribute these coins to Agnimitra. Cf. J. Allan, *BMCCAI*. pp. cxx, cxxi.

[3] This appears to be the correct form of the name, the variant Vasujyeshṭha being due to the confusion between *ch* and *v* which are alike in the Gupta script.

[4] This form of the name is given by Bāṇa and some MSS. of the Purāṇas and is preferable on palaeographic grounds. Kālidāsa and the majority of Purāṇa MSS. have Vasumitra, which, however, appears to be a scribal error—a Gupta *ch* having been mistaken for a *v* and tagged on to the name.

[5] *HC*. 269. *atidayita-lāsyasya cha śāilūsha-mṛidhyamadhyāsya mūrdhānam-asilatayā mriṇālam-iva alunad-Agnimitrātmajasya Sumitrasya Mūladevaḥ*. While the Kashmir MSS. read the name of the assassin as Mitradeva, three out of the four MSS. belonging to the same family and derived from one Indian *codex archetypus* and one of the MSS.

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as 'Lord of Kosala' in the Ayodhyā inscription.[1] Mūladeva, may therefore be regarded as the founder of the independent principality of Kosala. This was the first secession from the empire. With the defection of Kosala, the Śuṅga hold over the territories to the west of Magadha must have been lost. It was most probably about this time that the independent lines of rulers made known to us by their coins came into existence in Pañchāla, Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. These kingdoms were founded by their erstwhile governors or scions of the Śuṅga family who ceased to recognise the authority of the imperial head. As a token of their absolute independence, they began to mint their own coinage. The Śuṅga empire now consisted of Magadha and the central Indian territories only. The Purāṇas assign a rule of ten years to Sumitra. His reign therefore came to a close in 123 B.C.

The next three names in the Purāṇic list, namely those of Āndhraka,[2] Pulindaka, and Ghosha, do not appear to belong to the Śuṅga family and have crept into the Purāṇa texts on account of some confusion on the part of the editor of these texts. Taking advantage of the turmoil consequent on the murder of Sumitra, the Andhras appear to have raided Magadha. It may be on account of this unrecorded raid resulting in a temporary occupation of Pāṭaliputra that the two names Āndhraka and Pulindaka got into the list of Śuṅga kings. Ghosha of the Purāṇic list may be identified with the ruler of Pañchāla whose copper coins are known. That these three names are extraneous to the Śuṅga dynasty is clearly indicated by the fact that their inclusion creates a chronological anomaly. The Purāṇas assign a total duration of 112 years to the Śuṅga dynasty. But if we add up the period of the rule of each king, including these three kings—Āndhraka, Pulindaka and Ghosha—the total for the whole dynasty comes to 120.[3] By excluding them we can arrive at the true figure of 112 years as their reigns together cover a period of 8 years only. Sumitra was, therefore, succeeded by Vajramitra in 123 B.C., not by Āndhraka. No events have been recorded of Vajramitra's reign of nine years. He was succeeded by Bhāgavata, in 114 B.C.

An inscription in early Brāhmī characters dated in the twelfth year

of Śaṅkara's commentary collated by Führer, give the name as Mūladeva whose historicity is established by the copper coins from Kosala. The variant Mitradeva, does not appear to be the proper name but it is a scribal substitute on the analogy of expressions like *Gauḍādhipa* or *Magadhanātha* meaning the Mitra=Śuṅga king.'

[1] *EI.* XX p. 54

[2] The variant Odraka for Āndhraka is a scribal error. Its identification with Ūdāka of the Pabhosā inscription sponsored by K. P. Jayaswal and endorsed by Rapson lacks plausibility. Ūdāka does not appear to be the name of a reigning sovereign as it is unaccompanied by any honorific like *mahārājādhirāja*. B. M. Barua has suggested that it is a place-name (*IHQ*. 1930, p. 23).

[3] The lengths of individual reigns are as follows : Pushymitra 36, Agnimitra 8, Sujyeshṭha 7, Sumitra 10, Āndhraka 2, Pulindaka 3, Ghosha 3, Vajramitra 9, Bhāgavata 32, Devabhūti 10, total =120. But the total is categorically stated to be 112 ; cf. *daś-aite śuṅgarājāno bhokshyant=imāṁ vasundharāṁ śataṁ pūrṇaṁ daśa dve cha tataḥ Kaṇvān gamishyati DKA*. p. 33

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of king Bhāgavata has been discovered on a fragment of a stone pillar at Bhilsa in Madhya Bharat.[1] It records the setting up of a flag-staff in honour of the god Vishṇu in the most important temple at Bhilsa, by a private individual named Gautamīputra. There seems to be no valid reason for doubting the identity of this king with Bhāgavata Śuṅga of the Purāṇas. There is another inscription on the Garuḍa Pillar at Besnagar two miles from Bhilsa which is dated in the fourteenth year of king Bhāgabhadra. It records the setting up of this pillar in honour of the god Vishṇu by Heliodorus, an ambassador from the Greek king of Taxila, Antialcidas. In spite of the slight variation in the form of the two names there can be no doubt that Bhāgabhadra of the Besnagar record is identical with Bhāgavata Śuṇga,[2] for the simple reason that their dates almost coincide—Bhāgavata of the Purāṇas ruled from 114 B.C.; and that is approximately the time of Antialcidas and therefore of Bhāgabhadra. The Besnagar inscription of the Greek plenipotentiary is of great historical interest. Not only does it show that there was a close friendship between the Indo-Greek kings in the Panjab and the Śuṅgas, but it also demonstrates the vitality of the Indian culture which was influencing a highly civilised people like the Greeks who became devotees of Indian gods. Bhāgavata enjoyed a long reign of 32 years. He was succeeded by Devabhūti[3] in 82 B.C.

Bāṇa tells us that a Śuṅga king who was overfond of women's company lost his life at the hands of the daughter of his female attendant disguised as a queen. The murder was committed at the instance of the king's minister Vasudeva.[4] Since the Purāṇas speak of the overthrow of the last Śuṅga monarch Devabhūti, whom they describe as dissolute, at the hands of his Brahmin minister Vasudeva, it is reasonable to infer that Bāṇa's account relates to Devabhūti. After contriving the murder of his master, Vasudeva himself ascended the throne. The Purāṇas assign to Devabhūti a rule of ten years which came to a close in 72 B.C. and with him ended the dynasty founded by Pushyamitra. The suzerainty of Magadha was lost by the descendants of Pushyamitra mainly because of their moral depravity. However, though the Śuṅgas lost Magadha they did not altogether disappear from the stage of Indian history. The Purāṇas state that Vasudeva Kaṇva shall be king along with (*lit.* among) the Śuṅgas and that 'the Andhras will destroy the Kāṇvas and whatever is left of the Śuṅga power.'[5] Presumably, the reference is to the continuance of the Śuṅga rule in Vidiśā until that region passed into the hands of the Andhras.

[1] *ASIAR.* 1913-14, p. 190
[2] Cf. *CHI.* i pp. 521-2; and '*Scythian Period*', p. 341
[3] The variant form Devabhūmi also occurs.
[4] Cf. *ati-strī-saṅga-ratam ananga-paravaśam Śuṅgaṁ amātyo Vasudevo Devabhūti dāsī-duhitrā devī vyañjanayā vītajīvitaṃ-akārayāt HC.* p. 269
[5] *Amātyo Vasudevas tu bālyād vyasaninaṁ nṛipaṁ Devabhūmim tath otpātya Śuṅgeshu bhavitā nṛipaḥ* and, *Kāṇvāyanam athoddhṛitya Śuśarmāṇam prasahya taṁ Śuṅgānāṁ chāpi yachchhishṭam kshapayitvā balam tadā. DKA.* pp. 33-4, 38

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THE KĀṆVĀYANAS

The dynasty founded by Vasudeva is known as the Kaṇva or Kāṇvāyana dynasty. Like their predecessors, the Śuṅgas, the Kaṇvas were also Brahmins, and figure amongst ancient priestly families of Vedic times.[1] The Purāṇas designate the kings of this line also as Śuṅgabhṛityas or servants of the Śuṅgas presumably because they had been in the service of the Śuṅga kings as ministers.

The kingdom to which the Kaṇva Vasudeva succeeded was much diminished in extent. The Panjab had been already occupied by the Greeks. The greater part of the Gangetic plain to the west of Magadha had been parcelled out amongst the various 'Mitra' kings, and Vidiśā was still held by the Śuṅgas. The jurisdiction of the Kaṇvas was probably confined to Magadha alone, although the Purāṇas speak of them as 'enjoying the allegiance of the feudatories.'[2] This may be only a 'conventional' compliment to a dynasty ruling over Magadha.

The first ruler Vasudeva, who usurped his master's throne, reigned for nine years from 72 to 63 B.C. He was succeeded by his son Bhūmimitra.

Coins bearing the legend *Bhūmimitra* have been discovered from several places in Pañchāla. However, the numismatists are not inclined to attribute these to the Kaṇva king of this name and regard them as local issues. Bhūmimitra is assigned a rule of fourteen years in the Purāṇas, the limits of which may be put between 63 and 49 B.C. He was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇa. His identity with Vishṇumitra of the coins has been suggested,[3] without much plausibility. Nārāyaṇa ruled for twelve years from 49 B.C. to 37 B.C. and was succeeded by his son Suśarman. The attempt to identify him with Suśarman, the founder of the Parivrājaka dynasty is fantastic.[4] The chronological gap between the two is so wide that the identification has to be rejected on this consideration alone. Suśarman was the last ruler in the Kaṇva family. On the expiry of his ten-years rule, the Andhras conquered Magadha in 27 B.C. and the Kāṇvāyana dynasty came to an end after 45 years of existence.

According to the Purāṇas the Andhra monarch who overthrew Suśarman Kaṇva was Śimuka, the first member of the Andhra dynasty. There seems to be some error on the part of the ancient editors of the Purāṇa texts, as the Andhra dynasty had been founded about two centuries before the overthrow of the Kaṇvas. Śimuka and Suśarman could not therefore

[1] Cf. *Vedic Index*, i p. 147. The form Kāṇvāyana meaning a descendant of Kaṇva occurs in *RV.* vii 55, 4

[2] Cf. *ete praṇata-sāmantā ... bhavishyā dhārmikāścha ye. DKA.* p. 35. But who could be these feudatories? The states in Northern India all appear to be independent. The Suṅgas in Vidiśā could not be expected to acknowledge the overlordship of their erstwhile servants. H. C. Raychaudhuri has stated: 'It is not improbable that the later Kaṇvas succeeded in extending their frontier to the Godâvarī and even further to the south.' *IC.* vi p. 412. But the Purāṇas never mention a single Kaṇva king among the rulers of Vidiśā, not to speak of any territory to the south of the Narmadā.

[3] *PAIOC.* (Madras 1924) p. 412

[4] *ABRORI.* xix p. 83

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have been contemporaries. The Andhra ruler who conquered Magadha from the Kaṇvas must have been a king who ruled much later; his identity cannot be ascertained now.

The Andhra conquest of Magadha does not seem to have resulted in a permanent occupation. No coins or inscriptions of a single Andhra king have so far been discovered from any archaeological site in Magadha. Not one of the later great Andhras claims the overlordship of Magadha. The great Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is described only as 'lord of the Deccan' —*dakshiṇāpathapati*. It seems likely, therefore, that after a brief period of occupation, the Andhras left Magadha to its fate. After the Andhras withdrew it was ruled by petty kings whom every powerful neighbour tried to humiliate.

Very little is known of the history of Magadha during the first three centuries of the Christian era. The evidence from both literary and archaeological sources is very scanty. A clay seal[1] discovered from Basarh shows that the ruler of Magadha in the beginning of the third century A.D. had matrimonial alliances with the Western Kshatrapas. The seal belongs to Māhadevī Prabhudāmā, daughter of Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasiṁha and the sister of Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena (A.D. 200-222). It was during this obscure period that the Gupta and Lichchhavi dynasties came into existence. Their amalgamation led to the foundation of the imperial power of the Guptas in the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era.

LOCAL DYNASTIES OF THE WESTERN GANGETIC PLAIN
c. 123 B.C. *to* A.D. 200

The unification of India which had been accomplished by the Maurya emperor Chandragupta was seriously threatened under the weak successors of Aśoka, and though the process of disintegration was held up for the time being by the prompt action of Pushyamitra who snatched the sceptre from the weak hands of Bṛihadratha, disruption proceeded apace after the death of the founder of the Śuṅga empire. The centrifugal forces appear to have received a fillip from the incursions of the Greeks. Menander, who had already served as a lieutenant of Demetrius and was now ruling over the territories immediately to the west of the Indus, encouraged by the reported hostility of the Buddhists to the Śuṅga rule, crossed the Indus and occupied the Panjab as far as the river Rāvi. The Greek success must have dealt a shattering blow to the prestige of the imperial Śuṅga power and encouraged the provincial governors, some of whom appear to have been scions of the blood royal, to secede from the central authority. Numismatic evidence indicates that independent principalities came into existence at Ayodhyā, Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Ahichhatra almost simul-

[1] *ASIAR.* 1913-14, p. 136. pl. xlvii, no. 248

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taneously. As most of the names supplied by the coins end in *mitra*, they seem to suggest a connection with the imperial Śuṅga house. However, there is no definite evidence to establish the Śuṅga descent of these 'Mitra' kings. It is noteworthy that the names of the rulers of Ayodhyā who are definitely descended from Pushyamitra end in *deva* and not *mitra*. We shall now state the few known facts about these principalities.

1. *Kosala*

According to the evidence of the *Harshacharita* noticed above, Mūladeva murdered the Śuṅga emperor Sumitra. Since the coins of Mūladeva have been found at Ayodhyā it may be reasonably inferred that after murdering Sumitra, Mūladeva declared himself the independent ruler of Kosala and became the founder of the line of kings to which Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva and Dhanadeva certainly belonged, as their coins form a uniform series with those of Mūladeva. King Dhanadeva of the coins may be identified with Kauśikīputra Dhana..(the concluding portion of the name is lost) of the Ayodhyā inscription.[1] This Dhanadeva calls himself 'the sixth in descent from *senāpati* Pushyamitra.' This inscription records the building of a sepulchral monument by him in honour of his father, king Phalgudeva. The inscription thus adds a new name to the list of kings of Kosala known from the coins. It is tempting to attribute to Phalgudeva the Pañchāla coins bearing the name *Phagunimita*, but the numismatists are emphatically opposed to such a suggestion, as in their opinion the coins of Phagunimitra belong to a purely local series of the Pañchāla dynasty. As four generations intervened between Pushyamitra and Dhanadeva, we may place the latter *c.* 68 B.C. That date is quite in accord with the period indicated by the script of his coins. Dhanadeva's coins have been found at Kauśāmbī also, but that is not a proof of his rule over that region, for coins very often travel far beyond the limits of the country of their origin.

King Indrāgnimitra, known from the Bodh Gayā inscription recording a gift of his queen Kuraṅgī, is also called Kauśikīputra. He may be regarded as an elder or younger brother of Dhanadeva.[2]

Naradatta and Śivadatta, whose coins have been found in Kosala, do not appear to belong to the Śuṅga line of Ayodhyā, but have to be assigned in all probability to Mathurā.

The early Kosala coinage beginning with Mūladeva ceases from the close of the first century B.C., and we have no coins of any indigenous ruler till

[1] There is considerable difference of opinion as regards the nature of Dhanadeva's relationship with Pushyamitra. D. R. Sahni has summarised and discussed all the important views in *EI.* XX p. 57. Among the clay seals discovered at Rājghat, Benares, a large number belong to Dhanadeva, cf. Summaries of papers *IHC.* 1950, p. 3.

[2] It is not necessary to regard Indrāgnimitra as a king of the Magadha or Gayā region, since the inscription does not speak of his rule, but simply records the donation of his queen who appears to have gone on a pilgrimage to the sacred shrine at Bodh Gayā, *Contra:* Barua, *IHQ.* 1930, p. 13

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towards the end of the second century A.D. Apparently Kosala had passed into the hands of the Kushāṇas in the first century A.D. and they ruled over it for at least a century or so. Towards the close of the second century A.D. the indigenous coinage reappears. Coins bearing legends in Brāhmī of about the close of the second century A.D. furnish the following names of rulers : Satyamitra, Āryamitra, Saṅghamitra, Vijayamitra, Devamitra, and Ajavarman. There is no possibility of a link between the Śuṅgas and these 'Mitra' kings, as the Śuṅga line of Ayodhyā became extinct with the advent of the Kushāṇas. They may be in some manner connected with the Paṭumitras and Pushyamitras of Mekalā and Kosala mentioned in the Purāṇic accounts of the dynasties of the pre-Gupta age. The rule of these kings may have lasted for about a century or a little less. Since Sāketa, or Kosala, figures amongst the earliest possessions of the Guptas, it is evident that these later Mitras were swept away by the Guptas.

2. *Pañchāla*

The existence of an independent dynasty ruling over the ancient kingdom of Pañchāla, with its capital at Ahichhatra, during the first century B.C. or even earlier and lasting till the first century A.D. is indicated by a large number of coins discovered from Rāmnagar, Anola, Basti and Budaun. The coins supply the following names : Bhadraghosha, Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Dhruvamitra, Indramitra, Jayamitra, Phālgunimitra, Sūryamitra, Vishṇumitra, Varuṇamitra, and Prajāpatimitra. The cave inscriptions of Pabhosā near Kauśāmbī in the Allahabad district, supply three more names of the kings of Ahichhatra, viz. Vaṅgapāla, Bhāgavata and Āshāḍhasena who had the cave constructed. Professor Rapson assigned the Pabhosā inscriptions to the second century B.C. on palaeographic grounds. According to him Āshāḍhasena was a feudatory of the Śuṅgas. The Pabhosā inscriptions are not, however, so early as Rapson considered them to be. They are now generally assigned to the close of the first century B.C.[1] In both of these inscriptions Āshāḍhasena is described as the maternal uncle of Bahasatimita (Bṛihaspatimitra) presumably identical with the king whose coins in characters of about the first century B.C. have been found at Kauśāmbī. The royal houses of Ahichhatra and Kauśāmbī were connected by matrimonial alliances. We know the names of two predecessors of Āshāḍhasena, that of his grandfather Śonakāyanīputra[2] Vaṅgapāla and his father Tevaṇiputra Bhāgavata who are both styled kings in the Pabhosā inscription. Originally Vaṅgapāla may have been a provincial governor under the Śuṅgas and become independent as the Śuṅga empire declined. Whether the 'Mitra' kings known from the coins are in any way connected with Āshāḍhasena, it is not possible to determine at present. No information is available about the 'Mitra'

[1] Cf. D. C. Sircar, *SI.* p. 97, *n.*1

[2] Rapson regarded it as a patronymic. In his opinion Vaṅgapāla was a descendant of Śonaka. But D. C. Sircar prefers to read Sonakāyanī and take it as a metronymic. *SI.* p. 98 *n.* 4

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kings of Pañchāla. This 'Mitra' dynasty probably came to an end with the eastward expansion of the Kushāṇa power under Kanishka.

3. *Kauśāmbī*

Kauśāmbī constituted a province of the Maurya empire under Aśoka and continued to form part of the empire of the early Śuṅgas. It appears to have slipped from the grasp of the Śuṅgas some time during the second century B.C. Coins bearing the legend *Bahasatimitasa* in 'Aśokan Brāhmī'[1] have been found at Kauśāmbī. This king Bahasatimita cannot be Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Apart from the improbability of the use of synonyms in official records, these coins belong to a series exclusively associated with the local rulers of Kauśāmbī. This Bṛihaspatimitra is evidently a different ruler who founded the independent kingdom of Kauśāmbī. We may call him Bṛihaspatimitra I in order to distinguish him from a later ruler of Kauśāmbī who issued 'struck' coins which have been assigned by Allan to 'the late second century B.C.,' but may be slightly later, as dating by palaeography is only approximate and not precise. Bṛihaspatimitra I may be identified with the king of that name mentioned in the Mora brick inscription[2] whose daughter Yaśomatī was married to the king of Mathurā. Nothing more is known about him.

The next ruler known from the coins is Bṛihaspatimitra II.[3] He is probably identical with the king mentioned in the Pabhosā inscription of his maternal uncle Āshāḍhasena, king of Ahichhatra. The ruling houses of Kauśāmbī and Ahichchatra appear to have been connected by matrimonial ties, as Āshāḍhasena is described in the Pabhosā epigraph as the maternal uncle of Bṛihaspatimitra. Rapson held that king Bṛihaspatimitra II of Kauśāmbī was a feudatory of the Śuṅga emperor Ūdāka mentioned in the Pabhosā record. But the absence of any honorific title before the name of Ūdāka makes it highly unlikely that it is the name of a sovereign ruler. B. M. Barua has pointed out that it was most probably a place name.[4] Moreover, as a feudatory, Bṛihaspatimitra could not have issued coins in his name alone; hence he must be regarded as an independent ruler of Kauśāmbī.

Other kings of Kauśāmbī known from their coins are : Jyeshṭhamitra, Praushṭhamitra, Varuṇamitra and Pushpaśrī. Varuṇamitra of the coins may be identical with Gotīputra Varuṇamitra of a Kauśāmbī inscription[5] of his son whose name is lost.

Coins of two more kings, Aśvaghosha and Pavata (Parvata), have been found at Kauśāmbī. There is a short inscriptīon on the Aśoka

[1] The palaeographic evidence, however, does not necessarily indicate that Bahasatimita was ruling contemporaneously either with some of the Mauryas or the early Śuṅgas. That the script hardly shows any appreciable variations during the course of a century or even more can be demonstrated from the inscriptions of any period. For instance, one finds little difference between the characters of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and those of the Nālandā sealings of Kumāragupta II.

[2] *JRAS.* 1912, p. 120

[3] *BMCCAI.* p. 151f.

[4] *IHQ.* 1930. 23; *ante* p. 101, *n.* 2

[5] A. Ghosh, *IC.* i p. 694-5

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pillar at Sārnāth in Brāhmī characters resembling those on the Śaka coinage dated in the fourteenth year of Aśvaghosha. If the inscription and the coins belong to the same monarch it would indicate that Benares was included in the kingdom of Kauśāṁbī. This Aśvaghosha may have been the last ruler of Kauśāṁbī which soon after passed into the hands of Kanishka.[1]

4. *Mathurā*

The existence of two local dynasties of kings at Mathurā is vouchsafed by coins belonging to a uniform series which on palaeographic grounds may be assigned to the period extending from the second to the middle of the first century B.C. The first dynasty consisted of the following kings : Brahmamitra, Dṛiḍhamitra, Sūryamitra and Vishṇumitra. We may call it the 'Mitra' dynasty as the names of all the kings end in *mitra*. A king named Brahmamitra is known from a Gayā inscription in early Brāhmī characters, but it is difficult to say whether he is identical with the ruler of Mathurā. At any rate this is certain, that the Gayā inscription cannot indicate that the rule of Brahmamitra of Mathurā extended up to Gayā, for between these two places lay the kingdom of Kauśāṁbī. No other information is available about these kings, except that one of them may have been the husband of Yaśomatī, the daughter of king Bṛihaspatimitra of Kauśāṁbī.

The second dynasty consisted of the following kings : Purushadatta, Uttamadatta, Rāmadatta, Śeshadatta and Bhavadatta. They are known only from their coins and no details are available about them. Jayaswal has described some of them as Nāgas,[2] but there is little evidence in support of his view. His emendation of the name-ending *datta* to *dāta* is quite unwarranted. Rapson thinks that these rulers were the feudatories of the Śuṅgas, since their names have not been independently mentioned in the Purāṇic lists. This view has been endorsed by Allan. However, it is to be noted that these rulers belong to the period when the Śuṅga empire was breaking up under pressure of the Greek invasion on the one hand and family feuds on the other. Soon after Agnimitra there was no 'Śuṅga empire.' The minting of their own coinage by these kings is a very strong proof of their independent status.[3]

Mathurā was conquered by the Śakas *c.* 75 B.C. and remained subject to foreign rule for the next 250 years, until the overthrow of the Kushāṇas.

[1] For coins of Aśvaghosha, *JNSI.* iv p. 14; *JBORS.* xx p. 8; for his inscriptions *EI.* viii pp. 171-2.

[2] *History of India* (A.D. 150-350) pp. 12-13

[3] W. W. Tarn has twice referred to the suzerainty of Menander over Mathurā (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 227, 259); but he has not given any evidence to support his view. Of course he mentions the discovery of Menander's coins in 'mint condition' from Mathurā, but how does that prove the Greek suzerainty ? We have a large number of coins of Roman emperors from the west coast, but these do not prove Roman rule over those parts of India.

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5. *The Ārjunāyana Republic*

To the south-west of Mathurā lay the tribal republic of the Ārjunāyanas who are known to us from their coins bearing legends in Brāhmī characters of the second and first centuries B.C. The find spots of the coins show that the territory of the Ārjunāyanas extended up to Agra in the east and Jaipur in the west, roughly covering the region known as Matsyadeśa. The Ārjunāyanas were a martial tribe of great antiquity. They were known to Pāṇini as professional soldiers. Later Indian tradition regards them as the descendants of the epic hero Arjuna. No details are available of their early history. The script used on their coins clearly shows that they established their independence during the later Śuṅga period. As their coinage ceases after the first century B.C., they seem to have been subdued by the Śakas who had occupied the neighbouring region of Mathurā by 75 B.C.

6. *The Śibis*

Coins discovered from Chitor and Tambavati Nagari and inscribed in Brāhmī script of about the second century B.C. reveal the existence of yet another republican state, that of the Śibis (see ch. v).

THE PANJAB, c. 140-75 B.C.

The Panjab was included in the Śuṅga empire during Pushyamitra's reign, but his successors lost it. The Greeks under Menander occupied the country as far as the Rāvi. Taking advantage of the weakness of the later Śuṅgas who were unable to exercise effective control over the outlying provinces, some of the Kshatriya tribes living between the Rāvi and the Jamunā (Jumna) asserted their independence. All of these were known to Pāṇini as groups of professional warriors. They seem to have merged themselves in the Mauryan empire. Their reappearance as independent political powers in the first two centuries B.C. is attested by their coinage. We shall refer to these states briefly.

1. *The Audumbaras*

The Audumbaras occupied the land betwen the upper courses of the Rāvi and the Beas. Their coins have been found at Pathankot in the Gurdaspur district, and from Jvalamukhi and Hamirpur in the Kangra district. Some coins have been found from the neighbouring district of Hoshiarpur also, but Hoshiarpur was included in the territory of the Kuṇindas. The Audumbara coins bear legends both in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī of about the first century B.C. The following names of rulers occur on the coins : Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva, Dharaghosha, and Rudravarma. Of these Mahādeva appears to have been a powerful king who led a successful expedition against Uttamadatta of Mathurā. This is revealed by a coin of Uttamadatta which has been counter-struck by Mahādeva.

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2. *The Kuṇindas*

The territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Jamunā along the foot of the Siwalik hills formed the kingdom of the Kuṇindas. Their coins have been found at Tappa Mewa in the Hamirpur tehsil of Kangra, at Jvalamukhi in the same district, and from Sunet in the Ludhiana district. The Kuṇindas are mentioned in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, and in the *Mahābhārata* which places them in the same region where their coins have been found. The Kuṇinda coinage bears legends in Prākṛit. On the silver coins the Brāhmī script is used on the obverse and the Kharoshṭhī on the reverse. The copper coins mostly have legends in Brāhmī only. As the copper coinage was mainly intended for local circulation, the exclusive use of the Brāhmī script on it shows that the prevalent script in the Kuṇinda kingdom was Brāhmī. The silver coins, which were likely to travel beyond the home territories, were inscribed with Kharoshṭhī also, as the latter script was current in the neighbouring region of north-western Panjab. Allan has remarked that the silver coins have been modelled after the hemidrachms of the later Greek kings. It may be suggested that the Greek standard seems to have been adopted to facilitate exchange with western neighbours.

The coins furnish only one name, Amoghabhūti who was ruling during the later half of the first century B.C. Soon after him the Kuṇinda coinage ceases. It may be inferred that the Kuṇindas were subdued by the Śakas advancing from Mathurā. The Kuṇinda coinage reappears after the end of the second century A.D. when the Kushāṇa empire broke up.

3. *The Trigartas*

The plain country between the rivers Rāvi and Sutlej, now comprised in the Jullundur division of the Panjab, was known in ancient times as Trigarta. The Trigarta people were noted warriors and are known as such to Pāṇini (v. 3, 116). The existence of Trigarta as an independent republic in the second century B.C. is indicated by a coin bearing the legend *Trakatajanapadasa* in Brāhmī characters.

4. *The Yaudheyas*

The country between the Sutlej and the Jamunā, comprising the districts of Ludhiana, Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar, was held by the Yaudheyas, a Kshatriya tribe of great antiquity who are mentioned in Pāṇini's grammatical treatise, the *Ashṭādhyāyī*.[1] They were famous as professional warriors. Their coins have been discovered from various sites in the districts named above. The earliest known specimens may be assigned to the late second or first century B.C. They furnish proof of the independence of the Yaudheyas during this period. Some of these coins bear the significant legend *bahudhañake*, which indicates that the Yau-

[1] iv 1, 176 and v 3, 117

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dheyas were in possession of territory exceptionally rich and prosperous. As their coinage does not cease after this period, but continues, the Yaudheyas must have withstood the attacks of the Śakas and held their own. Numismatic evidence is clear on this point. From Khokhrakot, near Rohtak, moulds of Yaudheya coins of the beginning of the Christian era have been discovered and show that Rohtak was an important centre of the Yaudheya power in the first century A.D. The later history of this brave republican tribe will be treated further on, and we shall refer to the glorious part they played in overthrowing the Kushāṇa power.

5. *The Agastyas*

Adjacent to the Yaudheya republic of Rohtak and situated on the west, was another republic state having its capital at Agrodaka. This place has been identified with Agroha in the Hissar district of the Panjab (I). The name of the ruling tribe as given on the coins is *Agācha* and may be equated with Sanskrit *Agatya* or *Agastya*, for Sanskrit *tya* becomes *cha* in Prākṛit, and the preceding vowel is lengthened. There seems to be little justification for taking *Agacha* to represent Sanskrit *Agreya* as some writers have done.[1]

THE MAHĀMEGHAVĀHANAS OF KALIṄGA

The province of Kaliṅga[2] had been annexed to the Maurya empire by Aśoka in the eighth year of his reign after much hard fighting in which the casualties on both sides appear to have been unusually heavy. While his successors retained hold of the Gangetic plain for about half a century after his death, the outlying provinces slipped from their hands very soon. An inscription in post-Aśokan characters, engraved inside the Elephant Cave (Hāthīgumphā) in the Udayagiri hill three miles from Bhuvanesvar in the Puri district, describes the achievements of Mahārāja Khāravela, a descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, who seems to have wrested Kaliṅga from the Mauryas soon after Aśoka's death, and founded an independent line of kings. This dynasty is described as the royal house of Cheti, i.e. Chedi, and Khāravela is styled a scion of the Lunar race (*aira*) and a descendant of the royal sage Vasu, who is evidently the famous epic king

[1] *BMCCAI.* pp. clvii ff. Barnet in *BSOS.* x; *IHQ.* xvii p. 198; *JNSI.* iv p. 51.

[2] Kaliṅga is sometimes loosely used to designate the entire coastal region from the mouths of the Ganges to that of the Godāvari. Its political extent has varied from time to time. In the days of Aśoka the Ganjam district appears to have been its central portion as Jaugada, where Aśoka's Kaliṅga edicts have been found, is situated in that district. In Khāravela's time it included the districts of Puri and Cuttack, and possibly a portion of the Vizagapatam district, besides Ganjam. Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* distinguishes Utkala, that is, the districts of Cuttack and Puri, from Kaliṅga the ruler of which is styled as lord of Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam district.

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Vasu Chaidyoparichara—the conqueror of the Chedi country, and fourth in descent from Sudhanvan, son of Kuru.[1] Whether any kings intervened between Mahāmeghavāhana and Khāravela, it is impossible to determine. Mahārāja Kudepa, lord of Kaliṅga, and a descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, mentioned in the Patalpura cave inscription seems to have been a successor of Khāravela, rather than a predecessor.

It is now admitted on all hands that the Hāthigumphā inscription does not bear any date, although the sharp controversy regarding the date of Khāravela still continues. The late K. P. Jayaswal and Sten Konow assigned him to the first half of the second century B.C., whereas H. C. Raychaudhuri, and the late R. P. Chanda and B. M. Barua, preferred to place him *c.* 25 B.C. On palaeographic grounds the inscription cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the second century B.C. nor later than the first century B.C.[2] A consideration of the historical events narrated in the inscription can help us in fixing the date within narrower limits. The inscription mentions three invasions of Northern India by Khāravela. During one of these he overran Southern Magadha, striking at the Barābar hills and the city of Rājagṛiha. On a second occasion, he compelled the king of Magadha to fall at his feet and brought much booty from Magadha and Aṅga. It is out of the question that these events happened during the hey-day of Śuṅga glory, i.e. 184 to 123 B.C. Khāravela's repeated inroads over the plains of Northern India could only have been possible either immediately before the accession of Pushyamitra or after the collapse of the Śuṅga power. The most decisive piece of evidence is the mention of the Greek invader who hastily retreated to Mathurā on learning of the advance of Khāravela's armies to Rājagṛiha. It was only once that the Greek armies marched into the Ganges valley and penetrated as far as the metropolis of Pāṭaliputra. This invasion is referred to in the *Mahābhāshya* as an event of the recent past, i.e. before the rule of Pushyamitra commenced. From the 'Yugapurāṇa' also we learn that the 'viciously valiant' Greeks had to beat a hasty retreat on account of a deadly war having broken out amongst them. There can be no doubt that the reference is to the invasion of India by Demetrius, who had to hasten back on account of the appearance of his rival Eucratides. The invasion of Demetrius has to be placed before the accession of Pushyamitra, i.e. 184 B.C. As the last invasion of Northern India by Khāravela took place in his twelfth regnal year, he must have ascended the throne a little more than twelve years before Pushyamitra's rise to power, i.e. between 200-196 B.C. The mention of the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas as independent ruling powers also indicates a proximity to the

[1] Cf. Pargiter, *AIHT.* p. 118. The suggestion of B. M. Barua (*IHQ.* xiv p. 471) that the Mahāmeghavāhanas are the same as the Meghas of the Purāṇas is not plausible in as much as the Purāṇas place the Meghas in Kosalā, whereas the Mahāmeghavāhanas are definitely described in their own records as lords of Kaliṅga.

[2] R. D. Banerji, *EI.* xx p. 74; D. C. Sircar, *SI.* p. 206 *n.* 1

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Aśokan times rather than to any later period when these powers ceased to exist as separate political entities. Thus everything seems to point to the beginning of the second century B.C. as the date of Khāravela's accession to the throne.

We learn from the Hāthīgumphā inscription that as a boy Khāravela received thorough instruction in all the branches of learning which a prince ought to study, such as law, currency and finance, and royal correspondence. At the age of fifteen he was appointed heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) and shared the responsibilities of administration for nine years in that capacity. He was anointed king at the age of twenty-four. His chief queen was the daughter of a king Lalaka Hatthisiṁha.[1]

In the first year of his reign he carried out repairs to the gates and ramparts of his capital Kaliṅganagara which had been hit by a cyclone. It was in fact the first step taken in pursuit of his plans of extensive military operations which followed. In his second regnal year he sent out a huge army to the west without caring for Śātakarṇi. The phraseology of the inscription implies that this expedition was intended to be a challenge to the Śātavāhana monarch. The armies of Kaliṅga advanced up to the river Kaṇṇabeṁṇā and struck terror into the city of Musikanagara. The limits of this advance cannot be exactly determined as opinions differ regarding the identity of the river and the city. According to Rapson and Barua, the Kaṇṇabeṁṇā of the inscription is the Wainganga with its tributary the Kanhan, and the city was the capital of the Assikas in the valley of the Godāvari. K. P. Jayaswal, however, identifies the Kaṇṇabeṁṇā with the modern Krishna, and Musikanagara in his opinion was a city near the junction of the Krishna and Musi at the border of Nalgonda district. This expedition does not seem to have produced any concrete results. There is no mention of any actual fighting between the armies of Khāravela and those of Śātakarṇi, who may be identified with the first monarch of that name in the Purāṇic list of Andhra kings. However, in the capital of Kaliṅga, the venture was represented as a great success. The victory was celebrated by an elaborate programme of festivites including dancing, musical concerts, and dramatic performances.

The next year was marked by an expedition against the Bhojakas—the ruling chiefs of Berar, and the Raṭhikas of the adjoining Marāṭhī-speaking districts of East Khandesh and Ahmednagar, who were defeated and compelled to do homage. The mention in this connection of an 'abode of Vidyādharas',[2] established by the former kings of Kaliṅga, seems to suggest that the immediate cause of this war was the violation of this place,

[1] K. P. Jayaswal finds in line 7 of the Hāthīgumphā inscription a reference to a wife of Khāravela who came from Vajiraghara (*EI.* xx p. 87). But as pointed out by B. M. Barua, Jayaswal's reading of the text and his interpretation of it are most improbable (see *IHQ.* xiv p. 477 *n.* 176).

[2] This appears to be a place sacred to the Jainas. Vidyādhari *śākhā* of the Jainas is mentioned in the Mathurā inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta, dated Gupta year 113.

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the protection of which was regarded by Khāravela as his special responsibility. Khāravela's repeated incursions into the territory contiguous to the Śātavāhana dominions show that he was militarily strong enough to harass the Śātavāhanas.

In the fifth year of his reign he brought the waters of a canal from Tanasuli to his capital. This canal is said to have been constructed by king Nanda, 300 years earlier; or according to another interpretation of the text, in the year 103 of the era of king Nanda. Whether this Nanda was the well-known ruler Mahāpadma of Magadha, or a local king of Kaliṅga, is difficult to determine. Khāravela appears to have striven hard to keep his people happy in every way. While he provided amenities for the residents of the capital, he sought to win the goodwill of the urban and rural populace alike by remitting taxes. This demonstration of his wealth and prosperity[1] cost several lacs to the royal exchequer. In the eighth year of his reign Khāravela undertook his first expedition against the North. His armies marched past the Barābar hills in the Gayā district, destroying its fortifications,[2] and laid siege to the city of Rājagṛiha. The news of the arrival of Khāravela's armies created panic in the ranks of the Greek invader, who beat a hasty retreat to Mathurā. As stated before, this Greek invader was Demetrius, who was compelled to withdraw his armies hastily on the appearance of a rival, Eucratides, who had seized Bactria. But the panegyrist of Khāravela has attributed the Greek withdrawal to the advance of the Kaliṅga armies.

In the ninth year Khāravela built a 'Palace of Great Victory' (*mahāvijaya-prāsāda*) on both the banks of the river Prāchī, evidently to commemorate his victories in the North. In the tenth year, Khāravela again invaded Bhāratavarsha, i.e. the Ganges valley, but perhaps without achieving any substantial success. Next year it was the turn of the southern people to bear the brunt of Khāravela's arms. His armies sacked Pithuṁḍa, which is believed to be the same as Pitundra mentioned by Ptolemy; and overran the Tamil country as far south as the Pāṇḍya kingdom, whose monarch is said to have sent a tribute of pearls.

Khāravela's ambition to despoil the North was unsated even after two expeditions. In the twelfth year he again led his armies into the northern plains,[3] and watered his horses and elephants in the river Ganges.[4] The king of Magadha, whose name has been read as Bahasatimita (Bṛihaspatimitra) by Jayaswal and Barua, was compelled to fall at the feet of Khāravela. Opinion is, however, divided as to the name of the king of Maga-

[1] According to K. P. Jayaswal's reading, the text contains a reference to the performance of the *rājasūya* sacrifice (*EI.* xx p. 87). But B. M. Barua's reading '*rajaseyam saṁdaṁsayaṁto* displaying royal prosperity' is definitely preferable.

[2] Principal V. H. Jackson has noticed 'immense fortifications' on the top of the Barābar hill. *JBORS.* iii p. 469.

[3] The term Uttarāpatha seems to have been used in a general way for Northern India, and not in the special sense of the 'country to the north of Pṛithūdaka,' i.e. north-western Panjab.

[4] K. P. Jayaswal's interpretation seeking to find a reference to the Maurya palace named Sugāṅga is rather far-fetched.

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dha[1] defeated by Khāravela. But whether the name be Bṛihaspatimitra or not, it is definite that he cannot be identified with Pushyamitra Śuṅga; and Jayaswal's equation of Bṛihaspati with Pushya on the ground that the former is the regent of the zodiacal asterism (*nakshatra*) Pushya must, as already noted, be dismissed as fantastic. This expedition of Khāravela was singularly successful and he is said to have returned to Kaliṅga with immense booty.[2] The enormous wealth looted from Magadha and Aṅga was spent on building a magnificent temple adorned with beautiful towers. In the opinion of B. M. Barua this temple was built most probably at Bhuvanesvar. This is supported by a statement in an Oriya manuscript of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* which credits Khāravela with the building of a temple at Bhuvanesvar. The statement of the same Purāṇa regarding Khāravela's expedition to Nepal remains unconfirmed.

Khāravela was a follower of Jainism. Both he and his chief queen liberally patronised the Jaina ascetics by making munificent provision for their maintenance, offering gifts of silk clothes and constructing comfortable dwelling-places for them. The very purpose of the Hāthīgumphā inscription is to record the construction of such residential chambers (*jivadehaśrayika*) on the top of the Udayagiri hill, and the setting up of magnificent columns in a grand hall for the congregation of Jaina monks. This grand building was adorned with sixty-four panels of sculptures,[3] and had cost a sum of seventy-five hundred thousands of the current coin. Though an ardent Jaina, Khāravela was by no means a bigot. He is said to have repaired the temples of all the gods and, what is still more significant, emulated Aśoka by showing equal honour to all the sects.

Khāravela's career appears to have been meteoric. His achievements dazzle us like a flash of lightning, which soon disappears. That he claimed to be a great conqueror in his own day is indicated by the epithet *chakravartin* given to him in the inscription of his queen. Although there is perhaps some exaggeration in the account of his achievements as narrated in the Hāthīgumphā inscription, it cannot be denied that Khāravela was a military leader of rare ability and under him Kaliṅga reached a pinnacle of glory which it failed to regain for several centuries after his death.

[1] The reading Bahasatimita is challenged by R. C. Majumdar (*IA.* 1919, p. 189), R. P. Chanda (*IHQ.* 1929, p. 594) and Allan (*BMCCAI.* p. xcviii), who think it to be impossible.

[2] According to K. P. Jayaswal's version of the Hāthigumphā text, the booty included an image of Śītalanātha, the Jina of Kaliṅga, which had been carried away by king Nanda. However, the correct reading according to Barua is *Kaliṅga-jana*, the people of Kaliṅga, not *Kaliṅga-Jina*. It is likely that king Nanda subdued certain portions of Kaliṅga contiguous to the realm of the Nandas, and these parts were recovered by Khāravela.

[3] According to K. P. Jayaswal the last line of the Hāthīgumphā inscription contains the statement that Khāravela convened a council of Jaina monks and caused to be compiled an authentic version of the Jaina canonical texts —'the sevenfold Aṅgas of sixty-four letters.' The text is obscure. B. M. Barua's interpretation (*IHQ.* xiv pp. 481) has been followed.

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Chapter V

MINOR STATES OF THE NORTH, MONARCHICAL AND NON-MONARCHICAL

The establishment of an Indian empire was often little more than the assertion on one side and the acceptance on the other of the hegemonic position of the conquering state. Instances are not lacking of ruling dynasties being uprooted as in the Gupta conquests in Northern India. But manuals of polity lay it down that the conqueror had a duty to respect the constitution and polity of the conquered territories, and even Kauṭilya recognized the distinction between *dharma-vijaya* (to be distinguished from Aśoka's *dhaṁma-vijaya*) which is satisfied with an acknowledgement of suzerainty, and *lobha-vijaya* and *asura-vijaya* which deprive the conquered ruler of land and wealth, and even of his wife, children and life.[1] As few monarchs liked to be classed in the category of greedy or demoniacal conquerors, the conquered states generally continued to retain their identity, and were ready to emerge into independence at a suitable opportunity. But the annals of these minor states, particularly during the period of their submergence, are not easily got, and we have often to base our inferences on indirect evidence culled from different sources.

In a scholium on one of Pāṇini's *sūtras*,[2] Kātyāyana (fourth century B.C.) remarks that the word *Kshatriya* is used in the singular to denote that the rule has no application to cases where there is no single ruler, but a *saṅgha* enjoys political power. Pāṇini himself, who lived probably two centuries before Kātyāyana, knows of many republics (*saṅghas*) which he locates in the *Vāhika* country, which has been rightly explained as the land of rivers, the Panjab.[3] It is well known that Pāli books in their description of the political condition of Northern India in the age of Buddha refer to all states, monarchical and republican, by mentioning their names in the plural, meaning the people or the country inhabited by them.

Megasthenes knew clearly of the existence of republics in his day; he says of the Overseers or Superintendents (the sixth of the seven classes into which he divides India's population) that they report everything to the king where the people have a king, or where there is not a king, to the magistrates.[4] The Greek writers and generals who accompanied Alexander on his Indian campaigns and whose writings formed the basis of the accounts of these campaigns by later writers like Arrian, Curtius, and Diodorus, have much to say on the political condition of North-West India immediately before the rise of the Mauryan empire. Though

[1] *KA.* xii 1
[2] iv 1, 168
[3] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, sec. 34
[4] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.*, pp. 43 and 212, Diod. ii 41, Arr. xii

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we are not in a position to judge exactly how the rise of that empire affected each of these states individually, it would be instructive to follow the guidance of these foreign observers and gain some idea of the conditions that prevailed in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.

According to these writers Alexander entered India as soon as he crossed the Caucasus, a name which they apply to the mountain range now known as the Central Hindukush, which forms the northern frontier of Kabul.[1] The first place he touched was Alexandria, founded by him in 329 B.C. before he crossed into Bactria, whence he returned two years later. The city must have been somewhere near Charikar at the northern edge of the valley of Koh-Dāman. The ruler whom Alexander had set over the place was removed, as he had not proved satisfactory, and Nicanor was put in charge. The city is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as Alasanda of the Yonas whence the *thera* Yonamahādhaṁmarakkhita is said to have gone to Ceylon with 30,000 *bhikkus* on the occasion of the foundation of the Great Thūpa.[2] It must be taken to have been included by Aśoka in his references to the Yonas in his inscriptions, and it was most probably the birthplace of Menander, the celebrated Graeco-Bactrian king, the Milinda of Buddhist literature. The next city mentioned is Nicaea which, according to Wilson, occupied the site of Begrām. Others have held that the name may have been a Greek translation of some original name like Jayapura, and have identified it with Kabul itself, an important place which would remain otherwise without mention by Alexander's historians.

Another city that claimed a Greek connection long ante-dating Alexander's time was Nysa, most probably identical with Ptolemy's Nagara or Dionysopolis and the Nagarahāra and Udyānapura of Indian literature, which has been located at a place full of Buddhist ruins at a distance of four or five miles to the west of Jalālābād. The city was founded, so its inhabitants told Alexander, by Dionysus on his return from his conquest of the Indian nation, who called the city Nysa after his nurse, and the mountain in its neighbourhood Meros (thigh), because he grew, before his birth, in the thigh of Zeus. Nysa was a free city from its foundation, governed by its own laws, and the growth of ivy on the mountain was cited as proof of Dionysus having founded the city. Arrian remarks: 'It gratified Alexander to hear all this and to allow his war-worn soldiers a happy holiday in a distant land. Nysa had a governing body of 300 members with Akouphis as its president. When Alexander asked for 100 of the best from among them, Akouphis offered 200 of their worst, and Alexander showed his appreciation of the answer by waiving his demand.' Arrian is frankly sceptical of all these stories and says: 'Anyone who hears these stories is free to believe or disbelieve them as he chooses.' Nysa was doubtless also part of the Yona land in the North-West mentioned by Aśoka. Then we hear of Astes (Hasti or

[1] Unless otherwise stated, the locations and identifications of places are those found in McCrindle's *The Invasion of India.*

[2] *MV.* xxix 39

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Ashṭaka), a prince of the land of Peucelaotis (Pushkalāvatī, modern Chārsadda to the north of the Kabul river) who declined to submit to the two generals of Alexander, Hephaestion and Perdiccas, and persisted in resisting them, his place being taken by Sangaios (Sañjaya ?), an enemy of his and friend of Āmbhi of Taxila. Pushkalāvatī, 'city of lotuses' was the capital of Western Gandhāra; a gold coin with the city goddess holding a lotus in her right hand and an appropriate Kharoshṭhī legend on the obverse, and a bull and a Greek legend on the reverse is known.[1]

Before advancing into India, Alexander marched against the Aspasians, Gouraians and Assakenians. The Gouraians, whose territory lay between the lands of the two other tribes, got their name from the river of their country, viz. the Gaurī (Panjkora) a tributary of the Swat, itself a large affluent of the Kabul river. The Aspasioi, who are called Hippasioi by Strabo, are easily seen to be the Aśvakas mentioned by the *Mahābhārata* among the wild inhabitants of the far distant regions in the north. The name of the tribe means 'cavaliers', and even now their country is renowned for its superior breed of horses. The old name of the tribe still survives in Asip or Isap, the Pushtu name of the Yusufzais. Their capital lay on the river Euaspla, generally taken to be another name of the Choaspes or the Kunar, a large river nearly as important as the Kophen (Kabul) itself. The Aspasians offered a stout resistance to Alexander, and after the fall of their capital, Alexander is said to have captured more than 230,000 oxen from which he chose the best in size and beauty and sent them to Macedonia to be employed in agriculture. The Assakenoi of Arrian (Strabo transcribes the name more correctly as Assakanoi) bore a name identical in meaning with Aspasioi, the Iranian *aspa* being the same as Sanskrit *aśva* which becomes *assa* in popular speech. The two tribes must have had much in common, though they appear to have formed two different states divided by the Gouraians. The chief city of the Aśvakas, as we may call the Assakenoi, is called Massaga which was, according to Arrian, 'the greatest city in these parts'. It was doubtless the Maśakāvatī of Pāṇini and Mashanagar of Babar on the river Swat. The city resisted for four days the most vigorous onslaughts of the Greeks, and surrendered after its leader, called Assakenos by Arrian, had been killed in the fight. The defence of the city was aided by 7,000 Indian mercenary soldiers, who were spared by Alexander on condition that they agreed to enter his service; unwilling to take up arms for a foreigner against their own countrymen, they sought to get to their homes under cover of night, but were intercepted by the vigilance of Alexander and cut to pieces. The queen of the Aśvakas and her daughter were captured. Curtius says that the queen owed her 'indulgent treatment' 'rather to the charms of her person than to pity for her misfortunes. At all events she afterwards gave birth to a son who received the name of Alexander.' Several chiefs of the neighbouring states of

[1] *CHI.* I p. 335 *n.* 1, pp. 557, 587

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Chitral and Badakhshan are said even now to boast of a lineal descent from Alexander. It may be doubted if the Aśvakas were the same as the homonymous tribe connected with the Mulakas of Paṭiṭṭhāna (Paithan) in the Deccan on the one hand and Avanti on the other.[1] Bazira, identified by Cunningham with Bāzār, a large village on the Kālipāni river, and Aornos, located by Sir Aurel Stein on the Pir Sar on the upper Indus, were other important strongholds of the Aśvakas that gave no small trouble to Alexander before being taken. Coins showing a close resemblance to certain coins from Taxila and bearing the legend *Vaṭāśvaka* in Brāhmī characters of the early second century B.C. seem to give evidence of a place name which preserved the memory of the Aśvakas. The place must have been in the territory of Taxila or sufficiently near it to be in close commercial relation with it.[2]

The first place reached by Alexander on crossing the Indus was Taxila, ruled by a king whose personal name is given by the Greek writers as Omphis, which corresponds to Āṁbhi, a name known to Pāṇini. Kauṭilya mentions a school of political thinkers called Āṁbhīyas. In Indian literature the city is called Takshaśilā, and Buddhist legends explain the name by the legend of the Buddha as a Bodhisattva giving away his head in charity—*taksha-śira*, meaning severed head, faithfully rendered into Chinese *Chu-ch'a-shi-lo*.[3] The city is well known in Sanskrit literature, including the two epics, and was celebrated for many centuries as a famous seat of learning in all the known arts and sciences of the time, whither pupils came from all parts of India. Alexander first heard of Indian ascetics and philosophers in the precincts of Taxila. The kingdom of Takshaśilā embraced a fertile territory between the Indus and the Jhelum, and its ruler was at feud with his neighbour, a Paurava, the Porus of the Greek writers. This was perhaps the reason why he sent an embassy to Alexander seeking his alliance while he was yet in Bactria. Āṁbhi, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his father in the interval, entertained Alexander and his army with the most liberal hospitality, and valuable presents were exchanged. According to Curtius, Āṁbhi's presents comprised 56 elephants, a great many sheep of an extraordinary size, 3,000 bulls of valuable breed besides golden crowns for every one of Alexander's friends and eighty talents of coined silver (*signati argenti*) by which was doubtless meant the *purāṇa* or *kārshāpaṇa* coins of ancient Indian literature. Exceedingly gratified by Āṁbhi's generosity, Alexander sent back to him the presents he had given, adding a thousand talents and many banqueting vessels of gold and silver and a vast quantity of drapery from his Persian spoils, besides thirty chargers caparisoned as when ridden by himself. Alexander's liberality on this occasion, we read, gave the deepest offence to his friends. After the battle of the

[1] *Contra:* Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 27-8 and B.C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 180-3

[2] Allan, *BMCCAI.* (1936), Intr. sec. 175

[3] Beal, *Bud. Records*, p. xxxii; Legge, *Fa-hien*, p. 32

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Jhelum, Alexander effected a reconciliation between Āṁbhi and Porus. Āṁbhi helped Alexander in the construction and equipment of the fleet for his return voyage, a service for which he gained the accession of some territory. He was associated with Eudamus in the administration of the satrapy of Philip after his murder, and he retained his power for some time after the death of Alexander. What happened ultimately to this friend of the Greek invader during the nationalist movement headed by Chandragupta and Chāṇakya is by no means clear. Takshaśilā became the seat of a Mauryan governor, and its people complained of the ways of high officers (*amātyas*) set in their midst in the reign of Bindusāra, who sent Aśoka to deal with the matter. After the decline of the Mauryan empire it passed under foreign rule for some centuries, and then lost its importance. Near the middle of the first century A.D. Apollonius of Tyana and his companion Damis are said to have visited it, and described it as being about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city, and as the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Porus. Its streets were narrow, but well arranged, and such altogether as reminded travellers of Athens. Outside the walls was a beautiful temple of porphyry, wherein was a shrine hung round with pictures on copper tablets representing the feats of Alexander and Porus.[1] Fa-hien and Hiuan Tsang visited the city in later times. Modern excavations have done much to elucidate the history of the city in its various stages. Taxila has yielded a large number of coins, inscribed and uninscribed, which are best ascribed to the early second century B.C. and some of which bear inscriptions like *nagara-nigama-janapada* and *grāma-nagara-nigama* showing that *nigama* was perhaps a market-district larger than a town.[2]

We may now mention some other kings of the north-west who are mentioned in the Greek accounts and, like Āṁbhi, cease to be heard of subsequently. There was Abisares, the ruler of Abhisāra, the mountainous country from which flows the river Soanus (Sohan), and which is defined by Stein[3] as the area between the Jhelum and the Chenab corresponding to the Punch and Naoshera districts in Kashmir; but as Strabo says that the kingdom was situated in the mountains above Taxila,[4] and as Abisares had close contact with the Assakenoi, it is probable that it extended further west right up to the Indus. Arrian calls Abisares king of the Indian mountaineers. He was unfriendly to Āṁbhi and Alexander, and sent troops across the Indus to aid the Assakenoi after the fall of Massaga, and promised to join Porus at Jhelum to resist the invader; but Alexander forced the battle with Porus before he carried out his intention. At the same time, he sent embassies to Alexander when he sojourned at Takshaśilā before his battle with Porus, and again later when he was camping on the Chenab and preparing for the return voyage. On both occasions a brother of Abisares led the embassy. Alexander evidently knew the nature of the double game Abisares was playing, and

[1] McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 119-20
[2] Allan, op. cit., Intr. sec. 144-64, esp. 151
[3] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, tr. I. 180 *n.*
[4] H. and F. III p. 90 p.

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sent his own ambassadors to him. When they confirmed the statement of the relations of Abisares that illness prevented him from coming to meet Alexander in person, 'Alexander,' says Arrian, 'readily believing that such was the case, made Abisares satrap of his own dominions, and moreover placed Arsakes under his jurisdiction.' Curtius adds that when Abisares died, Alexander allowed his son to succeed him. Arsakes, as his name indicates, was the ruler of a small territory called Uraśā, roughly corresponding to the modern Hazara district. But Porus was the most powerful king in the Panjab who ruled the territory between the Jhelum and the Chenab, a fertile country which, according to Strabo, contained nearly 300 cities.[1] According to Diodorus, Porus had an army of 50,000 foot, about 3,000 horses, above 1,000 chariots, and 130 elephants. He was an ally of Abisares of Kashmir, who had an army little inferior to his own. Alexander attacked Porus before his ally could reach him, and yet Porus's resistance in the battle of Jhelum was so magnificent as to extort the admiration of Alexander. He became a valued friend of the conqueror and his territory was extended by fresh additions to it. Another Porus, a nephew but no friend of the great Porus, ruled a small kingdom to the east of the Chenab. When he heard of the esteem in which his uncle was held by Alexander, he quitted his kingdom and fled to the nation of the Gandaridai, whose identity is not free from doubt, though the people of the Ganges region called Gangaridae elsewhere may have been meant.[2] The younger Porus's territory lay round about Śākala and it was annexed to the territory of his relation and rival, the elder Porus. It may be noted that the kingdom of the elder Porus included the Kekaya country while that of the younger Porus comprised the country of the Madras who are mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* (*c.* 600 B.C.) and in the epics. Soon after Alexander's death the elder Porus came into conflict with Eudamus who had him slain treacherously before 317 B.C., seized his war-elephants and withdrew to the west to take part in the struggles that were developing there among the generals of Alexander.[3] The name Paurava is derived from Pūru, and the Rigveda locates the Pūrus, a great and powerful people, on the Sarasvatī. It has been suggested that either the Jhelum was the earlier home of the Pūrus, where some remained after the others had migrated east, or the later Paurava represents a successful attack upon the west from the east.[4]

Two other princes remain to be mentioned: one was Phegelas (Bhagala of Pāṇini's *gaṇapāṭha*),[5] the chief of a territory between the Rāvi and the Beas. He made his submission to Alexander and was allowed to retain his kingdom. He entertained Alexander and his army for two days, described to him the power and prosperity of the Prasioi and the Gandaridai, whose king, Xandrames (or Agrammes) had an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 4,000 elephants trained and equipped

[1] Ibid. p. 91
[2] Diod. xviii 91; *CHI.* I. p. 370 *n.* 4
[3] *CHI.* I. p. 429
[4] *Vedic Index*, ii. pp. 12-13
[5] iv 1, 96—*bāhvādi*.

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for war. Porus confirmed the correctness of the report which doubtless related to the empire of the Nandas, but added that the king 'was a man of quite worthless character, and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber.'[1] The other prince was named Sopheites, or Sopithes. The location of his territory is given differently by different writers, Curtius and Diodorus locating it to the west of the Hyphasis (Beas), while Arrian puts it along the banks of the Hydaspes (Jhelum), which seems to be supported by Strabo who says that his territory included the Salt Range which stretches from the Jhelum to the Indus. The silver drachma with the Greek legend Sophytou (ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ) doubtless belongs to him, and his name is thus seen to be Saubhūti, another name known to Pāṇini's *gaṇapāṭha*.[2] The people of his country excelled in wisdom and lived under good laws and customs. They esteemed beauty highly and did away with deformed and defective children at their birth. Curtius's description of the meeting between Saubhūti and Alexander will bear quotation.[3]

> Alexander had brought up his army before the capital of this nation where Sopithes was himself resident. The gates were shut, but as no men-at-arms showed themselves either on the walls or towers, the Macedonians were in doubt whether the inhabitants had deserted the city, or were hiding themselves to fall upon the enemy by surprise. The gate, however, was on a sudden thrown open, and the Indian king with two grown-up sons issued from it to meet Alexander. He was distinguished above all the others by his tall and handsome figure. His royal robe, which flowed down to his very feet, was all inwrought with gold and purple. His sandals were of gold and studded with precious stones and even his arms and wrists were curiously adorned with pearls. At his ears he wore pendants of precious stones which from their magnitude and lustre were of an inestimable value. His sceptre too was made of gold and set with beryls, and this he delivered up to Alexander with an expression of his wish that it might bring him good luck, and be accepted as a token that he surrendered into his hands his children and his kingdom.

Curtius and Strabo record the high praise bestowed by earlier writers

[1] McCrindle, *Invasion*, p. 282. We have followed Sylvain Lévi in referring to Bhagala in the *bāhvādi gaṇa*. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity* sec. 78) refers to the *arīhaṇādi-gaṇa* under iv 2, 80 where the form Bhalaga with a variant reading Bhagala occurs together with Traigartāyana, and suggests that, like the Traigartas, the Bhagalas may have been a republican clan and says : 'Alexander's Phegelas occupied the same region' (as the Traigartas).

[2] iv 275, *saṁkalādi*. This long-established view has, however, been called into question recently by R. B. Whitehead—'The Eastern Satrap Sophytes' (*NC*. 1943, pp. 60-72)—who suggests that Sophytes was not the Indian king, but a local satrap of the Oxus region who asserted his independence after the fall of the Persian empire, his coins being probably earlier than 200 B.C. See ch. vi below and *JNSI*. VII (1945) pp. 23-6.

[3] McCrindle, *Invasion*, pp. 219-20

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on the strength and mettle of the dogs of the country whose chief game was the lion. Saubhūti was left in possession of his kingdom.

Turning to the republican states of the Panjab, the Araṭṭā (kingless peoples) as they are sometimes called, they seem to have had a fairly long history before the date of Alexander's invasion, and linguists like Przyluski are inclined to trace the admixture of pre-Aryan as well as foreign Śaka or Scythian elements in their polity and culture. They seem to have commanded little sympathy from the Indian writers of the epics, law-books and manuals of polity, and Justin's description of the followers of Chandragupta Maurya, mostly drawn from the Panjab in the first instance, as robbers appears to be only a repetition of similar Indian descriptions of these tribal states. With the advent of Alexander they seem to have fallen on evil days. Their strenuous fights with one of the greatest soldiers of history decimated their ranks perceptibly, and though Chandragupta Maurya found much use for their support before he established his empire, neither he nor his equally celebrated chancellor Kauṭilya appears to have taken kindly to the republics. Most of the republics of the north-west that fought Alexander seem to have entered on a period of suspended animation for the duration of the Mauryan empire and emerged under new combinations in a later age.

One of the first tribes that Alexander met after the battle with Porus is called Glauganicae by Aristobulus and Glausae by Ptolemy. Their country lay next to the dominion of Porus, to the north between the upper courses of the Jhelum and the Chenab. In this region Alexander took no fewer than 'seven-and-thirty cities, the smallest of which contained not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, while many contained upwards of 10,000. He took also a great many villages which were not less populous; and this country he gave to Porus to rule.'[1] The *anika* ending of the name of the tribe means an army in Sanskrit and recalls the *āyudhajīvisaṅghas* of the Vāhika country mentioned by Pāṇini,[2] besides being similar to the name Sanakānikas met with in the Gupta period;[3] Jayaswal identified the Glauganicae with the Glauchukāyanakas of the *Kāśikā*, a rather late commentary on Pāṇini.[4] The next tribe that faced Alexander were the Kathaians who lived to the east of the Hydraotes (Rāvi) in the modern districts of Lahore and Amritsar. Some writers place them, however, as Strabo says, between the Jhelum and the Chenab,[5] but this is manifestly wrong. 'Lassen has pointed out that their name is connected with that of the Kattia, a nomadic race scattered at intervals through the plains of the Panjab, but supposed to be aborigines of the country and of Kolarian descent.'[6] They were most probably the Kaṭha people of Upanishadic fame rather than Kshatriyas as has been suggested. Their strongly fortified captial, called Sangala by Arrian, recalls *Saṁkala* of the *gaṇapāṭha* which begins the group containing the name Subhūta also. It was certainly

[1] Arrian v 20 (*Invasion*, p. 112).
[2] v 3, 114
[3] *CII.* iii Index, s.v.
[4] *Hindu Polity*, sec. 78
[5] xv 1, 30
[6] McCrindle, *Invasion*, p. 347

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different from the ancient Śākala, but must have been somewhere in Gurdaspur according to Vincent Smith, or in the neighbourhood of Amritsar according to others. 'The Kathaians themselves,' says Arrian, 'enjoyed the highest reputation for courage,' and in the company of the Oxydraci and Malli, they had successfully defied the combined strength of Porus and Abisares, shortly before Alexander entered upon the scene. The Greek invader is said to have reduced 'all the independent tribes,' not named, 'bordering on the banks of the Hydraotes (Rāvi)' and placed them under the rule of Porus.[1] He also received the submission of many villages, and subjugated others after crossing the Rāvi and before encountering the Kathaians. One of the tribes in this region was called Adrestai, identified by some with Araṭṭā, but more plausibly with Pāṇini's Arishṭas by Jayaswal.[2] Their capital Pimprama 'which surrendered on terms of capitulation' to the invader has not been satisfactorily identified. Both Arrian and Curtius state that the Kathaians and the neighbouring tribes who had joined them entrenched themselves behind wagons, the latter stating expressly that 'they were in the habit of leaping nimbly from wagon to wagon if they saw their friends hard pressed and wished to help them,' a mode of fighting which at first alarmed the Macedonians. Jayaswal makes the ingenious suggestion that they formed a *śakaṭa-vyūha* or the 'wagon formation' of Hindu military theory. In any case the resistance of the Kathaians provoked Alexander into razing their capital city to the ground when he captured it after Porus had joined him with reinforcements. The land of the Kathaians was made over by Alexander to 'those Indians who had formerly been independent but who had voluntarily submitted to him.'[3] Strabo mentions that the Kathaians attached uncommon value to beauty in men, as well as in horses and dogs, and notes that 'Onesicritus tells us that the handsomest man is chosen as king,' observations which McCrindle thinks more applicable to the subjects of Saubhūti than to their neighbours, the Kathaians, whose institutions were republican.[4] The Kathaians were frugal, but fond of ornaments; their men and women married by choice, and the wives practised *satī*.

Alexander heard 'that the country beyond the Hyphasis (Beas) was exceedingly fertile, and that the inhabitants were good agriculturists, brave in war, and living under an excellent system of internal government; for the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation.'[5] The people there were said to have more and better elephants than other Indians. Strabo gives the information that their government consisted of five thousand councillors, each of whom furnished the state with an elephant.[6] Jayaswal has pointed out that this description tallies with Kauṭilya's account of some *gaṇas* as *vārttāśastropajīvinaḥ*, those given to industry and trade, and

[1] Ibid. pp. 114-5 (Arr. v 21)
[2] Op. cit., sec. 62. Others suggest Adhrishṭas (*CHI.* I p. 371).
[3] Arr. v 24
[4] *Anc. Ind.*, p. 38, 1
[5] *Invasion*, p. 121 n. (Arr. v 25)
[6] *Anc. Ind.*, p. 45 (xv 37)

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warfare, He also surmises with great plausibility that the unnamed republic adjoining the Beas was that of the Yaudheyas.[1] Though Alexander was eager to meet them, his army was by no means ready for the encounter, and he had to turn back without crossing the Yaudheya frontier. This celebrated tribe survived the Mauryas and the Kushāṇas. Their numerous coins and the inscriptions of contemporaries testify to their great power and prosperity. By A.D. 150, the time of the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman, they had either moved from their original seat or extended their sway towards western Rajputana where they must have encountered Rudradāman whose dominions included Maru. Evidently the Yaudheya territory was large and the evidence of coin finds shows that they occupied an area which may be roughly described as the Eastern Panjab. The coins range from the Śuṅga period to the fourth century of the Christian era, and reflect the vicissitudes of their history. Allan, who has classified the coins and studied them closely, has recognised in them a period of independence from the fall of the Mauryas to the coming of the Kushāṇas, a period of poor currency reflecting the effects of their wars with Rudradāman and the Śakas, and lastly a period of revival when the fine coins and seals of the tribe, revealing strong Kushāṇa influence, show them well established again in the third and fourth century.[2] Their constitution seems to have been quasi-monarchical. An inscription from Bijayagadh (Bharatpur) mentions a *mahārāja-mahāsenāpati* who was made their leader by the *gaṇa* of Yaudheyas, (*Yaudheya-gaṇa-puraskṛita*).[3] One of their seals bears a bull like some of their coins, as well as the legend, *Yodheyānāṁ Jayamantradharāṇām* meaning 'of the Yaudheya councillors of victory.' The tribe worshipped Kārttikeya, the commander of divine hosts, whose figure and name they put on some of their coins. The Johiya Rajputs, on the banks of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur frontier, are taken to be the modern representatives of this ancient tribe.

According to Diodorus,[4] when Alexander reached the place where the Akesines (Chenab) and Hydaspes (Jhelum) join each other, he led his troops against a people called Siboi, probably the same as the people who, according to Arrian,[5] refused their submission and were prevented from sending succour to the Malli by Alexander's inroad into their territories. All the Greek writers agree that they claimed descent from the soldiers of Hercules, dressed themselves with the skins of wild beasts and had clubs for their weapons. They branded on their oxen also a representation of a club. They are doubtless the same as the Śivas of the *Ṛigveda*, who were defeated by Sudās along with several other tribes,[6] and the Śivis, whom the Jātakas connect with Sovīra, practically the same locality as where the Greeks met them. Patañjali once mentions Śibayaḥ and Vasātayaḥ together as names of countries, and Śivapura

[1] Op. cit., sec. 64, also 142-4. *Contra* Allan, 'They do not seem to be mentioned in connection with Alexander,' *BMCCAI.* p. clii

[2] Op. cit., Intr. sec. 184

[3] *CII.* III p. 252

[4] *Invasion*, p. 285 (xvii, 96)

[5] Ibid. p. 139 (vi, 5)

[6] *Vedic Index*, II pp. 381-2

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again as a township in the North.[1] Śibipura is mentioned in an inscription (A.D. 403) from Shorkot which, according to Vögel, may be taken to mark the site of the Śibi Capital in the Jhang district below the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenab.[2] In later times they seem to have migrated together with their allies, the Mālavas, into Rajputana where their coins are found at Nagari near Chitor, celebrated in antiquity as Mādhyamika; the coins bear the legend *Majhimikaya Śibi Janapadasa* and belong to the second century B.C. If it is not a case of migration, two branches of the same tribe must be distinguished. A king of the Śibis is mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. A Śibi king became the ideal of self-sacrifice in Hindu and Buddhist legend,[3] and the Cholas in the distant Tamil country counted him among their ancestors. Another tribe that lived very near the Śibi to the east is named Agalassi by Diodorus. They mustered an army of 40,000 foot and 3,000 horses for the fight against Alexander, who lost 'not a few Macedonians' in pressing the attack against their city. McCrindle thinks that Agalessi corresponds to the original name Ārjunāyana; Jayaswal suggests the form Agra Śrenis, contracted into Śrenis by Kauṭilya. The Ārjunāyanas whose known coins belong to about 100 B.C. and who were tributary to Samudragupta seem to have occupied lands which lay within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra,[4] and it does not seem likely that they were the Agalassi of Diodorus.

The Malli and Oxydraci, 'the most numerous and warlike of all the Indian tribes in those parts' (Arrian), were doubtless the Mālavas and Kshudrakas of Indian literature. They are found mentioned together both in the *Mahābhārata* and by Patañjali. The territory of the Malli was of great extent, including part of the doab between the Chenab and the Rāvi, and extending, according to Arrian,[5] to the confluence of the Chenab with the Indus. The location of the Kshudrakas is more uncertain; Arrian places them on the Jhelum above its confluence with the Chenab, but modern research locates them either on the east or left bank of the Sutlej (the region of Bahawalpur), possibly extending as far as the junction of the Sutlej and the Indus and the neighbourhood of Uchh, or better, in the doab between the Rāvi and the Beas,[6] near the Malli across the Rāvi. Diodorus states that these two nations who had been at feud with each other settled their differences at the approach of Alexander, 'and cemented an alliance by intermarriage, each nation taking and giving in exchange 10,000 of their young women for wives. They did not, however, combine their forces and take the field, for as a dispute had arisen about leadership, they had drawn off into the adjoining towns.' Curtius says, on the other hand, that a brave warrior of the Oxydraci was chosen for the command. In besieging the capital of the Malli (Diodorus and Curtius assign the city wrongly to the Oxydraci) Alexander

[1] iv. 2, 52 & 104
[2] Bhandarkar, *List* 2035; *EI* xvi p. 15
[3] Allan. op. cit., Intr. sect. 142-3
[4] Ibid. sec. 92
[5] *Indika*, iv
[6] *Invasion*, pp. 350-1; *CHI.* 1 p. 375
[7] *Invasion*, pp. 287 (xvii 98), 236

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was dangerously wounded and nearly lost his life. In the midst of the operations against the Malli, Alexander led his army against a city of the Brahmins to which many of the Malli had fled for refuge, and in the hard struggle that followed, about 5,000 Brahmins laid down their lives, and 'as they were men of spirit, a few only were taken prisoners'.[1] Curtius puts the strength of the army of the confederated tribes at 90,000 foot-soldiers, 10,000 cavalry and 900 war chariots, and says that at the prospect of facing them, the European soldiers 'were struck with an unexpected terror and began again to upbraid the King (Alexander) in the language of sedition.'[2] It was with a view to keep up their spirit that Alexander exposed himself to unwonted risks. According to Arrian, after putting up a strenuous resistance, the Malli who still survived 'sent their envoys to Alexander to offer submission;' 'and from the Oxydraci came the leading men of their cities and their provincial governors, besides 150 of their most eminent men, entrusted with full powers to conclude a treaty.' They pleaded that they had preserved their freedom from time immemorial, and their attachment to it was their only fault. 'The gods, they said,' adds Curtius, 'were the authors of their submission and not fear, seeing that they had submitted to his yoke while their strength was quite unbroken.'[3] Alexander demanded a thousand hostages and five hundred chariots, and when they were sent, kept the chariots but sent back the men. Curtius gives picturesque details of the embassy to Alexander and of the manner in which he received them. The envoys 'all rode in chariots and were men of uncommon stature and of a very dignified bearing. Their robes were of linen and embroidered with inwrought gold and purple.' Alexander treated them to 'a splendid banquet to which he invited the petty kings of the neighbouring tribes. Here a hundred couches of gold had been placed at a small distance from each other, and these were hung round with tapestry curtains which glittered with gold and purple.' After the ambassadors were sent back to their homes, they returned in a few days 'with presents for Alexander which consisted of 300 horsemen, 1,030 chariots each drawn by four horses, 1,000 Indian bucklers, a great quantity of linen cloth, 100 talents of steel (*ferrum candidum*), some tame lions and tigers of extraordinary size, the skins also of very large lizards, and a quantity of tortoise shells.'

The league of Kshudrakas and Mālavas is mentioned by Kātyāyana and Patañjali who speak of *Kshaudraka-Mālavi senā*, the combined army of the Kshudrakas and Mālavas.[4] Patañjali also mentions that the Kshudrakas conquered unaided—*ekākibhiḥ Kshudrakair jitam*—a statement which Jayaswal[5] holds has reference to their war with Alexander, although there is nothing to indicate it. After this the Kshudrakas are not heard of. Possibly they were fully amalgamated with the Mālavas when they migrated from the Panjab to Eastern Rajputana where their

[1] Ibid. pp. 143-4
[2] Ibid. p. 234
[3] Ibid. pp. 154, 248-9
[4] Under Pāṇini iv 2, 45; and v 3, 52
[5] Op. cit., sec. 66

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presence in the second century B.C. is attested by the earliest type of their coins (150-100 B.C.) from Karkota Nagar (Jaipur State). The coins bear legends in Brāhmī : *Mālavavanaṁ jaya* or *Malava-gaṇa* and many variations of these. The Mālavas may have migrated by way of Bhatinda where their name seems to survive in the Malawai dialect extending from Ferozepur to Bhatinda.[1] They are found besieging the Uttamabhadras to the west of Ajmer and retreating before the forces of Nahapāna led by Ushavadāta.[2] The famous Vikrama or Kṛita era beginning 58-57 B.C. of which the origin has not been satisfactorily explained was closely associated with the Mālavas, at least according to some late inscriptions. 'The provenance and epigraphy of the coins of the Mālavas,' says Allan,[3] 'show them occupying a limited area in Eastern Rajputana from the second to the fourth century A.D. This agrees with the reference to them in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. The later Mālava (Mo-la-po) of Hiuan Tsang seems to be farther west than the find spots of the coins.' But there can be little doubt that they covered the whole of the area to the south of Nagar, which permanently came to bear their name. At the same time, 'the similarity of the coin-legends to those of the Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas suggests that these were not very remote from them and were probably their neighbours on the north while the resemblance of their coins to those of the Nāgas suggests that the latter were their neighbours on the east.'

Another tribe who dwelt on the lower Akesines (Chenab) is called Abastanoi by Arrian, Sabarcae by Curtius, and Sambastai by Diodorus. Patañjali gives Aṁbashṭha as the name of a country whose people were called Aṁbashṭhyas.[4] The Purāṇas describe them as a monarchical people, but Curtius and Diodorus say that their government was democratic and not regal, and that they assembled 60,000 foot-soldiers, 6,000 horses and 500 chariots under three generals renowned for their valour and military skill; but the sight of the large armada of the Macedonians on their river cowed them into sending fifty of their foremost citizens to negotiate terms with the invader who received their submission with alacrity. The republican tribe of the Aṁbashṭhas is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and was obviously quite different from the mixed caste of Aṁbashṭhas of the *Manusmṛiti* and other law-books. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* knows of Āṁbashṭhya, a king whose *purohita* was Nārada; presumably the name is local, meaning 'king of the Aṁbashṭhas.'[5] Arrian next mentions the Xathri and Ossadii, two independent tribes who sent envoys in their turn to Alexander offering peaceful submission. The Xathri, Kshatriyas, appear to be mentioned by Kauṭilya in his list of tribes living by trade and arms. The Ossadii must be the Vasātis who are mentioned together with Śibis by Patañjali, figure in *gaṇapāṭha*

[1] Ibid. sec. 147
EI. viii p. 79. Uttamabhadra has been held to be a king, not a tribe, and identified with Uttamadatta of Mathurā. *JNSI.* vii pp. 27-8

[3] *BMCCAI.* Intr., sec. 121
[4] iv I, 170. The country is also named in the *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra.* ed. F. W. Thomas, p. 21
[5] *Vedic Index,* I pp. 59-60

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in the group beginning with *rājanya*, and are known to the *Mahābhārata*. Not much is known about these two tribes.[1] Rajānya, we may note, is not to be taken as a synonym of Kshatriya, but formed the name of a separate tribe (unknown to the Greek writers) whose coins of the second and first century B.C. bearing the legend *rajaña-janapadasa* have been found in the Hoshiarpur district of the Panjab, the probable seat of the *janapada*.[2]

The tribes on the lower course of the Indus are even more difficult to trace and locate because the Greek accounts of Alexander's progress through the four hundred miles from the great confluence at Uchh to Patala where the Indus bifurcates to form the delta are much more summary and divergent; further, the change in the course of the Indus here is much more marked since Alexander's time than in the case of the streams of the Panjab. The people of Sind seem to have had a decided preference for kingly government and allowed Brahmins to exercise a decisive influence over their public life. The first tribe in Sind to meet Alexander were the Ṣogdi as Arrian puts it, or Sodrae and Massani according to Diodorus. The name Massani has been connected with Musarṇi of Ptolemy, a town in Gedrosia or Karmania.[3] Sodrae may well be Śūdra, the Zydri of Ptolemy identified by Zimmer with the Brāhui. The suggestion has been made that Śūdra was originally the name of some prominent Dāsa tribe;[4] if this is accepted, it is not unlikely that they survived in some strength to the days of Alexander. Next we hear of three kings of Sind, Musicanus and Sambus standing in the same relation to each other as Porus and Taxiles of the Panjab, and Oxycanus or Porticanus, besides a 'city of the Brāhmaṇas'. The realm of Musicanus was reported to be the most opulent in India. The name of the king appears to be a territorial title since Curtius designates the people Musicani, who have been identified by Lassen with the Mūshikas, a dynasty known to have ruled only on the west coast of South India. The suggestion has, however, been made that the great tribe of the Moghasis of Kach Gandāra, a region bordering on the territories of the ancient Musicani, still represents the Mūshikas in that region.[5] Strabo cites Onesicritus whose description of the country and its people is obviously an idealised account meant for the edification of his Greek readers:

> He expatiates [says Strabo] in praises of the country of Mousicanus, and notices these characteristics which its inhabitants share with other Indians, that they are long-lived and that the term of life extends to 130 years (the Seres, however, according to some writers, are still longer-lived), that they live sparingly and are healthy, even though their country produces everything in abundance. The following customs, however, are peculiar to them: to have a common

[1] Jayaswal, op. cit., sec. 74, 75
[2] Allan, op. cit., Intr. sec. 141; Jayaswal, sec. 160
[3] McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, p. 322
[4] *Vedic Index*, II pp. 391-2; *CHI.* I p. 86 Jayaswal (op. cit., sec. 154) prefers to identify Sodrae with Saudras (Saudrāyaṇas) of the *Gaṇapāṭha*, iv 2, 54
[5] *Invasion*, p. 157, *n* 2. Jayaswal suggests the form *Muchukarṇa*, op. cit., sec 76

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meal which they eat in public as did the Lacedemonians, their food consisting of the produce of the chase; to use neither gold nor silver though they have mines of these metals; to employ instead of slaves young men in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotae and the Lacedemonians the Helots; to study no science with attention except that of medicine, for they regard the excessive pursuit of any art, as war for instance and the like, as wickedness; to have no actions at law but for murder and outrage, to escape these evils does not lie in one's own power, but it is otherwise in the case of contracts where each one can protect his own interests, so that if one of the parties violates his faith, the other must endure the wrong, for a man must be cautious whom he trusts, and not engross the attention of the city with law-suits.[1]

Musicanus was at first slow to make his submission to Alexander, while Sambus, who was unfriendly to Musicanus, hastened to offer his submission. The swiftness of Alexander's movements overwhelmed Musicanus, who offered his submission too, making the choicest presents to Alexander including 'all his elephants.' Musicanus was left his former state and authority, though a European garrison was posted in his capital city, most probably Alor. Sambus (Śambhu or Sāmba) ruled a mountainous country adjoining the territory of Musicanus, and had his capital at Sindimana (unidentified), which threw open its gates to the invader though its ruler had fled on hearing that Alexander had made friends with Musicanus. While the operations against Sambus were still going on, Alexander had to attack a city called Harmatelia by Diodorus, which belonged to the Brāhmaṇas, Alexander's most implacable enemies who had induced Musicanus to throw off his allegiance. Arrian says that Alexander 'put to death all those Brahmins who had instigated the revolt' together with Musicanus himself. Patañjali mentions the 'country of the Brāhmaṇas,' *Brāhmaṇako nāma janapada*, a form found in Pāṇini as well in the sense of a country where Brahmins live by bearing arms.[2] As Pāṇini's definition is general, the term should be taken to apply to all countries where Brahmins fought as soldiers, and not as the name of a particular state; another city of the Brahmins has been mentioned already in relation to the Mālavas. Porticanus, whose subjects are called Praesti (Proshṭhas ?) by Curtius, ruled, according to Cunningham, the level country around Larkhana, that lay about forty miles to the west of the Indus in Alexander's time, though now quite close to it. Lastly there was the ruler of the delta country which took its name from the capital Patala, near modern Hyderabad. Diodorus calls the city Tauala and says that it had a political constitution similar to that of Sparta; 'for in this community the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority.'[3] One of the kings went up the river to meet

[1] McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.*, p. 41
[2] Patañjali, ed. Kielhorn, ii 298; Pāṇ. v 2, 71
[3] *Invasion*, p. 296

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Alexander to make an offer of surrender, but this was only a device to gain time, for when Alexander actually reached Patala, he 'found that both the city itself and the cultivated lands which lay around it had been deserted by the inhabitants.'[1] But some of the fugitives were caught and employed to persuade the others to come back, inhabit the city and cultivate their lands as before.

We may next mention the notice of several *saṅghas* (republics) in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.[2] He states that the Kāṁbhojas, Surāshṭras, Kshatriyas, Śreṇis and others practised *vārttā* (agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade); the Lichchhavikas, Vṛijjikas, Mallakas, Madrakas, Kukuras, Kurus, Pāñchālas and others employed the term *rājā* (*rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*). Here only the Kāṁbhojas and Surāshṭras are new in the first group. The Kāṁbhojas seem to be mentioned by Yāska and Pāṇini as Kaṁbojas, the former implying the presence of Iranian influences in their speech; they are placed in the Aśoka inscriptions (RE. V) between the Yonas and Gandhāras, and are therefore best located somewhere in Eastern Afghanistan.[3] The Surāshṭras were in Kāthiāwār, and are mentioned by name in the Nāsik inscription of Gautamī Balaśri and the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman (A.D. 150). The last-mentioned record says that the Vaiśya Pushyagupta was the *rāshṭriya* of Chandragupta Maurya in this region, the Yavanarāja Tushāspa of Aśoka Maurya,[4] and that under Rudradāman himself, Surāshṭras and Ānartas were under the protection (*pālana*) of the Pahlava Suviśākha. We must assume that the republican institutions of the Surāshṭras were allowed to continue to function under the general supervision of the royal representative imposed upon the province whenever it formed part of a larger political unit. We may also believe that by virtue of their geographical situation they were more given to trade than to war.

The tribes mentioned in the second group by Kauṭilya are all well known for their great antiquity. In the days of the Buddha the Lichchhavis are found with Videhas and others to have formed a confederacy known as the Vajjians (Vṛijjikas), though several kings of Videha are known to Vedic and epic literature, the most celebrated among them being Janaka, the great philosopher of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* and foster-father of Sītā. As Kauṭilya mentions the Lichchhavis and Vṛijjikas separately it is possible that by the latter he means the Videhans. The Lichchhavis are among the most celebrated Kshatriya tribes, and the suggestion that they were of Mongolian extraction has really no evidence in its favour. The legendary genealogy of the Lichchhavis of Nepal says that there was a Lichchhavi born in the solar line of Ikshvāku eight generations after Daśaratha, the father of Rāma,[5] and explains the name as very white or very pure. 'According to the Jainas,' says Jacobi, 'the

[1] Ibid. p. 161
[2] xi
[3] Jayaswal, op. cit., sec. 56, 130
[4] *EI.* viii p. 43. The reading *mauryasyāṁte* at the end of 1. 8 suggested by Barua seems to be no improvement on Kielhorn's *kṛite*.
[5] Lévi, *Le Népal*, ii p. 85

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Lichchhavis and Mallakis were the chiefs of Kāśī and Kosala. They seem to have succeeded the Aikshvākas who ruled there in the time of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.'[1] The Lichchhavis continued to exist as a powerful independent state, though their constitution seems to have become monarchical. Kumāradevī, whose marriage with the Gupta king Chandragupta I merged the Lichchhavi state in the Gupta empire, seems to have been the last ruler of the Lichchhavis. The Mallas or Mallakas and Kurus seem to disappear soon after Kauṭilya's time as separate entities. The Pañchālas are mentioned by Patañjali and are represented by the coins of a local dynasty of rulers with names ending in *mitra* and covering a period of from about 200 B.C. to the end of the first century B.C. Their capital was most probably Ahichhatra.[2] The Kukuras were a branch of the Yadu race and their country must be sought in Western or Central India. Kukura is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas among Gautamiputra's conquests and is included among the territories ruled over by Rudradāman. The Madras or Madrakas are known to later Vedic literature.[3] The Uttara Madras, northern Madras, are referred to in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* as living beyond the Himālaya in the neighbourhood of Uttara Kurus, probably, as Zimmer conjectures, in the land of Kashmir. The Madras mentioned in the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* were probably the southern Madras whose territory lay in the region of Sialkot (Śākala) which still had the name Madra-deśa in the time of Guru Govind Singh. Przyluski suggests a Bactrian origin for them and holds that they represented the penetration of Iranian peoples into north-western India long before the time of Alexander, their name Bālhika being changed to Bāhika, meaning 'outsiders, those beyond the pale,' to signify the aversion of the orthodox Indo-Aryans to them.[4] But the references in the Upanishads and elsewhere in early Indian literature show that they were regarded as a Kshatriya tribe particularly noted for their learning and scholarship in the Brāhmaṇa period.[5] Śākala became later the capital of Menander, and the *Milinda-pañha* contains a long and vivid description of the city.[6] Not much is known of the later history of the Madras. They are counted among peoples tributary to Samudragupta in the Allahabad inscription. The name of the Madra country figures in the copper-plates of Dharmapāla of Bengal as among the powers that agreed to his replacing Indrāyudha of Kanauj by Chakrāyudha, but it may be legitimately doubted if this list of kingdoms is genuinely historical or merely traditional. How and when exactly the Madras ceased to be a separate political entity is not easy to decide.

The tribal names mentioned in the Aśoka inscriptions have been discussed earlier. We may now mention briefly the tribal states represented by their coins which we have had no occasion to mention so far, a detailed

[1] *Jaina Sūtras*, ii p. 321, *n.* 3
[2] Allan, op. cit., Intr. sec. 131-8
[3] *Vedic Index*, ii p. 123
[4] *JA.* ccviii (1926) p. 13
[5] Br. *Up.* iii 3, 1; 7, 1
[6] *SBE.* 35 (i) pp. 1-3

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discussion of the types of these and other coins of the period being reserved for a separate chapter at the end of this volume. Eran, now a village in the Saugor district of Madhya Pradesh at the confluence of the Bina and Reutā, was a place of great importance in ancient times. Its site has yielded the earliest inscribed Indian coin, the legend being *Dha(r)ma-pālasa* read round the coin from right to left in Brāhmī characters anterior to those of Aśoka's time. Two other coins inscribed *Erakanya* and several fine copper coins with strong affinities with the punch-marked coins also come from the same place.[1] From Kauśāmbī, modern Kosam, thirty miles south-west of Allahabad, there come bronze coins falling into two classes like those of Ayodhyā and the Audumbaras—an earlier set of round cast pieces purely Indian in type, and a later one of struck coins, a bull and a tree in railing being the characteristic type which prevails throughout. The earlier set is mostly uninscribed, though two coins bear the legends *Sudevasa* and (*Baha*) *satimitasa*, i.e. of Sudeva and of Bṛihaspatimitra, in characters which may be of the third century B.C. or the first half of the second. The struck coins reveal the names of Aśvaghosha, Parvata, a second Bṛihaspatimitra, Agnimitra and Jyeshṭhamitra, and are of the end of the second century B.C. as well as of the first. Still later is the coin inscribed in Sanskrit *Rāja Dhanadevasya*. A *Bṛihasvātimitra* whose name occurs on inscribed bricks from Mora, seven miles west of Mathurā, commemorating the erection of a temple by his daughter, may have been the same as Bṛihaspatimitra I of the coins whose daughter married the king of Mathurā. Likewise *Bahasatimitra* of one of the inscriptions at Pabhosā near Kosam may be identified with Bṛihaspatimitra II of the coins, perhaps a contemporary of Udāka (Odraka), the fifth king of the Śuṅga dynasty (*c.* 125-100 B.C.) whose tenth regnal year is mentioned in the Pabhosā inscription. Bṛihaspatimitra is not mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription and cannot be identified with Pushyamitra Śuṅga.[2] Ayodhyā, the capital of ancient Kosala, furnishes three classes of coins—the earliest being a few rare cast pieces of the third century B.C. Of the later coins one class reveals the names of six rulers of one dynasty whose names are inscribed on the coins in Prākṛit—Mūladeva, Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva, Dhanadeva, Śivadatta, and Naradatta; there is probably one more, Pāthadeva. They cannot be put in chronological order as no other references to them are known, and they may be taken to cover the second century B.C. Of a later dynasty, probably of the first two centuries A.D., were Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Saṁghamitra, and Vijayamitra, besides Satyamitra and Āryamitra (Ayyamita); only the first-named ruler calls himself *rājā*.[3] From Ujjayinī, which was the seat of Aśoka's viceroyalty, we get six classes of uninscribed coins and one of inscribed, the former belonging to the third and second centuries B.C. when this region was a Mauryan province. They were

[1] Allan, *BMCCAI.* Intr. sec. 101-2

[2] Ibid. sec. 105-110. (For another view of the Pabhosā inscr. and Udāka sec p. 101, *n.* 2 *ante*.)

[3] Ibid. sec. 98-100

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probably local issues of the time of the Maurya governors. The inscribed variety bears the legend *Ujeni* in characters of the first half of the second century B.C.[1] Struck coins bearing the name *Tripuri* in Brāhmī characters of the late third or early second century B.C., which are rare, may be attributed to the ancient city of that name (modern Tewar on the Narmadā,) the capital of the Kaluchuris in mediaeval times.[2] To the second century B.C. also belong the rare coins bearing the inscription *Udehaki* recalling the Auddehikas mentioned by Varāhamihira (xiv, 3) and located in the Middle Country. One of these coins reveals the name of king *Suyamita* (Sūryamitra), the absence of the royal title being evidence of its early date.[3] The Trigartas, closely connected with the Yaudheyas, are counted by Pāṇini among 'the republics living by fighting,' and are known along with other tribes of the Panjab to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*. A coin bears the legend *Trakata-janapadasa* 'of the tribe of Trigarta' in Brāhmī characters of the first half of the second century B.C.; traces of the same inscription in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse are visible, and the coin is square in shape. The Trigarta country corresponded to the modern Jullundur between the Rāvi and the Sutlej. According to the *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi* of Hemachandra, Jalandhara and Trigarta were synonymous.[4]

From Almora, in the Kumaun division of Uttar Pradesh, we get coins inscribed in large Brāhmī characters of the second century B.C. giving the names of three kings, Śivadatta, Śivapālita and Haridatta.[5] Coins, bearing a legend which in its full form reads *maharajasa Apalatasa*, must by reason of their fabric be attributed to an ancient king of Mathurā Aparānta by name.[6] Mathurā, 'one of the most prolific fields in Northern India', is the source of many other coins of local Hindu dynasties of the first and second century B.C. who preceded the Śaka satraps that came immediately after them. These coins are singularly uniform and represent a Lakshmī holding a lotus in her uplifted hand on the obverse, and three elephants facing, each with a rider, on the reverse. The names revealed by these coins are Gomitra I and II, Brahmamitra, Dṛiḍhamitra, Sūryamitra, Vishṇumitra, Purushadatta, Uttamadatta and Rāmadatta. These are followed by another set of rulers whose names are preceded by the *rājan* title : Rāmadatta II, Kāmadatta, Seshadatta, Bhāvadatta (also Bhavadatta), Uttamadatta II, and Balabhūti. With the exception of Brahmamitra, who seems to be mentioned in an inscription at Bodh Gayā, none of these rulers are known otherwise from inscriptions or literature. They may have been vassals of Śuṅga kings and so did not find a place in the Purāṇic lists.[7] The coins of the Śaka satraps are discussed elsewhere in this volume. From Pañchāla we have coins ranging from

[1] Ibid. sec. 168-72
[2] Ibid. sec. 166
[3] Ibid. sec. 167
[4] Ibid. sec. 165
[5] Ibid. sec. 90
[6] Ibid. sec. 91
[7] Ibid sec. 123-30; sec *n.* 2, p. 128 on Uttamadatta. For another view that the kings were independent see p. 108 *ante*.

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about 200 to the end of the first century B.C. and yielding the names: Agnimitra, Bhadraghosha, Bhānumitra, Dhruvamitra, Indramitra, Jayagupta, Jayamitra, Phalgunīmitra, Rudragupta, Sūryamitra, Vishṇumitra, and Viśvapāla. We may add to these the name Bṛihaspatimitra from a coin in the Lucknow Museum. Though the coins come from a fairly wide area, there is no doubt that the main source for them was Ahichhatra, the old capital of this region. These kings were clearly different from the rulers of the Śuṅga and Kāṇva dynasties bearing some of these names.[1] From Kanauj and its neighbourhood come coins bearing on the reverse a horse before a *yūpa*, perhaps commemorating a horse sacrifice, and bearing legends in Prākṛit containing the names of three kings—Brahmamitra, Sūryamitra and Vishṇudeva.[2]

Mention must next be made of the well-known tribe of the Audumbaras, whose coins fall into three classes—square copper pieces bearing the name of the tribe, and some rare silver coins, besides a group of round copper and billon pieces. The square copper coins are the earliest and are distinctly Indian in type. The obverse inscription is in Kharoshṭhī characters and the reverse in Brāhmī. The names of four kings occur on these pieces—Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva, and Dharaghosha. But *Mahādeva* occurs also as a regal title on these coins, and some of the coins attributed to him may be those of other kings with incomplete inscriptions. A silver coin affords unmistakable proof of the existence of a king of this name who is described as a *bhāgavata*. Epigraphy points to the first century B.C., and it seems probable that these Audumbara rulers preceded Zoilus, Vonones, and Gondophares as well as Kanishka and Huvishka whose coins have been found with theirs. The rare silver coins bear a bearded figure on the obverse labelled Viśpamitra, i.e. the sage Viśvāmitra whose connection with the Audumbaras is not otherwise known. Silver coins of the same type as Mahādeva's reveal also the name of Rudravarman; the marginal legends on both sides are in Prākṛit written in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī; the king is described as 'victorious king' and a Vemaki, perhaps the name of an otherwise unknown Audumbara family. The silver coins bear a close resemblance to those of Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti, and one of them was found with three of the latter and twenty-eight hemidrachms of Apollodotus at Jvālāmukhi in the Panjab. There are other coins, perhaps also of the Audumbaras, which bear a male deity, possibly Kārttikeya, on the obverse. These are inscribed in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī and reveal the names of some kings whose names end in *mitra*. They are Āryamitra (Ajamita), Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra, and Mahābhūtimitra. From the find-spots of their coins 'the Audumbaras should be located in the area formed by the eastern part of the modern Kangra district, the Gurdaspur district and the Hoshiarpur district, that is to say, the valley of the Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Rāvi'. Pliny's Odeonbares whom he locates in Kutch

[1] Ibid. sec. 131-8

[2] Ibid. sec. 104

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were another people. The *gaṇapāṭha* on Pāṇini iv, 2, 53 places the Audumbaras near the people of Jālandhara, quite in accord with the finds of coins.[1] The *Mahābhārata* mentions the Audumbaras with the people of the north, while the *Bṛihatsamhitā* puts them in the Middle Country. Przyluski has shown that the coins and Buddhist texts agree about the location of the Audumbaras and the high material prosperity they had attained before the commencement of the Christian era. They were established on the great trade-route which led to Taxila from the valley of the Ganges by way of Śākala, Agrodaka and Rohitaka; they were also the intermediaries between the peoples of the Himalayan mountains and the plains. They accepted Buddhism and became great champions of that faith in their neighbourhood. Though not named by the Greek writers they must have been one of the many independent tribes of the upper Panjab whom Porus and Abisares had failed to subjugate at the time of Alexander's invasion. Besides trade, local industries formed another source of the prosperity of the Audumbaras, for the Himalayan plateaus have always nourished flocks of sheep the conversion of whose fine wool (*pashmina*) into the most precious fabrics still continues to be a widespread cottage industry in the area.[2]

Close to the Audumbaras were the Kulūtas of the Kūlu valley of the Kangra district, and the Kuṇindas or Kulindas who 'occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwalik hills between the Jumnā and the Sutlej and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and Sutlej.' The only known coin of the former bears the legend *Vīrayaśasya rājña Kulūtasya*, of the Kulūta king Virayaśa (i.e. Vīrayaśas); the practically Sanskrit form of the inscription and the survival of the Prākṛit *raña* in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse render a date about A.D. 100 very probable.[3] Vīrayaśas was clearly later than Amoghabhūti, to judge from the language forms on their coins. The coins of the Kuṇindas fall into two groups, one about the end of the first century B.C. and the other about three centuries later. The former bear the name of Amoghabhūti; the latter are anonymous, with only the titles of Śiva. The first group contains both silver and copper coins similar in type. The legends are in Prākṛit, inscribed in Brāhmī on the obverse and in Kharoshṭhī on the reverse, the former legend being closer to Sanskrit than the latter. The full legend reads, *rājñaḥ Kuṇindasya Amoghabhūtisya mahārājasya*. 'Economically the silver coins of the Kuṇindas represent an attempt of an Indian ruler to issue a native silver coinage which would compete in the market with the later Indo-Greek silver.' Amoghabhūti perhaps founded a short-lived kingdom at the close of the Greek dominion in the Panjab in the latter half of the first century B.C., which was soon swept away by the Śaka and Kushāṇa invaders. We find coins issued by a Kuṇinda republic again at the end of the second century A.D. or the beginning of the third. These

[1] Ibid. sec. 83-97
[2] *JA.* ccviii (1926) pp. 19-21
[3] A later date, third century, is held more likely by Prof. Jagannath (ch. viii *post*).

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2. MINOR STATES OF THE NORTH

Kingdoms and Republics mentioned by classical writers

1. Aspasioi (Asvakas)
2. Gauraians
3. Assakenoi (Asvakas)
4. Astes (Hasti or Ashtaka)
5. Kingdom of Takshasila (Ambhi)
6. Kingdom of Sophytes (Saubhuti)
7. Abastanoi (Ambashthyas)
8. Siboi (Sibis, Sivis)
9. Kingdom of Porus (including Kekaya)
10. Glauganicae
11. Abisares of Kashmir
12. Kingdom of younger Porus (including Madra)
13. Malli (Malavas)
14. Phagelas (Bhagala)
15. Kathaians
16. Yaudheyas
17. Oxydraci (Kshudrakas)

facing p. 136

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are large pieces resembling Kushāṇa copper coins. The obverse bears a figure of Śiva holding a trident and the legend : *bhāgavata-Chatreśvara-mahātmanaḥ*. Ptolemy mentions the name *Kulindrine* for the country in which the Beas, Sutlej and Jamunā arise.[1] Crude imitations of Kushāṇa copper coins also come from Bihar and Orissa; they were found with coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. These pieces, which belong to the end of the third or early fourth century A.D., show that when the supply of Kushāṇa copper coins began to fail them, the people of this region took to copying them, having plenty of copper available from the copper mines of their country.[2]

[1] Allan, *BMCCAI.* Intr. sec. 111-5 [2] Ibid. sec. 139-40

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CHAPTER VI

THE BACTRIAN GREEKS IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

THE Macedonian Greek invasion of India under Alexander the Great was a passing phase in her history, leaving no direct results of a far-reaching character. But its indirect consequences were many, and one of them played an important part in partially moulding her destiny in the few centuries before the Christian era. Her first real and enduring contact with the Greeks began with the infiltrations and incursions of the Bactrian Greeks in the extreme north-west and north during the decline of the Maurya rule. The great Maurya experiment in empire-building had been successfully made by the founder of the dynasty and his immediate successors, but the empire had now broken to pieces, and the last few rulers of the dynasty and the Śuṅgas could exercise their sway only over a portion of it. It was in this period, when the Mauryas had fallen on evil days and the Śuṅgas were coming into power, that the north-western and northern parts of India were conquered one after another by a band of Greek rulers who were the virtual successors of Alexander in the extreme eastern parts of his empire. The account of this second conquest by the Greeks, of their gradual spread over a substantial part of Northern India, and of their subsequent decline occupies an important place in the ancient history of India and is one of the fascinating phases of that history. The foreign conquest brought in its train other alien races to India, who held sway successively over the greater part of Northern and Western India in the last century before the Christian era and the first few centuries after it. These bands of foreigners, however, were not mere conquerors from outside; they identified themselves in course of time with the children of the soil of the country they had conquered. Though they are generally referred to in Indian epic literature as outsiders under such specific names as Yavanas, Śakas, Pahlavas, and Kushāṇas, their gradual amalgamation with the original inhabitants was so complete that they lost their separate identity and came to constitute an important and virile section of the Indian people in the subsequent period. Of these foreigners, only the Greeks were inheritors of a great culture which could be compared with that of the Indians; the others not so advanced were deeply influenced by the two superior trends of culture—the Hellenic or rather Hellenistic and the Indian, which again had mutual reactions upon each other.

BACTRIA—ITS EARLY GREEK SETTLERS

To study the history of this and other subsequent conquests of Northern India, it is necessary to know something about Bactria and its surroundings

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from which the successors of Alexander came to India, and the story of their early settlement in it. It was not the Greeks only who made Bactria their spring-board for the invasion of India; other foreign conquerors used it after them for the same purpose. Bactria, or Bactriana as the classical writers called it, denoted the vast tract of land which was bounded on the south and the east by the Hindukush mountains, on the north by the Oxus river and on the west by Aria and Margiana (the modern regions of Herat and Merv). It thus comprised the greater part of northern Afghanistan of the present time, having on its south and south-west the ancient satrapies of Paropamisus, hard on the southern side of the Hindukush, and Aria. Along with Arachosia and Gedrosia which lay further to the south, the four satrapies were situated on the extreme north-western and northern borders of India, and had imbibed the culture of India to a very great extent. The rocky region of Sogdiana on the other side of the Oxus up to the Jaxartes river on the north separated Bactria from the central Asian steppes, the haunt of the nomadic Scythians who, with other barbarian hordes living beyond them, were destined to play a great part in the history of Bactria and India. The desert sands of Carmania far to the west and south-west piled by high winds, were raised into innumerable sand-dunes on its western borders and served as a formidable check to invaders from the west. The fertile plain of Bactria, called by Strabo 'the pride of Ariana,' was drained by the Oxus, the Arius and a few other less known rivers, and was noted for its products such as olive, silphium and other medicinal herbs, fine crops of corn and varieties of fruit trees, and its excellent breeds of sheep and horses. The land was not unknown to the indigenous writers of ancient India, who in their epic and Purāṇic literature described it as *Bāhlīka* (*Bāhlī*), derived evidently like its Greek counterpart from the Persian *Bākhtri* (*Bākhdi* being an earlier form found in the *Zend Avesta*).[1] The region was inhabited from a very early period by an aboriginal race who were most likely of the Scythian stock; but its contact with Iran, its western neighbour, was intimate, even before it was conquered by Persian arms, when it became one of the most easterly components of the Persian empire. Large numbers of Iranians settled in Bactria, and after its conquest by the Persians the province was usually placed in the charge of a satrap of the Achaemenid imperial line, because of its strategic importance. During the long and prosperous period of Persian rule this system of government was followed in the country, most of the local satraps being connected with the royal dynasty. When Alexander broke the mighty Persian power, he did not do away with the Achaemenid method of binding the units of the far-flung empire, but chose the ablest and most valiant among his men to govern Bactria and its largely Iranian population. The Iranians gave

[1] Rawlinson, *Bactria*, p. 1, *n.* 1. The *Vendidad* describes it as 'Bactra, the beautiful, crowned with banners (*Bākhdhīm śrīrām eredhvo drafshām*)'. The modern form 'Balkh' is based on the Pehlevi variant of the Old Persian *Bākhdhi*, which is *Bākhal* or *Bākhli*.

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him not a little trouble, and by a judicious mixture of coercion and conciliation he tried to strengthen his hold upon Bactria, for this country was to serve him as a base of operations for his designs on India. Alexander married Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes, a brother of Darius III according to Plutarch, who is described by Diodorus as 'King of Bactria'. This marriage with the daughter of a defeated Iranian chief of Bactria was no doubt a political move; for by this measure he wished not only to conciliate the proud and turbulent Iranians of the country, but also to encourage his veterans to take native wives, settle in the country and thus secure his conquests permanently. Seleucus, one of his ablest generals, who was to succeed him in the eastern part of his empire after his death, married Apama, the daughter of Spitamenes, one of the Sogdian confederates of Bessus. Many of Alexander's followers were induced to settle in Bactria and they formed a powerful *bloc* of the Bactrian people. This mixed population of Scythians, Iranians and Greeks lived under the rule of the Greek Satrap, an officer who came to wield great power and influence in the administrative machinery of the Macedonian empire. The social customs and religion of this composite people gradually grew into an amalgam mainly of the Iranian and the Greek elements. One striking example of this admixture of religious beliefs is to be seen in the recognition by the Greeks of their own Artemis and Venus in Anahid, the great Bactrian goddess.[1]

BACTRIA UNDER THE SELEUCIDS

The mingling of Greek race and culture with that of the native population of Bactria did not take place in Alexander's lifetime but was the result of a good many years of Greek contact. Alexander's sudden death at Babylon in 323 B.C. jeopardised the imperial structure which he had built up so laboriously and within so short a time, and the struggles for supremacy which soon after ensued among his generals spelt disaster to the newly established empire. The conference of Triparadisus between the several warring factions after the death of Perdiccas (321 B.C.), who acted as the regent of the empire, brought some order out of the turmoil and two eminent personalities now emerged in western Asia, Seleucus and Antigonus. The former was a great general entrusted with the task of governing the eastern part of Alexander's empire with headquarters at Babylon, and the latter, another of the most brilliant of Alexander's generals, had secured for himself a large slice of the Asiatic dominions. These two generals worked together for a time against their common enemies, but their alliance was only short-lived. Seleucus was in fact put to great straits for a while and had to flee to Egypt with a handful of

[1] Rawlinson recognizes in a coin-device of the Bactrian Greek king, Demetrius, the figure of Anahid, in her eight-rayed crown; op. cit., p. 10. But there is little doubt that the Bactrian goddess is shown here in the garb of Artemis with her special cognizances of a bow and an arrow.

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followers owing to the hostile action of his rival. He managed, however, to overcome his difficulties and was well established in 312 B.C. (the initial year of the Seleucidan era marking the assumption of his full sovereignty) on his throne at Babylon where he entrenched and aggrandised his power as a measure of defence against the attacks of Antigonus. In the great battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. Seleucus, with four other confederate kings of the west, overwhelmed Antigonus and gradually extended his empire until by 282 B.C. it stretched from the Aegean to India. The fierce contest which Seleucus maintained with Antigonus, and his other preoccupations, especially his clash with the Indian Chandragupta Maurya, were blessings in disguise for the remote province of Bactria—now a loosely bound unit of the Seleucidan empire in the east. Bactria continued to lead a comparatively untroubled existence under the suzerainty of Seleucus and his immediate successors, whose control was for all practical purposes nominal. The satrapal form of government so successfully introduced by the Achaemenids in the administration of Bactria and other units of the empire was adhered to, and Stasanor, Oxyartes and other satraps in these regions owed only nominal allegiance to the suzerain ruler. Nevertheless, they offered substantial, though occasional, help to their master Seleucus I in his multifarious struggles of expansion and conquest. Both the Bactrian cavalry and the five hundred Indian elephants for which he bartered the provinces of Paropamisus, Aria, Arachosia and Gedrosia to Chandragupta Maurya, were formidable arms of war and stood him in good stead in the battle of Ipsus and on other occasions. The value which was attached to these instruments of war by the early Seleucids seems to be emphasised by some of their coin-devices. Among the earliest issues of the Seleucid mint of Antioch were some rare tetradrachms of Seleucus I with the head of a horned horse on the obverse and an Indian elephant on the reverse; and these two, along with the anchor, became the dynastic devices of the Seleucidae.[1] Among the considerable Greek and Macedonian population left behind in Bactria by Alexander, the head of a horned horse as a reverse device was very popular, and the Bactrian imitations of the Antiochid issues were made in large numbers by the local satraps during the rule of Seleucus and his successors. On some Bactrian staters and tetradrachms issued in the name of Seleucus, the horse's head appears as usual on the reverse, but the obverse is occupied by the diademed head of the king with a bull's horn over the ear, the horn being a favourite symbol of royalty in the East.[2] On another issue of

[1] Macdonald remarks, 'the device of a horse's head would be peculiarly appropriate to Bactria, with its famous cavalry, or to Sogdiana'; *CHI.* I p. 436. Seltman, however, would find in it a possible reference to Bucephalus ('Bull-head'), the famous charger of Alexander; *Greek Coins*, 228. Seleucus adopted an anchor as his special seal-device, for he had on his thigh an anchor-shaped birth-mark; ibid. p. 227.

[2] The Book of Daniel (ch. viii) symbolises the Persian empire as a horned ram, Alexander as 'the terrible he-goat from the west from whom spring four notable horns, the kings of Macedon, Thrace, Egypt and Syria, until out of the last came the little horn, Antiochus Epiphanes IV the persecutor of Jerusalem.' C. Seltman, op. cit., p. 228

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Seleucus I's coins, though it is not particularly connected with Bactria, the royal head on the obverse, shown in a close-fitting Attic helmet with cheek-plates, is adorned with a wing and a bull's horn. This feature is exactly matched by the splendid portrait-head of Sophytes on his very interesting drachms of lighter Attic weight. This Sophytes was hitherto unanimously identified with Sopeithes who, according to Arrian and Strabo, was a contemporary of Alexander ruling in the extreme north-west of India. The name Sopeithes was regarded by Sylvain Lévi as the Greek form of Saubhūti, an Indian king of *Subhūta Janapada*. It is true that there is mention of *Subhūta* as one of the *Janapadas* of India in the *gaṇa-pāṭha* of Pāṇini, but no reference to Saubhūti has as yet been found in Indian literature. This and various other considerations, specially of a numismatic character, led R. B. Whitehead recently to challenge the almost universally accepted view about the identity of Sopeithes of the classical writers with Sophytes of the coins, the latter according to him being an eastern satrap of Alexander's time in the Oxus region.[1] Whatever may be the truth about Sophytes, there can be no doubt that the obverses, both of the issue of Seleucus last mentioned and of Sophytes's coins, as well as the reverse of the latter (cock and caduceus with Greek legend *Sōphytou*), were based on the imitations of the Athenian 'owls' which had long circulated in parts of western Asia, taking the place of the original 'owls' which ceased to be minted when Athens lost her independence. The imitations, like the originals, showed the head of Pallas Athene on the obverse and the figure of an owl, the special cognizance of the Greek goddess with the legend *Athe* on the reverse; on some specimens of the former the head of Athena was decorated with a helmet and a cheek-plate. The reverse device of the type of Seleucus's coins under discussion was quite different from that of the 'imitations'; it showed Nike crowning a trophy in evident imitation of a Syracusan coin-type. On the other hand that of Sophytes's coinage—the figure of a cock—was undoubtedly an adaptation of the owl. The imitations of the Athenian 'owls' also influenced some of the coins issued in the name of Alexander in Bactria and the adjoining regions, which showed the laureate head of Zeus to right inside a border of dots on the obverse, and an eagle standing on a thunderbolt, its head reverted, with a satrapal tiara in front on the reverse.[2]

The other dynastic device of the Seleucids, the elephant, is very often adopted in different ways in their early gold and silver money as minted in the eastern dominions. A large number of silver coins of various denominations conforming to Attic weight bear on their obverse a laureate head of Zeus and on their reverse a fighting Athena in a chariot drawn by

[1] *NC.* 1943, pp. 60-72; cf. also J. N. Banerjea, 'Sophytes-Saubhūti' in *JNSI.* VII pp. 23-6

[2] Macdonald thinks that these coins were probably struck by Seleucus I before *c.* 306 B.C.; *CHI.* I p. 462. But the *satrapal tiara* in the field on the reverse shows that they were struck by some satrap under him in the eastern part of Seleucus's kingdom, probably Bactria.

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two or four horned elephants; these coins have either the name of Seleucus only, or his name with that of his son Antiochus. These pieces were mostly minted during the latter's rule as his father's representative in the east (which included Bactria), and many of them differ from the Attic system, for their weight, according to many scholars, was similar to that of the Indian *dharaṇa* or *purāṇa* standard as described in the texts of Manu and Yājñavalkya. This particular weight seems also to have been adopted in the issues of many of the imitations of the Athenian owls, the coins of Sophytes and some other money of the eastern parts of the Seleucidan empire. Macdonald is of opinion that the weight had nothing to do with India, the resemblance to the 32 *rati* (58 grains) standard of some series of silver punch-marked coins of India being accidental; he regards this coinage as a lighter Attic system current in this part of Asia in which the weight of a drachm rose only to 58 grains (3.75 grammes) in place of the full Attic drachm of 67.5 grains (4.37 grammes).[1] The special interest, however, attaching to these particular varieties of the early Seleucid money showing one or other of the dynastic devices—the head of a horned horse and an elephant—is that many of them contain in some part of their field on the reverse a monogram which is a combination of the Greek letters 'delta', 'iota' and 'omicron'. The implication of this will be discussed presently; but the extensive coinage current in the western part of central Asia during the rule of the early Seleucidan emperors distinctly proves that trade and commerce was in a flourishing state in this part of Asia, including Bactria. In fact much of the wealth and prosperity of the Bactrians at this period and shortly afterwards was due to their position as one of the major intermediaries in the trade between central Asia and India on the one hand and western Asia and eastern Europe on the other. The above brief consideration of some types of early Seleucid coins circulating in the eastern dominions of their empire will throw light on the coinage of the independent Greek rulers of Bactria, whose coins are one of the principal sources for the reconstruction of their history and are no less important for the history of their successors whose rule was mostly confined to parts of the extreme north of India.

SELEUCUS'S SUCCESSORS: INDEPENDENCE OF BACTRIA: DIODOTUS I AND II

Antiochus I became joint king with his father Seleucus in 293 B.C., the eastern provinces of the empire, Bactria among them, being placed in his charge; two years afterwards he became sole king. In his western dominions much of the bewildering diversity of his father's coinage was simplified, though the variety of types current in Bactria and other imperial provinces in the east were continued by the satraps. In the west the coins of Antiochus I usually bore the diademed head of the emperor on the

[1] *CHI.* I pp. 387, 389

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obverse and Apollo seated on an omphalos with a bow and an arrow in his hands on the reverse. He won a great victory over the Gauls in Asia Minor and adopted the title of 'Soter' (Saviour). His son Antiochus II came to be associated with him as a joint ruler in 266 B.C. and became the sole king a few years afterwards with the title 'Theos' (God). Both of them issued in some parts of Asia Minor a number of tetradrachms which showed on the reverse Heracles naked, instead of Apollo, seated with a long club in his right hand resting on the ground. In Bactria, however, coins were struck by the local satrap during the time of Antiochus II Theos, which bore the imperial head inside a dotted border on the obverse, but the figure of naked Zeus standing to the left with an aegis spread over his outstretched left arm, his right hand hurling a thunderbolt; an eagle, placed near the left foot of the god, was shown on the reverse. This striking reverse device is interesting, for it was the principal one to be adopted by the first two independent rulers of Bactria. On the field of some coins is found a monogram between the legs of Zeus, which is a combination of several Greek letters, either an indistinct letter and an 'omicron', or 'delta', 'iota' and 'omicron'.[1] It has already been shown that the latter group of letters also constituted the monogram which appeared on the reverse sides of many of the coins issued in the names of Seleucus I, Seleucus I and Antiochus I, and Antiochus I in the eastern part of their dominions. If the interpretation suggested by Macdonald and after him by Tarn is accepted, we are to assume that all the coins with the monogram 'Dio' were being issued by one Diodotus who was at first a satrap of Bactria and afterwards its independent ruler. Monograms are usually regarded now as standing for the moneyers' or the mint-magistrates' names; Cunningham, however, was of opinion that though some on the coins of the Indo-Bactrian Greek rulers were so, many more could be interpreted as containing the names of the cities in which the respective coins were minted. Tarn remarks about this early Bactrian money, 'a theory that Dio stands for Diodotus might be supported by a reference to those ambitious governors, Aspeisas, satrap of Susiana, and Nicocles, king of Paphos, who put their names on the Alexander-coinage with results disastrous to themselves.'[2] If this view be correct, one has to assume that Diodotus was serving through a long period as the satrap of Bactria and probably also of part of Sogdiana during the successive reigns of Seleucus I, Antiochus I and Antiochus II.

This assumption is not *a priori* unlikely, for the principal literary source recording some details about Bactrian independence seems to support it in a way. The Roman historian Justin, who flourished some time before A.D.

[1] *CHI.* I p. 464, pl. ii, fig. 12. Macdonald's reproduction of the monogram in the text does not seem to tally always with its actual form in his plate. But the latter can also be analysed into the letters making up 'Dio'. The monogram seems to have had its variants. One of the letters '*i*' or '*o*', is occasionally omitted.

[2] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 73. Macdonald drew the attention of scholars to this particular monogram and interpreted it as standing for Diodotus's name; *CHI.* I p. 437

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500, states, after recording the revolt of Parthia from the Seleucidan rule, that at the same time Diodotus, governor of the thousand cities of Bactria, rebelled and had himself proclaimed king. He further adds that Diodotus soon died, and was succeeded by his son, also named Diodotus, who made a treaty of alliance with Arsaces, the first Parthian king (XLI, 4). Most texts of Justin write the name of the first independent ruler of Bactria as 'Theodotus'; but Trogus Pompeius, who flourished some time before Justin, puts the name correctly as 'Diodotus'.[1] Gardner, while comparing the above statements of Justin with the available numismatic data, pointed out that all coins bearing the name of Diodotus were issued by one king. This seems to disagree with Justin's record, and three alternatives were suggested by Gardner in order to explain this discrepancy; first, that 'Justin was wrong in duplicating a single monarch, secondly that the younger Diodotus continued the issue of his father's money unchanged, or finally that the elder Diodotus continued during his lifetime to issue money in the name of Antiochus of Syria and that our coins with the name of Diodotus were issued by his son, who first ventured to introduce his own name and portrait on the coin.'[2] Gardner did not definitely decide between these alternatives, but lent his support to the last one on the basis of the fact that the portrait of Diodotus on his coins is that of a man of not more than middle age.[3] There is some inconsistency between this and his description of all the coins bearing the name Diodotus in the body of the *Catalogue* as the issues of Diodotus I, king of Bactria. This doubt is further intensified by his other explicit statement that Diodotus 'seems to have prepared his subjects for a change of masters by issuing coins bearing the types of Antiochus II of Syria, but with his own portrait. After his establishment in the kingdom he continued this issue unchanged, only substituting his own name, besides his portrait, for that of the Seleucid king.'[4] The generally accepted view about the Diodotus coins, however, is that all of them which are genuine were issued by Diodotus II, Diodotus I resting content with introducing his own portrait only on some of the coins issued by him with the name and type of Antiochus II, his erstwhile overlord.[5] This is probably the

[1] Trogus Pompeius, Justinus, Plutarch and many other late writers seem to have used profusely an authoritative history of the Greek and Parthian East written by some historian whose name, place of origin, and even his very existence have been forgotten. Tarn refers to him throughout in his book *The Greeks in Bactria and India* as the 'Trogus source', 'meaning the source used by Trogus Pompeius for Parthia and the Farther East'; Tarn, op. cit., pp. 45 ff.

[2] P. Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, Introduction, p. xxi

[3] Some gold coins bearing an elderly head of Diodotus on the obverse and the figure of Zeus Promachos with the symbols of wreath and spear-head on the reverse, are regarded as forgeries; they are very common and all struck from one die.

[4] P. Gardner, op. cit., Intro. p. xx.

[5] There is a great deal of confusion in the minds of some modern authors regarding this point. Gardner's indecision is apparent in Macdonald's statements; *CHI.* I pp. 436-7. V. A. Smith and H. G. Rawlinson are definite that the whole series bearing the name of Diodotus belongs to the younger of the two. W. W. Tarn accepts this view, but his chronological scheme regarding the two is open to objection,

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correct view and it confirms the surmise mentioned above that Diodotus was a comparatively elderly man when he formally declared his independence of Syrian sovereignty after a long period of service as a satrap under the early Seleucids.

There might not have been an actual rebellion as stated by Justin on the authority of Trogus, for the Seleucid coinage during the time of Antiochus Theos seems to prove that the assumption of full sovereign powers by Diodotus was gradual. He does not seem to have enjoyed his independence for long, and his rule appears to have been confined to his own province of Bactria-Sogdiana. There hardly is any justification for the view that he also held sway over Arachosia-Seistan, for no evidence is forthcoming to prove that his sovereignty ever extended beyond the Hindukush mountains. Very few facts about his reign as an independent king are on record, and the date when it began is uncertain. Justin simply tells us that it was nearly contemporaneous with that of Arsaces's revolt from Syria; but the several events by which the Roman historian seeks to date the Parthian outbreak are spread over a period of not less than ten years. Scholars are generally of opinion that the formal assumption of sovereignty by Diodotus happened about 250 B.C. when Antiochus Theos was seriously distracted by his western preoccupations. Tarn thinks that he was still a Seleucid satrap in 246 B.C., when Seleucus II succeeded his father Antiochus II on the throne but his reasons for this assumption are not conclusive. He is of opinion that Seleucus II gave one of his sisters in marriage to Diodotus I to secure his help when his very existence was imperilled by Ptolemy III, the Egyptian monarch. But the texts are not explicit as regards this supposed matrimonial connection and even granting that there was one, it did not necessarily mean that Diodotus was still a satrap; the alliance may have been between one independent ruler and the other. That his son was on the throne of Bactria when Seleucus II made his eastern expedition for the reconquest of Parthia is practically certain. Seleucus II could hardly have plunged into it before the battle of Ancyra (240 B.C.) in which he was severely defeated by the Gauls. From Justin we know that the Parthians under Arsaces were not on good terms with Diodotus I for fear of whom they kept a great army in a prepared state after his conquest of Hyrcania. Diodotus II, however, reversed the policy of his father, and an alliance was formed between the Bactrian and Parthian kings which enabled Arsaces to foil completely the Syrian emperor's designs for the reconquest of the eastern satrapy. These facts, which can be gleaned from the pages of Justin, prove that Diodotus II was reigning over Bactria some time after 240 B.C. and it is very likely that he had succeeded his father several years before. His portrait on the coins shows that he was a comparatively young man when he was ruling over Bactria, and his rule does not seem to have been a long one, for none of his coins shows the portrait of an elderly man. The principal reverse device on the gold and silver coins of Diodotus II was the naked Zeus hurling a thunderbolt, with an eagle,

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a fillet, a crescent or a monogram on the left field. A bronze coin-type, however, of the same ruler bears on its reverse the figure of Artemis holding a torch in her hands with a dog near her legs; its obverse has a laureate head of Zeus in place of the usual diademed head of the king. A few other bronze coins in the collection of the Panjab Museum have on the obverse the head of a king to right wearing a flat Macedonian cap (*kausia*) and on the reverse Pallas facing with a spear in her right hand and in her left a buckler resting on the ground. All the above types of coins bear the Greek legend *Basileōs Diodotou* on the reverse; but there is a tetradrachm with the usual obverse and reverse devices in the collection of the British Museum, which has a novel legend, *Diodotou Sōtēros*. It was suggested by previous scholars on the basis of this numismatic datum that he assumed the title of 'Saviour' (Soter) on account of his success in checking the Turanian hordes. Macdonald, however, finds fault with this view and suggests that this coin was not minted by Diodotus during his lifetime but was a commemorative piece issued later by one of the Indo-Greek kings.[1] Diodotus II's reign must have ended some time before 212 B.C. when Seleucus III's successor Antiochus III Magnus made his appearance in the east with a large army for the reassertion of the Syrian suzerainty over the revolted satrapies. Polybius informs us that one Euthydemus, a native of Magnesia, was at that time on the Bactrian throne. Nothing definite is known about the exact date before 212 B.C. when Diodotus's rule came to an end, but it can be inferred from the historian's testimony that he was not simply removed from the throne by Euthydemus, but was probably killed after his dethronement.

EUTHYDEMUS I : HIS COINS

With the period of the next two Bactrian kings, Euthydemus I and his son Demetrius, begins an era of expansion for the Bactrian power, about which some stray facts can be gathered from literary and archaeological sources. It was late in the reign of the former and in the beginning of that of the latter, that India felt the weight of Greek arms for the second time, and parts of her extreme north were annexed by her north-western neighbour. Polybius incidentally informs us about Euthydemus's seizure of the throne of Bactria while recounting the events of Antiochus III Magnus's expedition towards the East. Euthydemus was getting the worst of it in his encounter with Antiochus and he was besieged in his capital city, Bactra, and hard pressed. Finding his very existence at stake he sent one Teleas, a fellow-countryman of his, to the camp of the besieging king to negotiate terms for an honourable peace. It was pointed out to the invader through this intermediary that Euthydemus 'was not a rebel. Others no doubt had rebelled. He had put the children of the rebels to death, and that was how he happened to be king.' It was further

[1] *CHI.* I p. 451; according to Macdonald this may have been issued by Demetrius I.

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emphasised that the Scythian barbarians on the other side of the Sogdianian mountains were ever alert to meddle in the affairs of their civilized southern neighbour; if he would call in their aid in his sorry plight, that would spell disaster not only for Bactria but Syria as well; the existence of a strong and independent Bactria as a buffer state between Syria and the lands inhabited by the barbarians was far more advantageous to Antiochus's real interests than that of a weak vassal Syrian province. Antiochus appears to have been convinced of the soundness of these reasons, and he was further deeply impressed by the noble bearing, royal demeanour and handsome appearance of Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, who had also been sent to the besieger's camp as a fully accredited envoy of his father in the course of the informal negotiations carried on through Teleas. Such was the good impression made by the royal youth on the mind of the Syrian emperor that he not only formally acknowledged the independence of Demetrius's father but also promised one of his daughters in marriage to the young prince of Bactria. A formal alliance was thus made between Syria and Bactria, and Antiochus raised the siege and turned his attention to India, being fully replenished by his Bactrian ally who gave him all his war elephants. It may be mentioned here in passing that his expedition to India some time about 206 B.C. was of no great importance. Polybius informs us that, crossing the Hindukush, Antiochus marched down the Kabul valley and encountered one 'Sophagasenus, king of the Indians'. Who this Subhagasena was, is not known from Indian sources, but if we accept the authenticity of Tāranāth, a mediaeval Tibetan historian of Buddhism, he may have been connected with Vīrasena, the king of Gandhāra, who was the great-grandson of Aśoka. Antiochus was now hard pressed for time, for he had already spent much of it in his not very decisive wars with Parthia and Bactria, and his presence was urgently needed in the west on account of the expanding Roman power. He accepted the token submission of the Indian king who gave him ample supplies for his forces, made over to him a number of war elephants and promised him a large amount of money which, however, could not be collected by the Syrian emperor for want of time. Antiochus went back to Syria with his dreams of the reconquest of the lost provinces of the Seleucid empire unrealised, leaving the strong Bactrian power now endowed with a fresh lease of independence free to extend its sway southwards and probably eastwards.[1] It is not known from any literary source whether Bactria under Euthydemus carried her arms towards the south beyond the Hindukush, but numismatic evidence seems to prove that parts of Arachosia and necessarily the provinces to its north, Paropamisus and Aria, were conquered during this king's rule. Cunningham observes that his silver money 'is very common

[1] Tarn infers from certain statements of Apollodorus that Euthydemus first made an expedition from Ferghana to the Lake Issy-kul country and not attaining much success there turned eastward to the Tarim basin in quest of precious metals like gold, silver and nickel; Tarn, op. cit., pp. 109-12

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in Balkh and Bokhara, to the north of the Caucasus, and less common in Kabul, Kandahar and Seistan,' but his bronze coins, 'which are perhaps less numerous than the silver, are found in about equal numbers in Seistan and Kandahar, and throughout the Kabul valley.' [1] It has been suggested by Gardner that the Bactrian Greek conquests in these regions were made under the auspices of the young and valiant Demetrius who was probably his father's colleague during the last years of the latter's rule. But nothing can be said with certainty about the Greek expansion beyond the Hindu-kush during Euthydemus's lifetime. The Bactrian king who was first undoubtedly connected with India was his son and successor Demetrius.[2] We do not know when Euthydemus died, but it is presumable that his long and eventful reign came to an end about the year 190 B.C. It was under the able guidance of this energetic and powerful ruler that Bactria rose to the height of her glory, feared and respected by her neighbours, including Parthia. This strong position was retained during the first part of his son's rule, when Demetrius carried Greek arms far into the interior of India. But she was destined soon to lose her strong position owing to the outbreak of internecine rivalry and strife.

The great prosperity of Bactria under Euthydemus is strongly attested by the large number of coins of different metals, gold, silver and copper, bearing his name and devices, which have been discovered in the regions just mentioned. It will presently be shown that not all the varieties of coins having the name of Euthydemus can be attributed to him; clear numismatic considerations enable us to attribute at least some of them definitely to a second Euthydemus who was most probably his grandson. Many of the coins of this strong and efficient Bactrian king can justly be regarded as masterpieces of numismatic art and technique, and the numerous subsequent imitations of his principal type made by his barbarous neighbours, the Scythians and others, are an unqualified tribute to the skill of his die-cutters and moneyers. The portraits on some of his finely preserved gold and silver coins prove that he was a well-built man of mature age with sparkling vivacious eyes and pursed up lips indicating strong individuality and firmness of character. A fine bust of him, perhaps originally set up in his native town, Magnesia, and once an exhibit in the Torlonia Museum in Rome, in spite of its portrayal of the strength of the man towards the end of his life, cannot stand comparison with 'the wonderful coin-portrait of him taken in old age'.[3] A great variety is clearly

[1] *NC.* 1869, p. 138. Macdonald remarks about this evidence, 'As bronze was much less likely to travel outside the area of its actual currency than gold or silver, the significance of these facts is unmistakable'; *CHI.* I p. 443

[2] Tarn is definitely of opinion that the southward expansion of the Bactrian power happened in the early years of Demetrius's reign; op. cit., pp. 92-3

[3] Tarn, op. cit., p. 75. Tarn uses some of the portraits on early Bactrian coins as data enough for determining the Euthydemid relationships of the earlier period. Three of them, that of Euthydemus in his old age, of Demetrius wearing elephant-scalp and of Antimachus Theos wearing a *kausia* are the finest of portrait-heads on the coins of all ages and all places. These have been regarded by him as the work of one master artist.

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discernible in these coin figures, some showing the head of a comparatively young man, others that of a more elderly person. This additional proof of the length of his reign is further substantiated by the abundance of his coins, though there is no great diversity in their types. Their usual obverse device is the diademed bust of the king to the right, inside a dotted border; the reverse of his gold and silver coins invariably shows Heracles naked with a club in his right hand, seated on rocks; the club sometimes resting on a slender piece of stone in front of him or on his right knee; in the latter variety the skin of a lion is shown spread over the rocks. This is the device which, as we have already shown, was adopted by the first two Antiochi of the Seleucid dynasty in Western Asia Minor. Its adoption by Euthydemus further corroborates the fact mentioned in the texts that he hailed from the west. His copper coins usually contain on the obverse the bare head of a bearded Heracles to the right and the figure of a prancing horse to the right, on the reverse; Wilson's reference to an Apolline type of copper coin may show that Apollo was also, though very rarely, adopted by him as a reverse device.[1] The prancing horse which also appears on the reverse of some of the copper coins of Euthydemus II has rightly been declared to have been the original from which the reverse device of some of the double-die copper coins of Taxila were derived.[2] The legend on the reverse side of all the coins of Euthydemus is invariably *Basileōs Euthydēmou* ; in the commemorative coins of some of his successors the attributive epithet *Theos* is added to his name, but we are not at all sure whether he himself ever adopted this title.

One interesting fact to be recorded about the various types of Euthydemus's coins is that the use of monograms, so common in the case of the money of his successors and the host of other Indo-Greek rulers, was first systematically introduced by this king. Macdonald describes these monograms as 'a new phenomenon on the Bactrian coinage, persisting through a long series of years,' and accepts Cunningham's suggestion that they stand for the names of mints, 'a view which is confirmed by occasional minor variations of type and by certain subtle peculiarities of style.'[3] This increase

[1] R. B. Whitehead, *PMC.* I p. 12

[2] These are the varieties *f* and *g* of the second class of the uninscribed copper coins of Taxila; the horse there has a star above it and replaces the lion usual on the reverse of the other varieties of this class of coins; J. Allan, *BMCCAI.* pp. cxxxv, 226-71

[3] *CHI.* I p. 443. The interpretation of these numerous monograms on Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythic and Indo-Parthian coins is a much debated problem which has not yet been definitely solved. Cunningham, who was the first to study them thoroughly, made some concrete suggestions as regards many of these monograms, for which he was vehemently criticised by many. It must be said in all fairness to Cunningham that he did not claim any finality for his solution of the problem, several of the marks according to him containing the names of the mint-magistrates. Whitehead lends some support to Cunningham's hypothesis in his article in *NC.* 1923, p. 28 f., as well as other writings; Macdonald and Rapson are critical, though the former seems to support Cunningham's view on very rare occasions. Tarn 'sees no reason to suppose that they ever denote mint-cities', and he is definite that they are the monograms of 'continuing mint-masters and changing city magistrates'; op. cit., pp. 437-41

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in the number of royal mints is according to him another proof of the wider extent of the dominions of Euthydemus over that of his predecessor. It is very likely that he held sway over some of the ancient satrapies south of the Hindukush; but it seems highly improbable that his forces actually crossed the Indus and conquered any portions of the land of the five rivers. The Graeco-Roman tradition does not connect his name with India at all, and we shall presently see that it was his son Demetrius whose name was intimately associated with India both in the ancient and the mediaeval tradition of Europe.

GREEK INVASION AND OCCUPATION OF THE PANJAB AND SIND

The young Bactrian prince about whom Polybius speaks in glowing terms in his chronicle, and who made such a deep impression on the mind of Antiochus the Great, was destined to play a prominent part in the contemporary history of Bactria and India. It was he who was principally responsible after Alexander for carrying Greek arms into the interior of India, and his Indian expedition became the first of a series of subsequent Bactrian Greek invasions of Indian soil, the cumulative effect of which was that a substantial portion of the north and north-west of India came to be permanently settled by these foreign invaders. India's real, prolonged and intimate Greek contact began with the career of Demetrius who was remembered as late as the days of the mediaeval English poet Chaucer in whose Knight's Tale a picturesque description is given of 'the grete Emetreus, the king of Inde'. Much earlier Graeco-Roman chroniclers devote pages to his career, of whom mention may be made of Polybius, Strabo and Justin, the last two drawing a great deal from Apollodorus of Artemita and the 'Trogus source' respectively. The Indian tradition about him is not at all clear, though a probable reference to his name is seen in a *scholion* to the grammarian Patañjali and in the *Mahābhārata*, both of which mention one Dattāmitra, king of the Yavanas.[1] A large number of coins in silver and copper showing a variety of devices corroborate to a great extent much of the information gleaned about him from different literary sources. Some of them bearing legends in two languages, Greek and Indian Prākṛit, written in Greek and Kharoshṭhī characters, distinctly prove that they were meant for circulation in his Indian possessions.

Demetrius appears to have become the sole ruler of Bactria in the flower of his life, perhaps when he was about thirty-five years old, for that would be his age had he been a young man of seventeen or eighteen when

[1] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 142, 458. Jayaswal's proposed reading of Demetrius's name in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of the Cheta king Khāravela is extremely problematical. 'Devamantiya' mentioned in the *Milindapañha* has been taken by some to refer to Demetrius. P. C. Bagchi has suggested that the story of Krimisha, the Yaksha, as narrated in the *Divyāvadāna* may contain an allusion to Demetrius's conquests in India, *IHQ*. XXII, 1946, pp. 81-91

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Antiochus III laid siege to Bactria (*c.* 206 B.C.). When he ascended the throne, Bactria had already been much benefited by the long and prosperous rule of his father who, after his encounter with Antiochus and the latter's formal recognition of his independence, had been steadily building up the resources of his kingdom for bold adventures of expansion and conquest. Political conditions in the extreme north of India at that time were precisely of a kind to attract the attention of her powerful neighbour, and it is no wonder that Demetrius crossed the Hindukush mountains with a large force some time in the early part of his reign. It is to be presumed that his passage through the lands between the Hindukush and the Indus was conducted through friendly and dependent countries many of which may have already been annexed to the Bactrian empire during the latter part of his father's reign. He conquered portions of the Panjab and Sind, and probably founded cities there for the purpose of effective administration of the newly acquired territories. Two passages in the works of Arrian and Ptolemy, if slightly emended, may contain a reference to one of the cities founded by Demetrius. The Saggala of Arrian (v. 22) and Sagala when Ptolemy (vii. 1, 46) speaks of 'Sagala and Euthymedia', may denote the same locality and may be identical with the ancient town of Śākala (Pāli Sagala), modern Sialkot in the Panjab. Bayer conjeetured long ago that the Euthymedia of Ptolemy is a mistake for Euthydemia (the latter form occurring also in some texts), and that the town was founded by Demetrius to commemorate his father. This suggestion of Bayer was accepted by most modern scholars dealing with the history of the period, though Macdonald was somewhat critical about it. Tarn, however, completely rejects it and thinks that it is unjustified on both historical and textual grounds.[1] He finds, however, a sure mention of one such town named after Demetrius in the word 'Dattāmitri' which, according to a commentator of Patañjali, was a town among the Sauviras founded by Dattāmitra (Demetrius), king of the Yavanas. Occasional references to several towns named Demetrias after Demetrius, occur in classical texts, one of them being Demetrias in Arachosia; but no explicit mention of any Demetrias in Sindhu-Sauvīra is made by the Graeco-Roman writers, and this is one of the reasons which led Johnston to doubt Tarn's suggestion.[2] Thus, though nothing definite can be said on this point, there is every reason to believe that Demetrius, like Alexander, must have settled Greek garrisons in particular localities to protect his flank and rear during his Indian advance, and these became the nuclei of several later settlements of the Bactrian Greeks when their rule was confined to their Indian territories only.

The exact limit of Demetrius's advance into the interior of India is a controversial point and the testmony of both the classical and Indian

[1] *CHI.* I p. 446. Tarn, op. cit., pp. 247-8, 486-7

[2] Tarn, op. cit., p. 142; Johnston, 'Demetrias in Sind', *JRAS.* 1939, pp. 217-40; for Tarn's reply and Johnston's note, cf. *JRAS.* 1940, pp. 179-93

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texts on the subject is open to different interpretations. The chief foreign authority on the question is Strabo who, drawing the attention of his readers to the remarkable expansion of the Bactrian kingdom, quotes from Apollodorus of Artemita to the effect that the kings chiefly responsible for this were Demetrius and Menander. Apollodorus, as quoted by Strabo, enumerates a number of localities in the Indian interior which were annexed by the Bactrian Greeks, and it is difficult to apportion correctly the credit of these conquests to either of the Yavana rulers. In one passage of Strabo (xv, 698), it is stated that 'those who came after Alexander advanced beyond the Hypanis to the Ganges and Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra)'; here also no mention is made of the particular Bactrian Greek king who was responsible for the invasion of India as far as Patna. Some Indian texts also mention the incursions of the Yavanas into the interior of India, and places like Sāketa, Madhyamikā and Kusumadhvaja (Kusumāhvaya, the same as Pāṭaliputra) in the Madhyadeśa are said to have been besieged by the Yavanas. Patañjali, who is dated usually about 150 B.C., is the earliest Indian writer to refer to the siege of the two cities, Sāketa and Madhyamikā, by the Greeks while giving examples for the correct use of one of the past tenses (*laṅ*) in Sanskrit grammar. The exact passages are, *aruṇat Yavanaḥ Sāketam* and *aruṇat Yavanaḥ Madhyamikām*, and if these are not mere stock examples taken from previous grammarians (*mūrdhābhishikta*), there is every possibility that these events took place during the lifetime of Patañjali. His contemporaneity with Pushyamitra is also suggested by some scholars on the basis of a few other passages in his great commentary. The site of ancient Sāketa is located not very far from modern Ayodhyā in Uttar Pradesh, and that of Madhyamikā was correctly identified by Cunningham on the authority of unmistakable numismatic data with modern Nāgarī, a village eight miles to the north of Chitorgaḍh in Udaipur territory, Rajasthan. Another clear piece of evidence in Indian literature for the Yavana invasion of the interior is found in Kālidāsa's drama *Mālavikāgnimitra*, in which the author refers to a conflict between Vasumitra, the grandson and general of Pushyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, and a Yavana horde on the right bank of the Sindhu. The name of the river may denote some part of the lower reaches of the Indus or preferably one of the streams of the same name, probably Kali Sindh, a tributary of the Chambal, in Central India, for the Śuṅga arms could hardly have reached as far west as the Indus.[1] It is unfortunate that neither the grammarian nor the poet gives us the name or names of the Yavana commanders who came to invade the very heart of India. A further explicit mention of the military expedition of the Yavanas into the Madhyadeśa and their shortlived conquest and occupation of part of the country is made in some verses of the 'Yugapurāṇa', a chapter of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, an astrological work of a date earlier than that of the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. It is a Sanskrit work

[1] For another view see *ante* p. 97.

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and if the view is accepted that all Purāṇas had a Prākṛit original of much earlier date, the information of a historical character which can be gleaned from it may go back to a period as early as the beginning of the Christian era. Barnett's translation of verse 5 of the 'Yugapurāṇa', the original of which was quoted by Kern in the introduction to his edition of the *Bṛihat-saṁhitā* supplies us with some important facts relevant to the present topic. It reads : 'thereupon advancing to Sāketa, the Pañchālas, and Mathurā, the Yavanas, wickedly valiant, will win Kusumadhvaja; thereon, when the goodly (?) Pushpapura has been gained . . ., all regions will become disturbed, without doubt.' [1] It is interesting to note that the testimony of this extract agrees in a remarkable manner with that of the passage of Strabo already quoted regarding the south-eastern limit of the Yavana expansion. But here also there is no mention of the name of the Greek king who was responsible for this; if, however, the suggestions of Jayaswal and Tarn are accepted, we may find a reference to the Bactrian Greek king Demetrius in 'Dharmamita' occurring in verse 7 of the same text, dealing with the exactions committed upon the people of Pāṭaliputra by his officials.[2]

The Bactrian Greek conquest of parts of the Madhyadeśa was previously attributed by many scholars to Menander, but subsequent researches have tended to show that it was Demetrius who was strong enough to carry Greek arms far into the interior of India. Strabo or his principal source Apollodorus of Artemita has mentioned both the names in this context; Trogus Pompeius, or rather the original source from which he was quoting, gives us the names of Apollodotus and Menander as persons responsible for the farthest expansion of Greek power in India. It appears to have been a fact that all these three men co-operated in the conquest, and Apollodotus and Menander, about whom more will be said presently, were younger contemporaries of Demetrius. Tarn makes an elaborate suggestion that it was under Demetrius that the other two Greek kings advanced into the interior of India, along either side of the Indian desert : Menander 'south-eastward by the great road across the Panjab and the Delhi passage to the Ganges and the Mauryan capital Pāṭaliputra,' and Apollodotus 'southward (at first south-westward) down the Indus to its mouth and whatever might lie beyond.' These two conquering forces were intended to converge on the centre of India, 'settle with Pushyamitra Śuṅga and complete the Greek circuit round Northern India.' Demetrius was the chief guiding factor in the enterprise, and was

[1] Tarn, op. cit., p. 454; *JBORS.* XIV p. 402; the original verses read : *tataḥ Sāketamākramya Pañchālān-Mathurāṁ tathā* I *Yavanā dushṭavikrāntā (ḥ) prāpsyanti Kusumadhvajaṁ* II *tataḥ Pushpapure prāpte kardame prathite hite* I *ākulā vishayāḥ sarve bhavishyanti na saṁśayaḥ.*

[2] There is some difficulty in the acceptance of this suggestion. The name Dharmamita does not occur in Kern's extracts. For the views of Jayaswal and Tarn, cf. *JBORS.* XIV 1928, p. 397; Tarn, op. cit., pp. 452-5. The verse in question can be quoted from Jayaswal's extracts from 'Yugapurāṇa'; *Dharmamīta-tamā vṛiddhā janaṁ bhokshyanti nirbhayāḥ* I *Yavanā jñāpayishyaṁti (naśyeran) cha pārthivāḥ.*

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helped by the other two who at first acted as his sub-kings in India but later succeeded to the different parts of his extensive Indian conquests. The suggestion is no doubt very intriguing, but there are no clear and explicit literary data in its support.[1] What is apparent from the available evidence, textual as well as archaeological, is the fact that of the three, Demetrius alone held Bactria as well as India, whereas the other two held sway in India only; their respective coin-types leave no doubt about this. Demetrius's hold over Bactria was, however, soon jeopardised, and it became very difficult for him to exercise his authority effectively over the vast and unwieldy empire which he had built up. Communications were not easy to maintain, and the longer the chain became, the more it was prone to snap from the extraneous pressure which was not slow in appearing. His remarkable Indian victories, indeed proved detrimental to his Bactrian interests, for the heart of his empire was now situated far beyond the southern borders of his original kingdom which could hardly accept a secondary position and which was ever prone to assert its importance. It is highly probable that when Demetrius left Bactria on his Indian adventure, he left there one or more persons in authority to look after the interests of the dynasty. Most probably they were his own relations who were later to succeed him in Bactria as well as in India. But the measures adopted by Demetrius for the safety and security of his home possessions were soon found inadequate when Eucratides appeared on the scene and successfully wrested the Bactrian sceptre from his hands and those of his nominees. To accomplish this cost Eucratides a protracted and bitter struggle, the memory of which is still preserved in fragments of classical texts and a series of interesting coins, as well as in commemorative medallions issued by one or other of the combatants in the strife.

Eucratides, about whose antecedents little is known, is described by Justin as a leader of great vigour and ability who organised the Bactrian rebellion against Demetrius, put himself at the head of the rebels and made himself their king. It is presumable that the news of this revolt in his home kingdom reached Demetrius in India, who hastened with all the forces that he could muster to measure swords with his enemy. Justin mentions an interesting episode in the struggle of the rivals; how at one time Eucratides with a small force of 300 was besieged by Demetrius with 60,000 men and how the former not only endured the siege for more than four months but so much harassed Demetrius from time to time that he had to raise the siege at last. Tarn however doubts the truth of this story. Nothing is known about the last days of Demetrius. He may have been killed in the fighting in Bactria or ended his days in India after his unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the usurper. Justin informs us casually that Demetrius's last years were nearly contemporaneous with those of Eucratides whose Indian conquests belonged to the end of his reign; but this is not substantiated by numismatic evidence. There is

[1] Tarn, op. cit., ch. iv, pp. 140, 155-6, 200

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every reason to believe that Eucratides carried on the strife with the successors of Demetrius both in Bactria and India for some time after Demetrius's death. Indian literature of a fairly early date carries some faint memory of the internecine strife among the rival parties of the Yavanas, from which we gather that their occupation of the Madhyadeśa was of a transitory character and was cut short not only by their own internal quarrels but probably also by whatever resistance was offered them by the rising power of the Śuṅgas. The 'Yugapurāṇa' of the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* expressly tells us that 'the Yavanas furious in battle will not stay in the Middle Country; there will be without doubt mutual conflicts; out of their own circles will arise an awful and supremely lamentable strife.'[1]

Many silver and copper coins that were issued by Demetrius substantiate as well as check to a very great extent whatever is known about him from the meagre literary data. His principal coin-device was Heracles. The god, however, is not shown seated, as on his father's coins, but appears on the reverse of his principal issues standing to the front with club and lion's skin under his left arm and crowning himself with a laurel-wreath with his right hand. Such a reorientation of the original type might bear a significant reference to his victories in India, his partial conquest of which is also corroborated by a few bilingual silver and copper coins which he struck. A unique bilingual tetradrachm discovered not very long ago and now in the collection of the British Museum shows on the obverse the diademed bust of the king to right wearing a flat *kausia*, and the legend *Basileōs Anīkētou Dēmētriou* ; its reverse has the figure of Zeus standing facing with thunderbolt and long sceptre in both hands, and the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa aparajitasa Demetriyasa*. The obverse and reverse legends are exactly similar to those of his square copper coins which bear the diademed head of the king adorned with elephant's scalp on one side and a winged thunderbolt on the other. These were presumably the Indian issues of Demetrius and are somewhat different from his many Bactrian ones. The comparative paucity of his bilingual Indian money shows that his own personal hold over India could not have been of long duration. Eucratides seems to have followed close on the heels of Demetrius to India and wrested part of his Indian possessions from some of Demetrius's successors. The elephant's scalp which commonly adorns Demetrius's busts on the obverse, and the elephant's head on some of his round copper coins which have a caduceus on their reverse, probably also emphasise his association with India. It should be noted that none of his Bactrian money has the additional epithet *Anīkētou* (unconquered) which thus certainly refers to his Indian conquests. The principal reverse device of his silver money, as has been shown above, is a standing Heracles; but there are tetradrachms

[1] 'Yugapurāna,' v. 7 : *Madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti Yavanā yuddha-durmadāḥ* I *Teshāṁ anyonya-saṁgrāmā* (in lieu of *sambhavā* in many texts) *bhavishyanti na saṁśayaḥ* I *ātmachakrotthitaṁ ghoraṁ yuddhaṁ paramadāruṇam.*

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in the British Museum which replace Heracles by a Zeus or a Pallas with shield and spear.[1]

DEMETRIUS'S IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS IN BACTRIA AND INDIA

It is time now to refer to a group of Bactrian kings, some of whom had undoubted associations with India, whose very existence would otherwise have been unknown to us had their coins not been discovered. That they were not far removed in point of time from one another is proved by their close numismatic affinities which alone have helped scholars to put them together. Gardner had long ago inferred on purely numismatic considerations that there was a second Euthydemus who came after Demetrius. This king ruled only in Bactria for a short time, for all his silver coins show on the obverse a very youthful bust; the diadem ends are here arranged in a manner different from that shown on the money of Euthydemus I, and his shoulders are draped, a custom which was introduced in the Bactrian coinage from the time of Demetrius. The reverse of these Euthydemus coins bears the figure of a standing Heracles which seems to have been based on the principal reverse device of Demetrius. Euthydemus II also issued some round nickel and copper money with the bust of Apollo and tripod-lebes on either side, and he also seems to have copied some of the copper money of Euthydemus I with the head of a bearded Heracles and a prancing horse; all the above coins of Euthydemus II bear only the Greek legend *Basileōs Euthydēmou* and this fact is sufficient to prove that he had no connections with India. The next two Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, whose coins are of outstanding interest, are Pantaleon and Agathocles whose classification with the second Euthydemus is supported by their use of nickel in some of their coins. That Pantaleon and Agathocles were closely related to each other is conclusively proved by some almost identical types of coins issued by them, and both of them must have ruled in Bactria as well as India. The Bactrian silver coins (tetradrachms and obols) of Pantaleon bear the diademed bust of king to right on the obverse and enthroned Zeus with long sceptre in the left hand, and the torch-bearing three-headed Hecate in the outstretched right hand with the legend *Basileōs Pantaleontos* on the reverse. The silver coins (usually drachms) other than commemorative medallions, which were issued by Agathocles in Bactria, were very similar to those of Pantaleon from the point of view of the device, Zeus, however, being shown here as standing.

Both these kings issued identical nickel and copper money in Bactria, bearing on one side the bust of Dionysus, and a leopard standing to the right

[1] The bilingual silver coin is attributed by Tarn to a second Demetrius, probably a son of Demetrius I; Macdonald was the first to suggest the existence of this ruler to whom he would attribute the British Museum tetradrachm with Pallas on the reverse; Tarn, op. cit., pp.77-8; Macdonald, *CHI.* I p. 448

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touching a vine with raised paw on the other. The copper coins issued by both in their Indian territories, probably in the regions round about Taxila, are of great interest. They appear to have been based on certain indigenous double-die coins of Taxila and are characterised by the devices of a dancing girl or Lakshmī, the Indian goddess of fortune, and a maneless lion or leopard, the legends bearing their respective names and titles in the Greek and Brāhmī scripts. Brāhmī is never used in the bilingual coins by any other early foreign ruler of India and this fact also very closely associates the two. Agathocles issued a few other copper coins which from their shape and device were undoubtedly imitated from the indigenous money of Taxila. An interesting feature about these is that the legend on either side is written in the Kharoshṭhī script, one being *Akathukreyasa* and the other *hiraññaśrame* (at one time read as *hitajasame* and understood to be a literal Prākṛit translation of the king's name Agathocles).

Of outstanding importance from the historical point of view, are the commemorative medallions that were issued by Agathocles; for these, together with a few of the same kind, issued by another Bactrian ruler of this period, Antimachus, seem to throw some light on the complicated history of contemporary Bactria. The medallions were issued by Agathocles in Bactria in the names of previous rulers such as Alexander the Great, Antiochus Nicator, Diodotus, Euthydemus I and Demetrius; they bear the busts and reverse devices of these predecessors of Agathocles with such obverse Greek legends as *Alexandrou tou Philippou* ('of Alexander, the son of Philip'), *Antiochou Nikātoros* ('of Antiochus the Conqueror', presumably referring to Antiochus II whose usual title is 'Theos'), *Diodotou Sōtēros* ('of Diodotus the Saviour'), *Euthydēmou Theou* ('of Euthydemus the Divine') and *Dēmētriou Anikētou* ('of Demetrius the Unconquered'). All these commemorative pieces invariably bear on the reverse side the legend *Basileuontos Agathokleous Dikaiou*, i.e., 'in the reign of Agathocles the Just.' Similar issues of Antimachus Theos, however, bear only the busts and devices of Diodotus and Euthydemus. These medallions show the efforts which both Agathocles and Antimachus made to associate themselves with the memories of past rulers of Bactria and other countries, although these rulers did not all belong to the same line. Both Agathocles and Antimachus could have been connected with Euthydemus I and Demetrius, and it was suggested that all of them (Euthydemus II, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Antimachus) were closely related to Demetrius; but they could hardly have been at the same time the descendants of Diodotus, Antiochus II and Alexander the Great.[1] It was further suggested by

[1] Macdonald, *CHI.* I pp. 449-52; Euthydemus II and Demetrius II were almost certainly the sons of Demetrius I according to him, and the other three, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Antimachus, were close relations who were recognized as kings of Bactria by Demetrius I when he was engaged in his Indian conquests. Tarn, however, thinks that Euthydemus II, Demetrius II, Pantaleon and Agathocles were all sons of Demetrius I, and Antimachus Theos was a brother of the

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previous scholars that the above coins 'reproducing in medallic fashion the issues of the earlier kings of Bactria' were struck by two of the princes of Euthydemus I's line not only for the purpose of currency, but also to serve as political manifestoes. Reference has already been made to the struggles of Demetrius and Eucratides, and there is no doubt that the quarrel was prosecuted in Bactria and in India by the latter and his successors with the descendants of the former. We shall presently have to refer to certain coins which were issued by Eucratides as a sort of counter-propaganda against this series of coins. Both these groups of medallic pieces may have been issued as an appeal (mainly to the Greek citizens of Bactria) to enlist their sympathy and active support in favour of the various rivals in their struggle for political supremacy.

Another coin-type bearing the Greek legend *Diodotou Sōtēro* (already described in connection with Diodotus), has been placed by Macdonald along with these pedigree coins. This was hitherto regarded as a variety of Diodotus's money which showed that he received the title of 'Saviour' during his lifetime. Its style and fabric, however, according to Macdonald, separate it from Diodotus's regular coinage; he is of opinion that it is a commemorative piece issued probably by Demetrius I. He would also postulate the existence of a second Demetrius on the basis of numismatic data alone and ascribe to him the few known tetradrachms and drachms already referred to; showing a comparatively youthful bust on the obverse and the figure of Pallas Athene standing to the front with spear and shield and the legend *Basileōs Dēmētriou* on the reverse. If the above two suggestions of Macdonald be accepted, then it would seem that the practice of issuing medallic money was already introduced by Demetrius, son of Euthydemus I, and the name of Demetrius II would have to be added to the list of four other sons of the earlier Demetrius, viz., Euthydemus II, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Antimachus. The coins are here our only guide and many conclusions of a necessarily hypothetical character have been made after a careful scrutiny of the respective portraits of their issuers : the arrangements of the diadem-ends on the heads, the presence of particular monograms, as well as the difference in the adjustment of the dies when the individual coins were struck. At best such views can only be regarded as suggestions with a great measure of probability underlying them, and one would have to think twice before accepting them as established historical facts. In fact, as we shall presently see, much that can be said about the other successors of Demetrius and the descendants of Eucratides, on the basis of numismatic considerations alone, falls under the description of possibilities and probabilities and not under that of definite historical truths.

Antimachus Theos's medallic coins have already been alluded to; his regular coins consisted of some tetradrachms, drachms and obols with

latter; cf. also op. cit., App. 3, where Tarn tries to explain the reason for the fiction underlying Agathocles's pedigree coins. Tarn sets out his conclusions in the genealogical table showing the pedigree of the Euthydemids and Eucratidids.

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his singularly individualistic and well-executed bust, wearing *kausia* on the obverse and the trident and palm-branch-bearing Poseidon on the reverse. On certain bronze pieces issued by him Nike, the Greek goddess of victory, stands on the aplustre of a ship. On the basis of these types Gardner inferred that this Bactrian king won a naval victory on the Indus or one of its great tributaries. But over whom was this victory gained? Presumably over one of his rivals belonging to the Eucratides group. Again, did the rule of Antimachus Theos extend over India? His coins are no doubt found both on the north and the south of the Hindukush, but never south of the Panjab; and this would not justify us in describing Antimachus Theos as king of India after Gardner, for Antimachus Theos issued coins bearing legends in the Greek language only. The difficulty is obviated if we ascribe the bilingual silver and bronze money issued by one Antimachus with the title 'Nikephoros' to the other Antimachus with the title 'Theos' as Rapson has done. Gardner and others distinguished between these two, but Rapson thinks it more probable that the coins assigned to both are merely the Bactrian and the Indian issues of the same monarch, the difference between the two groups being local rather than chronological; the change of titles might be regarded as having special reference to Antimachus's Indian conquests, 'Nikephoros' meaning 'wielder of victory'. The obverse device of the second group of coins is a winged Nike holding palm and fillet in her hands with the legend *Basileōs Nikēphorou Antimachou* and the reverse shows the king riding on a prancing horse, probably referring to his Indian expedition, with the Prākṛit legend *maharajasa jayadharasa Aṁtimakhasa* in Kharoshṭhī script. The above inference of Rapson based on careful observation of the coins is highly probable but unfortunately there is a complete lack of literary support.

EUCRATIDES—THE RULER OF BACTRIA AND INDIA

Literary evidence of a partial and indeterminate character, however, does not help us at all to gain a complete picture of the events. This is proved in the case of Eucratides. There are stray references to his career chiefly in the works of Strabo and Justin. It has already been shown that the former was indebted to Apollodorus of Artemita for many of its details, while the latter was principally exploiting a work on which the history of Trogus Pompeius was based. But these two later writers utilised the information extracted from their respective authorities according to their own ideas of its importance, and it very often happens that they leave out many details of interest. Strabo thrice refers to Eucratides, the king of the Bactrians, the last mention of him being in connection with his having a thousand cities under him. It is not expressly stated whether all these cities were in Bactria or India, but the context in which it occurs leaves no doubt that a large number were in India. Some facts

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about Eucratides gathered from these sources we have already mentioned while outlining the history of Demetrius. We have seen that Justin attributes much importance to the wars between these two rivals; he tells us that the Indian conquests of Eucratides belong to the end of his reign and that Demetrius ruled until nearly the same date. But the evidence of the coins led Gardner to challenge this statement, for the discovery of a fairly large number of bilingual coins minted by Eucratides proves that this monarch was ruling over parts of India for a substantial period of his reign. Again, Justin's way of recording the manner in which Eucratides met his doom, though dramatically graphic, omits important details, We learn from him that while the king was returning home after one of his conquering expeditions in India, he was attacked and murdered by his son whom he had previously made his own associate in his rule over Bactria. Such was the callousness of this parricide that he drove his chariot over the blood of his father and ordered that the corpse should be cast away unburied. The historian fails to tell us the name of the murderer—the one important detail in this bloodcurdling episode. It was at first suggested by Cunningham that this parricide was Apollodotus; but later researches have fully proved that Apollodotus could not have been a son of Eucratides; in fact he belonged to the Euthydemus group of kings, and we shall presently see that he was a rival and contemporary of Eucratides. It is generally assumed now that the unnatural son of Eucratides was none other than Heliocles, who was the last Greek ruler of Bactria and of India. Tarn, however, puts quite a different interpretation on the story narrated by Justin in a chapter (xli, 6, 5)—characterized by him as 'one of the most confused and worst excerpted' chapters in his whole work. Tarn reconstructs the whole episode in a very ingenious manner and suggests that Justin has misunderstood and confused the facts, and that 'this son' was none other than Demetrius II, one of the sons of Demetrius I, who was primarily responsible for this callous murder. The intrinsic probability of Tarn's suggestion is proved by a tradition current in mediaeval Europe noted by Bivar.[1]

Nothing is known for certain about the antecedents of Eucratides. A few of his medallic coins, however, may give us his parents' names. These coins are teradrachms and drachms which bear on one side the diademed and helmeted bust of Eucratides with the legend *Basileus Megas Eukratidēs* and on the other side jugate busts of Heliocles with bare head and Laodice diademed, with the legend *Hēliokleous kai Laodikēs*. The identity of Heliocles and Laodice of the coin legend was differently fixed by different scholars—Cunningham, Gardner and others suggesting that the two were the parents of Eucratides, while Von Sallet was of opinion that they were his son and daughter-in-law. The problem was discussed thoroughly by Macdonald who upheld Gardner's line of argument. The principal point of

[1] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 220-2; *JRAS*. 1950, pp. 7-13

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Gardner was that the very collocation of legends of the two sides of the coins would lead one to understand the word *uiós* in between them, and thus the complete inscription would simply mean 'Eucratides the Great, (son) of Heliocles and Laodice'; the case-endings alone of the respective proper names would support this view. It is far more acceptable than that of Droysen and Von Sallet who suggested that these coins were struck by Eucratides in commemoration of the marriage of his son Heliocles with Laodice, a daughter of Demetrius by the Seleucidan princess betrothed to him by Antiochus III. This view presupposed some sort of reconciliation between Eucratides and his defeated rival of which no evidence either literary or numismatic is forthcoming. A third suggestion was put forward by some scholars who tried to reconcile these two views to some extent by suggesting that Laodice, the mother of Eucratides, was the daughter of Demetrius; this, however, would lead to the absurd position that Eucratides was the grandson of his rival. Macdonald rightly thinks that the side of the coins which bear the jugate busts is really the obverse, while that bearing Eucratides's head is the reverse; previous scholars usually describing them in just the reverse way. This interpretation would thus bring them in the same line with the commemorative medallions of Agathocles and Antimachus, the only difference being that the reverse of Eucratides's pieces instead of bearing any other device carries the portrait-head of the issuer himself. He had to use his head on the reverse for the simple reason that Heliocles, being a commoner—his head does not bear any diadem—could not issue any coin and thus had no device to be adopted by his son in medallic types of coins. It is true Laodice wears a diadem on her head, but this may show simply that she was an heiress in her own right and need not imply that she issued any coins herself. Whatever claim to the Bactrian throne Eucratides could have put forward against those of his rival's immediate successors seems therefore to have been derived from his mother. A careful consideration of these particular coins of Eucratides would justify us in advancing so far, without indulging in arguments of a highly speculative character. But could this Bactrian king have been in any way connected with the imperial house of Syria? Laodice was a name common to many Syrian princesses, and could he have had any relation with Antiochus Epiphanes (IV) now seated upon the throne of Syria (175-164 B.C.) through his mother, and could he have been acting in the interests of his relation, the Syrian king? It is a fact that Antiochus IV, the son of Antiochus III, who succeeded to his brother Seleucus IV, tried seriously to resuscitate the Seleucidan influence in Central Asia as compensation for the losses of his house in the west at the hands of the Romans. Was Eucratides acting in the interest of Antiochus IV in the east? Several features of his coins such as the reel and bead border, the ear and horn of a bull adorning the helmet on his head etc. are characteristically Seleucid devices, the adoption of which would seem to support such a hypothesis. Tarn, on the basis of these and other details, some of a very minute character, has tried to

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establish that Eucratides was really the first cousin of Antiochus IV whose cause he was upholding at first in the east; but the Syrian emperor's death in 164 B.C. left him free to work on his own behalf as an independent king of his eastern kingdom.[1] But here also we must raise a note of caution and say, with Macdonald, that we are now moving in the field of conjecture.

A careful study of the copious silver and copper, and the few gold, coins of Eucratides enables us to deduce some interesting details about his reign. A statement of Justin (xli, 6) to the effect that the usurper's rise to power was more or less contemporaneous with the accession of Mithridates I of Parthia, gets partial confirmation from the fact that the great Parthian emperor Arasaces VI, Mithridates I, copied his types and titles. The usual obverse device of his coins is his bust, either diademed or both diademed and helmeted, inside an [astragalus] border, the crested helmet being adorned with the ear and horn of a bull. This sort of a diademed and helmeted bust is not only copied by the Parthian monarch, but also imitated by Timarchus, king of Babylon, and one Plato, probably an ephemeral ruler of Bactria. A reference to the only known coin-type of the last, otherwise unknown, ruler will be of interest here, for it seems to bear something of a date on its reverse. The obverse shows a bust, a very near copy of the diademed and helmeted head of Eucratides inside an astragalus border, while the reverse bears Helios radiate driving in a quadriga with the legend *Basileōs Epiphanous Platōnos*, the letters PMI appear in exergue, but the reading of the first is not very clear. If Gardner's suggestion is accepted, then PMI should be interpreted as the year 147 of the Seleucid era, whose Christian equivalent would be 165 B.C. This would support the hypothesis that Eucratides's career in Bactria began some time before that date, though we need not carry it as far back as 190 B.C. as Cunningham did. The reverse device usually adopted in his gold, silver and a few of his copper coins is the Dioscuri—the two divine warriors Castor and Pollux—charging on horseback with lances at rest, or more rarely, they are shown holding long lances, their heads adorned with the conical caps known as 'pilos'; sometimes two of these caps only, alternating with palm-branches, take the place of the common device.

Certain tetradrachms in the collection of the British Museum and the Cabinet de France show his diademed and helmeted bust thrusting a javelin—an attitude which is rather common in the case of the busts of Menander on his coins. A few tetradrachms and drachms showing the diademed king to the right inside an astragalus or dotted circle on the obverse and Apollo standing to the left holding a bow and arrow on the reverse with the legend *Basileōs Eukratidou*, usually believed to be his earliest issues, have been tentatively assigned by Macdonald to a second Eucratides, the younger son of Eucratides I, the elder son being Heliocles. His main reason for this is that 'it would be unusual for a

[1] Ibid, ch. V.

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Bactrian king to use more than one distinctive type for his Attic silver, and Eucratides's distinctive type was the Dioscuri'; but it should be borne in mind that certain copper coins of this king which were meant for circulation in Bactria have the laureate head of Apollo on their obverse. Very few gold coins of Eucratides are known; of these one is a stater and the other a twenty stater piece which weighs as much as 259·35 grains (168·05 grammes). Macdonald rightly observes about the latter that 'no other king or city of ancient times was ever responsible for so ostentatious a display of opulence.' These gold coins are characterised by the usual device of Eucratides, helmeted bust and mounted Dioscuri, but, like the second series of his silver money, have the legend *Basileōs Megalou Eukratidou*, whereas the first series of his silver and copper money omit the distinctive epithet *Megalou*.

One interesting type of drachms issued by this kings is bilingual, the reverse Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa mahatakasa Evukratitasa* being an exact translation of the obverse Greek one; on one specimen of this class it is *rajasa maharajasa mahatakasa Evukratitasa*. This reminds us of the reverse legend of a rare square copper type of Eucratides with Nike device, which is *maharajasa rajatirajasa Evukratitasa*; the attributive epithet *rajatiraja* is the Prākṛit translation of Greek *Basileōs Basileōn* occurring on the coins of the Scythian and Parthian rulers of India, and its solitary appearance on the coin of an early Indo-Greek king is interesting. It should be noted, however, that the Greek legend on its obverse is the usual one of the second series of Eucratides's coins. Most of his copper coins are square in shape (this is a distinctive Indian feature) and are bilingual, the Prākṛit legend omitting the translation of the Greek *Megalou*. One type of his square copper money is of unique interest, for its reverse shows an enthroned deity, identified by Rapson as Zeus, holding a wreath and a palm with the forepart of an elephant in front and a conical object behind; the reverse legend, however, is not a translation of the usual Greek legend on the second series of Eucratides's coins, but a novel one which has been correctly read as *Kavisiye nagara devata* ('the city-deity of Kavisi'). This type is sometimes re-struck on the square copper money of Apollodotus with Apollo and tripod-lebes devices. It should be noted here that some silver coins of Eucratides show a distinct departure from the Attic system of weight usually adopted in the Bactrian Greek coins of this and earlier periods. The change in the metrology of the Indo-Greek silver coins is more marked in the coins of his successor, Heliocles, and thenceforward came to be the norm of the Greek silver money in India.

A few more likely facts about Eucratides's reign can be deduced from a collective study of his coinage briefly summarised above. The change in the Greek legend undoubtedly indicated an accretion of power, and it was connected mostly with his conquests in India which are further emphasised by a good many types of bilingual coins. He stayed in his Indian dominions for some time, engaged as he was in conquering more territories from the kings of the rival line. His re-striking the coins of

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Apollodotus seems to prove this and by a fortunate chance we know the exact locality which was conquered by him from Apollodotus. It was Kapiśa as the Prākṛit legend on the re-struck coins shows, and the city-deity of Kapiśa was identified with Zeus. From the evidence recorded by a Chinese traveller during his Indian tour centuries afterwards, we know that this deity was none other than Indra. Hiuan Tsang informs us that there was a mountain named *Pi-lo-sho-lo* to the south-west of the capital city of the country of Kapiśa, whose presiding deity had the form of an elephant, the mountain being named after him (*Pīlusāra*—'*Pīlu*' means an elephant). Now Indra, the king of the gods (Devarāja) in Indian mythology, had an elephant for his mount, which is tantamount to saying that when represented theriomorphically, he bore the form of an elephant. The Greeks could well recognise in Indra their Zeus, the king of the Olympian gods, and the particular coin-type of Eucratides shows Zeus-Indra enthroned with the elephant-deity and the mountain over which he presided, represented schematically. We shall see that this local type is possibly recognisable on the coins not only of several other Indo-Greek rulers but also on those of some Indo-Scythic kings, and this fact may denote that the region was in their occupation.[1] Then, so early an adoption of the Indian equivalent of the Parthian title (*Basileōs Basileōn*, *rajasa maharajasa* or simply *rajatirajasa*) on some of his silver and copper money by Eucratides would show that he had contact with the Parthians. This is further proved by Mithridates I's imitation of some of his coins already referred to. Justin gives us an account of the bitter antagonism that existed between the *Bactriani*, i.e. the Bactrian Greeks and the Parthians, and adds that the former were finally crushed by the weaker Parthians. Strabo is more explicit, for he writes in one passage (xi, 515) that the Parthians annexed a portion of Bactria after first defeating Eucratides and then the Scythians; in another (xi, 517) he informs us that the Parthians wrested from Eucratides two Bactrian satrapies of uncertain identity, which have been conjecturally identified by Macdonald as Aria and Arachosia. The numismatic data bear out in a way the textual evidence about Bactrian and Parthian contact, and it is presumable that Mithridates imitated Eucratides's coin-device after his conquest of portions of the latter's empire, while Eucratides used the Parthian title in its Indian version in some part of his Indian possessions during one phase of the struggle.

Eucratides's doom was hastened not only by the Parthians and the internal dissensions among his own people, but also by the constant

[1] The view given above is mainly based on that of Rapson as finalised in *CHI.* I pp. 555-7. But R. B. Whitehead has challenged Rapson's interpretation. The enthroned deity, according to him, is not Zeus-Indra, but a city-goddess; he says that only one coin of this type so far known to him was re-struck on Apollodotus's coin, and this alone would not prove that the city of Kapiśa was conquered by Eucratides from Apollodotus. Neither does he find any parallelism between the *Kavisiye nagara devata* type coins of Eucratides and some coins of a few Indo-Scythian rulers; *NC.* 1947, pp. 28-32

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menace of the Scythian barbarians who were now occupying regions beyond the northern borders of Bactria. Strabo's mention of the Scythians as one of the powers by defeating whom the Parthians could annex a portion of Bactria is significant. It is not certain whether the Scythians actually penetrated into Bactria during the lifetime of Eucratides, but there is no doubt that early in the reign of his son and successor they had overrun that country, and the helpless Bactrian king had no other alternative but to relinquish all his claims to the lands on the other side of the Hindukush and to rule only over his Indian possessions. Eucratides no doubt began his career with great promise and in his earlier days achieved success in his many enterprises. This is borne out by the number and variety of his coins, some of which were exceedingly well executed. But he seems to have attempted too much; for had he made the Hindukush the southern limit of his kingdom and, without following his Greek rivals into India, devoted his entire energies to the consolidation of his gains against his semi-barbaric and barbaric neighbours, the Parthians and the Scythians, his dynasty's hold upon Bactria might have endured longer. But this was not to be; he was harassed not only by these alien foes, but by his own people, and we have already seen how his very death was precipitated by this internal struggle. The exact date of his murder is not known, but it is usually believed to be some time about 155 B.C. Tarn is inclined to place it about three or four years earlier.

HELIOCLES

Heliocles has been almost unanimously regarded by scholars as the immediate successor of Eucratides, and it is presumed by many that he was the parricide whose heinous act is recorded so graphically in the annals of Justin. His name is not mentioned in the works of any of the classical writers, and not the faintest echo of it, nor that of his more illustrious father, is found in Indian literature. Whatever points of historical character are known about him have been gained from the study of his coins and these being our only source, we can have only the haziest notion of the outline of his reign. Only silver and copper coins of his are known, of which the former can be divided into two distinct groups principally on the basis of the two separate metric systems according to which they were struck. One group follows the Attic standard of weight, the legend there being only in the Greek language, while the other, which is bilingual, is struck according to a system differently described by different scholars —Indian by Von Sallet and Whitehead, and Persian, or Indo-Persic, by Gardner and Rapson.[1] There cannot be the least doubt that the coins of the former group were meant for circulation in Bactria; these are

[1] The coins of this changed standard weighing up to 36-39 grains were regarded by Gardner as hemidrachms intended to come up to the weight of half-siglos of the Achaemenid Persian coinage that were also struck in India before the advent of Alexander. Von Sallet on the other hand suggests that such coins

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tetradrachms and drachms showing on the obverse either a diademed or diademed and helmeted bust of a king within astragalus border to the right and on the reverse either sceptre and thunderbolt-bearing Zeus standing to front or enthroned Zeus Nikephorus with the legend *Basileōs Dikaiou Hēliokleous*. Many crude imitations of some of this Bactrian coinage of Heliocles have been found, on which Zeus is sometimes replaced by a horse, and the legend is almost illegible. Coins of the Indian or Indo-Persic standard intended to be current in India bear the two different types of Heliocles's bust with the above Greek legend on the obverse, their reverse showing Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre in his hands, and the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa*; the helmeted and diademed bust of the king on the obverse in this group is shown thrusting a javelin. The copper coins of Heliocles are all bilingual and square in shape, and bear types such as the king's bust and elephant, or elephant and bull, with the usual Greek and Prākṛit legends; there cannot be the least doubt that none of them was issued in Bactria. Another interesting numismatic detail about this king is that he re-struck some of the copper coins which were issued in the joint names of Agathocleia and Strato, or were struck by Strato alone.

A careful scrutiny of numismatic facts enables us to deduce several conclusions of interest with regard to Heliocles. The formal renunciation of the Attic standard of weight and the adoption of one which was already tentatively introduced in some Indian silver issues of his father would justify us in maintaining that Heliocles had to relinquish his hold on Bactria and confine his attention to his Indian possessions. Most probably, if not certainly, he was the last of the Greek kings to rule over Bactria and India; for the two other Indo-Greek rulers, Apollodotus and Antialcidas, who are known to have used this standard only in a very few of their coins, could not have ruled at all in Bactria. It is possible that Antialcidas may have ruled for a short period only on the north of the Hindukush mountains, but we shall presently show that he was for all practical purposes a king in India. It is generally believed that the Scythians were chiefly responsible for driving Heliocles out of Bactria. The Scythians, who had long been the neighbours of Bactria on the north, were themselves driven out of their Sogdianian habitat by another nomadic tribe, the Yüe-chi. The incursions and conquests of these barbarians will be narrated at some length in the next chapter. It will suffice now to refer to the Scythian imitations of Heliocles's coins, as these confirm our conclusion. The elephant and bull devices on the copper coins of Heliocles may indicate the locality in which they were minted. The elephant, as we have shown, probably stands for the presiding deity of the suburb of Kapiśa and the bull (no other than the Indian god Śiva in

were really drachms of a reduced standard and were issued by the Indo-Greek rulers, from Heliocles onwards, in India whose people were used to light-weight silver coins—the *dharaṇas* or the *purāṇas*; cf. R. B. Whitehead, 'Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics', *NC.* 1923, p. 294 f.

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his theriomorphic form), may point to the Gandhāra region whose deity *par excellence*, according to the testimony of Hesychius, was a bull. Interesting corroboration that the bull, along with Lakshmī or Umā, was the deity of Gandhāra is found in the unique gold piece which was classed by Gardner with the coins of the Indio-Scythians. It shows on one side the figure of the Indian humped bull with legends *Tauros* (bull) and *ushabhe* (Prākṛit for *vṛishabha*, written in Kharoshṭhī), and on the other side a goddess, probably a Hellenistic Lakshmī (it may also be Umā, for that would be more suitable in conjunction with Śiva on the obverse) holding a lotus flower (or a mirror?) in her hand with the Kharoshṭhī legend *Pakhalavati devata* by her side; *Pakhalavati* is without doubt the Prākṛit of Pushkalāvatī which was the old capital of Gandhāra and is referred to by classical writers under such names as Peucelaotis, Peucelas and Proclais. The bull (Śiva) and Lakshmī or Umā were thus the particular deities of Gandhāra, and it is probable, if not certain, that he was the master of the Kapiśa-Gandhāra region. Heliocles's re-striking of some coins of Agathocleia and Strato, or Strato alone, affords further numismatic corroboration of the quarrels between the two rival groups; for there are good grounds for believing that Agathocleia and Strato belonged to the house of Euthydemus. We have no means of ascertaining the exact date of the end of Heliocles's reign. From the Chinese sources which will be discussed at length in the next chapter, it can be inferred that Bactria was occupied by the barbarians by *c.* 135 B.C. Heliocles's rule in India undoubtedly continued for some more years after that date.

THE INDO-GREEK RULERS

It is extremely difficult to group chronologically and dynastically the host of other Bactrian Greek rulers of India, who had lost direct contact with their original homeland. Von Sallet despaired of any chronological arrangement of these kings and classified them alphabetically. The difficulty arises mainly from the fact that barring three among them, (Apollodotus, Menander and Antialcidas, the first two of whom are casually mentioned by name in classical and Indian literature, while the names of the last two occur also in two Indian inscriptions), their very existence is proved only by their coins. It was at first thought impossible to put them in their proper places on the basis of their coin-types and legends. Gardner prophesied that 'any attempt finally to arrange the kings in dynastic lists by means of the types and legends is destined to failure.' But the researches of subsequent scholars, principally Rapson, have shown that the task though very difficult is not completely hopeless. The very types and legends on the coins if carefully scrutinised and studied in proper perspective, will enable us to throw partial light on the history of these little-known alien rulers of India. Classical writers refer to the struggles of the two rivals, Demetrius and Eucratides; Indian tradition also, as we have seen, records the internecine strife among the Yavanas.

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This unanimity among the sources about the internal war leaves little doubt that the conflict was carried on also in India by the kings of the rival houses—the house of Euthydemus and the house of Eucratides. The Bactrian phase of the struggle has already been alluded to in connection with Agathocles, Antimachus and others, probably the sons of Demetrius; its Indian phase is indicated by the re-strikings of coins just mentioned. Most of the Indo-Greek rulers can thus be classified under one or other of these rival houses, on the basis chiefly of the devices which were used by them, and by other numismatic features. It has been shown that the principal device of Euthydemus I and Demetrius was Heracles, though Pallas, Apollo, Artemis and Zeus also were not unknown. The major device of Eucratides, on the other hand, was the Dioscuri or the palms and *piloi* of the Dioscuri, while that of Heliocles was Zeus, a device which was once used by Eucratides in the copper money which he struck at Kapiśa. The Indo-Greek rulers who used one or other of these major types can be roughly regarded as falling under any one of these dynasties, though it does not necessarily mean that all were lineal descendants of either. The study of certain other numismatic traits of the kings again have led to plausible hypotheses on the part of Rapson and others. Rapson has also made some interesting inferences about the local character of many of the devices which have been associated with one or other of the cities situated on this side of the Hindukush and has thus tried to localise many of these little-known foreign kings. To refer only to a few of his deductions: the lotus-carrying figure and its Hellenistic counterpart Artemis especially in association with a bull, should indicate Pushkalāvatī; the enthroned Zeus-like divinity with the forepart of an elephant in the field should be regarded as the local type of Kapiśa (but it has recently been identified by Whitehead as a city-goddess).[1] The Nike and bull's head devices should signify the cities of Nicaea and Bucephala, said to have been founded by Alexander to commemorate the incidents of the battle of the Hydaspes; the *piloi* of the Dioscuri probably have a subtle allusion to Takshaśilā (*taksha*, cut and *śira*, another form of *śila*, meaning head) and should be presumed to be the particular device of the city, and so on.

APOLLODOTUS AND MENANDER

Two of the most important of the early Indo-Greek rulers who belonged to the period of Yavana expansion in India, were Apollodotus and Menander, whose names have already been mentioned in connection with Demetrius's Indian conquests. They ruled only to the south of the Hindukush and appear to have been connected with the house of Euthydemus. The classical authors twice mention Apollodotus, in association with Menander; his name is put first on each occasion, and it seems that

[1] *NC.* 1947, pp. 28-32

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he was an elder contemporary of the latter. That he may have been a contemporary of Eucratides is possibly indicated by the re-struck coins already alluded to, which seem to show that he lost his hold on Kapiśa owing to the warlike actions of his enemy, and that he may have been an associate of Demetrius. There is no means of ascertaining definitely the nature of this connection, and it has been supposed that he may have been a younger brother of Demetrius who employed him as well as Menander in the conquest of vast tracts of India. The principal basis for this hypothesis is that he could not have been far removed in point of time from the great son of Euthydemus, and that the period of his reign coincided for some time with the last years of Eucratides in India. Again, it has already been shown that the classical writers regarded him as one of the three who were responsible for the Bactrian Greek conquests in India. We are not certain about the exact extent of his kingdom, but his coin-types as well as a statement of the Greek author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* may show that his rule extended over the region from Kapiśa and Gandhāra, along the western and southern sides of the Panjab to Sind and possibly beyond to the ancient port of Barygaza, modern Broach. The author of the *Periplus* writes that his coins along with those of Menander were still current at Barygaza in his time, i.e. in the last quarter of the first century A.D. Kapiśa of course was soon wrested from him by Eucratides. His memory perhaps faintly lingered in the minds of the Indians, and a possible proof of this is to be found in the name of Bhagadatta, a king of the Yavanas, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. Bhagadatta, it may be said, is an exact Indian translation of Apollodotus, 'Bhaga' one of the Indian solar deities (Ādityas) being mythologically similar to 'Apollo', a Greek solar divinity.[1] The extensive silver and copper coinage of Apollodotus, still extant, proves that he ruled over a vast kingdom. His coins bear a number of interesting devices, the commonest among which are Apollo: Tripod-lebes, and elephant: bull. Most of the coins bearing the device of Athene Promachus (Athene hurling thunderbolt) are usually ascribed to a second Apollodotus. Some round silver coins with elephant moving to the right and the Greek legend *Basileōs Apollodotou Sōtēros* on their obverse, and a humped bull with the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa* on the reverse, seem to have been issued according to the Attic system of weight, but this does not prove that they were struck on the other side of the Hindukush; their bilingual character shows that the case was just the reverse. Similar devices are adopted on other silver coins minted on the Indian or Indo-Persic weight standard, which are square, a shape characteristic of many of the early indigenous coins of India. The elephant and

[1] *JRAS.* 1939, pp, 219-22; Johnston argues about the equation of the epic Bhagadatta, king of the Yavanas, and the Indo-Greek king Apollodotus. He is not at all sure about it, but finds in such epic stories 'the earliest references to the still current legends by which some of the hill princes trace their descent to Greek ancestors.'

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bull may have symbolised the tutelary divinities of cities, and these devices continued to be adopted in many copper coins of Heliocles, probably showing that the hold over the lower Kabul valley was transferred from Apollodotus to Heliocles, whose father had possibly already dispossessed the former of the Upper Kabul valley (Kapiśa, the modern Kafiristan region). The case for a second Apollodotus, whose chronological position is uncertain, is made to rest principally on the use of the additional attributive epithet of Philopater ('the beloved of his father') on the obverse of some coins, the Prākṛit equivalent of which is, however, absent on the reverse; it is also based on their comparatively indifferent style and execution. The silver coins among them with this additional obverse legend, *kai Philopatoros* and the reverse device of Athene Promachus bear the royal bust which is conspicuous by its absence on the silver as well as the copper coins which are commonly attributed to Apollodotus I. But it should be borne in mind that there are a number of silver coins with the king's bust and Athene Promachus devices where the royal title is only 'Sōtēr' and not 'Sōtēr and Philopator'. Nothing can be said with certainty and the case for a second Apollodotus would seem to rest principally on the debased style of the coins bearing his name.

Menander appears to have been a great personality of ancient times, for he is not only mentioned by several classical writers like Strabo, Plutarch, Trogus, and Justin, but is also a person of eminence in the early Buddhist tradition. The Pali work '*Milindapañha*' ('Questions of Milinda') is in the form of a dialogue between Milinda, the mighty Yavana king of Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Panjab), and an erudite Buddhist monk, Nāgasena by name, where high problems of Buddhist metaphysics and philosophy are discussed. Milinda is an acute questioner whose intelligent and discerning queries are answered to his satisfaction by the Buddhist cleric, and in the end the king is said to have become a convert to the creed. It is beyond doubt that this Milinda is none other than the Indo-Greek king Menander, of whom contemporary Buddhists held a high opinion. Thus writes the author of the Pāli treatise,

> As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome, the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. As in wisdom so in strength of body, swiftness and valour there was found none equal to Milinda in India. He was rich, too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end.

This is high praise indeed, and it echoes to a very great extent the admiration and esteem which this alien king of India inspired in the minds of the Indians. It is now futile to argue that Menander, being a member of the ruling race, could not have adopted the religion of the conquered, as Tarn has done, and it is far better to accept the tradition at its face value. Cases are on record where foreigners, even Greeks, accepted an Indian creed, and it is highly probable that Menander did actually become a Buddhist. It is he alone of all the Indo-Greek rulers, who was remembered

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in India with great honour and respect long after his day, for Kshemendra (eleventh century A.D.) makes a respectful mention of him in his *Avadānakalpalatā*. This is borne out in a way by Plutarch, who flourished about two centuries after Menander and narrates the story, which he undoubtedly got from some Buddhist source, that when Menander died in camp, 'the cities of his realm contended for the honour of preserving his ashes and agreed on a division among themselves, in order that the memory of his reign should not be lost.' The Pāli work supplies us with a few other interesting details about Menander, some of which appear to have been based on fact. According to this the village of Kalasi in the *dvīpa* of Alasanda was his birthplace, which was 200 *yojanas* distant from Sākala, his capital. Kalasi cannot be definitely located, but there is little doubt that the *dvīpa* of Alasanda is to be identified with Alexandria beneath the Indian Caucasus which was one of the Alexandrias founded by Alexander during his Indian expedition; the *Mahāvaṁsa* refers to it as Alasanda of the Yonas. This Alexandria or Alasanda-dvīpa was long ago tentatively identified by Cunningham with modern Charikar, a place strategically situated in the land between the two rivers Panjshir and Kabul, thus conforming to the literal meaning of the description (*dvīpa* literally meant 'a land between two rivers'). Further, as Rapson has shown, the recorded distance of 200 *yojanas* between Sākala and Kalasi in Alasanda would roughly correspond to the 500 miles that separate Sialkot in the Panjab from Charikar in the extreme north-west of India; this works out at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to a *yojana* (the shorter measure mentioned in many Buddhist texts). The *Milindapañha* informs us that the king used to be attended by a large number of his Yonaka (Greek) courtiers (the number is roundly fixed at 500) when he met Nāgasena, and the names of some of the chief among them are given as Devamantriya and Anantakāya, evident Indian adaptations of Demetrius and Antiochus. It says that Menander flourished about 500 years after the *Parinirvāṇa* of Buddha and, if we are to credit this statement, he is to be given a very late date which would fit ill with the date ascribable to him on the basis of other, especially numismatic, data.

We have no means of ascertaining definitely the exact nature of Menander's connection with the house of Euthydemus. He appears to have been a commoner, in spite of what we know from the *Questions of Milinda* about his royal ancestry, and it is highly probable that he was matrimonially connected with the Euthydemids. It was long ago suggested by Rapson, practically solely on the basis of numismatic data, that Menander married Agathocleia, the daughter of Demetrius and the sister of Agathocles and others. His son was Strato I who was a minor when Menander died, and his queen Agathocleia served as the royal regent during the minority of her son. This conclusion is based on a careful study of certain coin-types of Menander, Agathocleia and Strato I, and Strato I; a brief reference to the relevant types here will be necessary to follow Rapson's findings. Some square copper coins of Menander bear on the obverse

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a helmeted female bust and on the reverse a winged Nike holding a wreath and a palm-branch. The bust was previously identified as that of Pallas Athene, but Rapson thought that in association with Nike, which might indicate Nicaea as the locality where the coins were minted, it might be described better as the bust of the queen herself. He compared this bust with the undoubted head of queen Agathocleia on certain hemidrachms in the collections of the British and Indian Museums, which bear the legend *Basilissēs Theotropou Agathokleiās* 'of the godlike Queen Agathocleia.' It should be noted that though her head is only diademed here, it is helmeted but not diademed on the obverse of some square copper coins issued in the joint names of hereself and her minor son like that of the so-called bust of Pallas on Menander's square copper coins just mentioned. The reverse device of these hemidrachms, usually described by numismatists as 'a male figure with shield and spear' was identified by Rapson with some justification as the late king Menander in his full war dress, and compared by him with the obverse device of some of his square copper coins in the collection of the Lahore and British Museums, which shows the king walking to the right in full war panoply. The square copper coins of Agathocleia and Strato just referred to bear the device of a naked Heracles seated on a rock with his club resting on his knee, and this points unmistakably to her Euthydemid connection. Strato's bust does not appear here; his name and titles—*maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa*—occurring only on the reverse, show that he was very much of a minor when these coins were struck. The remarkable didrachm in the collection of the British Museum bearing the conjugate busts of Strato and Agathocleia with the legend *Basileōs Sōtēros Stratōnos kai Agathokleiās* on the obverse, and the figure of Pallas Athene with the legend *maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa Stratasa* on the reverse, shows that though Strato had become older, yet he had still the need of his mother as regent to look after the royal affairs. A comparison of this didrachm with the one in the Lahore Museum, which bears the youthful bust of the king with the Greek legend *Basileōs Sōtēros Dikaiou Stratōnos* on the obverse and Athene Promachus with the usual Prākṛit legend on the reverse, shows that Strato had now come of age, and that the regency of his mother was no longer needed.

This detailed discussion of the above coin-types was necessary in order to follow Rapson's line of argument supporting his suggestion about Menander's connection with Demetrius, which he propounded long ago.[1] But Whitehead has challenged of late this apparently well-reasoned hypothesis of Rapson; he is of opinion that there are no clear indications that Agathocleia was Menander's queen and Strato I their son.[2] Rapson's view about the relationship between Strato I and Agathocleia, however, has been ably supported by H.L. Haughton on the basis of

[1] *Corolla Numismatica*, (Oxford, 1906), pp. 245-58
[2] *NC.* 1947, pp. 33-4

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numismatic data. Haughton rightly says that numismatic discoveries since the publication of Rapson's paper do not modify in any way the conclusions reached by him; they really confirm them and 'throw additional light upon conditions of Greek rule in the north of India between the end of Menander's strong and prosperous reign and the final establishment of Śaka sovereignty.'[1] One thus cannot accept the views of those historians who place Menander long after Strato I. In placing Menander near about the middle of the first century B.C. they argue that no room can be found for this long and prosperous reign within the period of successive kings of one group, Demetrius, Apollodotus, Agathocleia and Strato I, Strato I, and Strato I and Strato II, or in that of the other group, Eucratides, Heliocles and Antialcidas; according to them Menander can only be placed after Strato II.[2] But there are unmistakable indications that the Indo-Greek rule after Strato II had become very effete and we shall presently see that the Greek rulers were being ousted at that time from many of their territories by both Śaka and Indian potentates. To place Menander in this period is impossible, and he must necessarily be found a place not long after Apollodotus and Eucratides. It should be remembered that a vast area was under the occupation of the early Indo-Greeks in Northern India and some among them were ruling contemporaneously. It is possible that the rule of Menander was at one time confined to the greater part of the Panjab including a little to the south of it; but it was shortly to extend over portions of Gandhāra (modern Peshawar district) and the tribal territory beyond on the north-west, and possibly to parts of Sind and the adjoining regions to the south-west. These accretions probably took place after the death of his elder contemporary Apollodotus who was presumably of the same group of kings to which Menander belonged. He must have governed this vast kingdom with the help of subordinate rulers owing allegiance to him. This is probably proved by the Bajaur relic casket inscription which records that one Viyakamitra (Sanskrit Vīryakamitra) enshrined some relics of Buddha during the reign of Menander; he describes himself as an *apracha-raja*, perhaps corresponding to Sanskrit *a-pratyag-rāja*, meaning 'one who has no royal adversary.' This was perhaps a subordinate title adopted by Viyakamitra, a vassal chief under king Menander on the extreme north-western frontier of India. The inscription conclusively proves further that Bajaur in the tribal territory was included within Menander's dominions.[3]

No other Indo-Greek king except Menander issued such a great variety of coins, and these are distributed over a wide area extending from Kabul to Mathurā. This fact alone testifies to the wide limits of his kingdom and its flourishing commerce. He coined mostly in silver and copper, and more than thirty varieties and sub-varieties can be recognised among them. His principal reverse device is Athene Promachus, while the

[1] *NC.* 1948, pp. 134-41, pls. viii-ix
[2] Chaudhuri, *PHAI*[4]. p. 323
[3] *EI.* xxiv pp. 5-6

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obverse of many of his silver and copper coins bears his bust, either diademed or diademed and helmeted, sometimes shown thrusting a javelin; the usual Greek and Prākṛit legends are *Basileōs Sōtēros Menandrou* and *maharajasa tratarasa Menadrasa*. A few silver and copper coins, however, replace *Sōtēros* by *Dikaiou* on the obverse with its Prākṛit equivalent *dhramikasa* in place of *tratarasa* on the reverse. The royal bust on these silver coins is that of an aged man, and it would appear that the king adopted this title towards the end of his long reign. Some scholars suggest that here is a numismatic corroboration of the statement made in the *Milindapañha* that Milinda became a convert to Buddhism; but *Dikaiou* also occurs on the commemorative issues of Agathocles, and on the coins of Heliocles, Archebius and others. An eight-spoked wheel on the obverse of a few square copper pieces of Menander has been taken by some to represent the Buddhist Dharmachakra indicative of the creed of his choice; but they have the usual epithet *Sōtēros*. Tarn thinks that in association with the reverse device of a palm-branch it signifies the wheel of the Chakravartin or the paramount sovereign; but it may simply be a variant of the solar symbol which frequently appears on the punch-marked and other indigenous coins of India. Indeed as Rapson observes, the numismatic record of Menander is extraordinarily difficult to interpret; and 'the striking menagerie of animals on his coins is quite obscure' (Tarn). Such animals as the owl, dolphin, two-humped Bactrian camel, ox-head, boar's head, elephant's head, Gorgon's head, horse etc. occur sometimes as obverse and at other times as reverse devices. A few of these, e.g. the ox-head, elephant's head and Gorgon's head, are copied by him from the same device of Demetrius. Rapson's view that the ox-head may point to Bucephala as the mint-city has already been referred to, but this does not explain the other devices. Nike on some of his coins may indicate Nicaea as the city in which they were minted.

MENANDER'S SUCCESSORS

If Plutarch's record of Menander's death is believed, then it appears that he was engaged in some warlike activity when he died. It is not known who his rival was, but one thing which is proved by his extensive coinage is that his rivals, whoever they may have been, could hardly have wrested any territories from him; none of his coins was re-struck by any other ruler. His rule may have ended a few years after the middle of the second century B.C. We have seen that there is every reason to believe that his son Strato I was a minor at the time of his death, and during the period of his minority the kingdom was governed by his mother Agathocleia as the royal regent. The death of the strong and able Menander must have adversely affected the fortunes of his line and there was some loss of territory; the re-striking by Heliocles of a few of the joint issues of Agathocleia and Strato, and of Strato ruling alone clearly

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proves this. The re-struck coins of Strato contain the figure of Nike, indicating perhaps that the region about Nicaea on the Jhelum changed hands. Strato appears to have had a long rule, in the beginning of which he was associated with his mother and at the end, when he was an old man in his dotage, with his grandson Strato II. His independent rule in the interval is marked by a fairly large number of silver and copper coins, the predominating device of which is his father's principal device, Athene Promachus. Like his father he introduced variety in his copper coins, adopting such types as Apollo, Tripod, Heracles, Nike, and a quiver with straps. The obverse of all his known silver coins and a few of his copper coins bears the usual portrait-head diademed, very rarely helmeted. One type of his obverse and reverse legends has already been referred to; another type to be found on some of his silver and copper coins is *Stratōnos Basileōs Epiphanous Sōtēros* with its Prākṛit equivalent *maharajasa prachakshasa tratarasa Stratasa*. The gradually aging bust on the coins of Strato I culminates in that of the toothless and senile king on the obverse of the silver coins issued in the joint names of himself and his grandson, Strato II, the obverse legned, partially legible, contains the names of the two Stratos, while the full Prākṛit inscription, as deciphered by Rapson, reads *maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa potrasa chasa priyapita Stratasa*, '(the coin) of king Strato Soter, and of his grandson Strato Philopater.' That the Greeks had fallen on evil days when these coins were issued is proved not only by their indifferent style and execution, but also by the fact that the joint rulers had to issue coins of lead, a few of which are still preserved. Much of their possessions had been wrested from the weak and effete hands of Strato I and his associates, not only by the kings of the rival group, but also by rulers of other nationalities. The Athene Promachus type continues to be used as a coin device, but the issuers of these coins are no longer Greek but Indian and Scythian; the names which can be read on some coins are those of Bhadryaśa and Rañjubula, while others are barbarous imitations.

SOME EUTHYDEMID INDO-GREEK RULERS

The host of other Indo-Greek rulers, some of whom may have been connected with the house of Euthydemus as the types and legends used by them indicate, have practically no history at all. Many were local princelings ruling in different parts of Northern and North-Western India, several of them perhaps contemporaneously. There is unmistakable numismatic evidence to show that some of them were ruling as late as the Scythian conquest and consolidation of Northern India. One of them, Hippostratus, was undoubtedly contemporary with Azes I who re-strikes his coins. A characteristic reverse device of this ruler is the king riding on a prancing horse, which also appears on the reverse of some coins of Antimachus Nicephorus, perhaps the same as Antimachus Theos, whose

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connection with the house of Euthydemus is demonstrable. The same device occurs also on the coins of Philoxenus and Nicias who appear to have intervened between Antimachus and Hippostratus in the government of the lower Kabul valley where these coins were issued. The other devices which are used on the coins of these three rulers do not necessarily connect them, however, with the Euthydemids, though Hippostratus makes sparing use of the Apollo : Tripod-lebes adopted by Apollodotus and Strato I. Philoxenus has the characteristic title *Anīkētou* first used by Demetrius; but, as on the coins of Lysias, it is translated in Prākṛit as *apaḍihata* (*apratihata*, unchecked) and not *aparajita* (unconquered) as on the coins of Demetrius. The same title is used by one Artemidorus, one of whose types, Artemis : Bull, probably shows that he was ruling over the region of Pushkalāvatī; Philoxenus and Artemidorus are to be placed earlier in point of time than Nicias and Hippostratus, some of whose coins bear undoubtedly late forms of certain Greek letters (see Appendix) for the usual sigma, omega and omicron. Lysias, using *Anīkētos* as his title, must certainly have preceded them all, and his connection with Demetrius's line can be clearly demonstrated with the help of his coins. Not only do several of his coins show his bust with an elephant's scalp, but the device of Heracles crowning himself on their reverse is almost an exact copy of the characteristic device of Demetrius. On some coins his head is adorned with a low flat kausia similar to that which is shown on the head of Antimachus Theos; the obverse of a few coins in the British Museum having his diademed and helmeted bust thrusting javelin reminds us of the similar obverse type of certain coins of Menander. Rapson was not sure about the dynastic connection of Lysias, and he was definite that there is nothing to show clearly to which of the two Yavana royal houses Lysias belonged. His doubt was mainly due to the incidence of some square copper coins jointly issued in the names of Lysias and Antialcidas. These bear on the obverse the bearded bust of Heracles with club on his shoulder and the legend *Basileōs Anīkētou Lysiou*, and on the reverse the palms and *piloi* of the Dioscuri with the Prākṛit legend *maharajasa jayadharasa Aṁtialkidasa*. Antialcidas, as will be shown presently, undoubtedly belonged to the house of Eucratides, and so his associate ruler, according to Rapson, may not justifiably be connected with the rival house. But the only joint type known of these two kings might suggest some sort of *rapprochement*, presumably of a temporary character, between the two rival houses, in which Lysias's rôle was probably more important. It is his major type, Heracles, and his name with his usual title, that appear on the obverse, while Antialcidas's name and type occupy the reverse side.

Of the several other kings, such as Zoilus, Apollophanes, Dionysius, Theophilus, and Telephus, some of whom can be grouped under the house of Euthydemus on numismatic grounds, Zoilus seems to have been a ruler of comparative importance. Several varieties of coin-types issued by this ruler have been discovered, and the style and execution of some

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of them, though inferior to that of Lysias and Antialcidas, are not very much worse. He not only uses the Heracles device—one common to Euthydemus and to several of his immediate successors—but also Apollo: Tripod and Pallas Athene, the devices so frequently adopted on the coins of Apollodotus and Menander. Both the titles *Dikaios* and *Sōtēr* are used by him, the latter more frequently than the former as on Menander's coins. Tarn distinguishes between Zoilus Dikaios and Zoilus Soter, the latter being probably a grandson of the former. There seems to be some difference in style between the two series of coins with the two different titles, the Dikaios coins being as a class better executed than the Soter coins. Zoilus Dikaios uses the Heracles device while Zoilus Soter adopts the Pallas type. Tarn would describe the latter as the grandson of the former who according to him was probably a sub-king of Menander in the Gandhāra region.[1] But this is problematical and there may not have been such a marked interval between the two Zoiluses; moreover the conjecture does not account for certain square copper coins of Zoilus Dikaios, which have the head of a bearded Heracles with lion's skin on the obverse, and a bow in case and the club of Heracles inside an ivy wreath on the reverse. The bow-in-case device distinctly reminds us of the Arsacid type of Maues, which also has a similar reverse type. This shows that Zoilus Dikaios may not have been far removed in point of time from Maues, and in that case duplication of Zoilus is hardly justifiable.[2] Nothing can be said with certainty, but it is better not to dogmatise. Very few coin-types of Dionysius, Apollophanes, Theophilus and Telephus are known, and their dynastic association is very obscure. It is almost certain that they were ruling in the eastern Panjab at a time when many parts of the Greek kingdom in the western Panjab and north-western India were being gradually annexed by the advancing Śakas. Dionysius and Apollophanes adopt the title *Sōtēr*, the former using Apollo : Tripod-lebes, and Apollo : diadem types of Apollodotus and the latter on his only one silver coin-type known, Athene Promachus; Dionysius from his type and Apollophanes from his name may be associated with Apollodotus, and it is likely that these ephemeral rulers succeeded to the eastern parts of the Indo-Greek dominions. H. L. Haughton draws our pointed attention to the crudity of design and corruptness of legend displayed by the drachms of Zoilus Soter, Apollophanes and Apollodotus Philopater. In these respects, the coins 'display a marked similarity to that of the aged Strato, and it is of interest to remark that all these coins come from the vicinity of Akhnoor, north of Jummoo and Sialkot, in which area they most frequently occur.' He rightly observes: 'it therefore seems possible that the once extensive kingdom of Menander, with its thriving capital at Sakala (Sialkot), was by this time breaking up into small hill-states ruled by petty kinglets, each of whom maintained or shared a mint of sorts where no one but . . . inexpert mintmasters and workmen were

[1] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 319-20
[2] Gardner, op. cit., pl. xxxii, 2, 12; Whitehead, *PMC.* i pl. x. 35

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available.'[1] Theophilus and Telephus are obscure kings; their coins are very scarce and are characterised by some rare devices. The square copper coins of the former invariably show the bust of Heracles either with club over left shoulder, or shoulders draped without club, and the legend *Basileōs Dikaiou Theophilou* on the obverse, and Heracles's club or cornucopia with the corresponding Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse. A unique silver coin, a hemidrachm according to the view of Gardner and Rapson, in the collection of the British Museum, shows the diademed bust of the king on the obverse and Heracles crowning himself on the reverse; the legends are the usual ones. Thus his devices appear to associate him with the Euthydemids.

Telephus's connection with either of these houses cannot be suggested; it seems that he was an ephemeral ruler, perhaps ruling in the Kapiśa region about the period of the Scythian conquest of the Panjab. His types as well as his title separate him from most of the known later Indo-Greek kings. Some of his square copper coins have Zeus enthroned with the legend *Basilēos Euergetou Tēlephou* on the obverse, and an unidentified male figure walking to the right holding a long spear over his left shoulder with the Prākṛit legend *maharajasa kalanakramasa Teliphasa* on the reverse. There is in the lower right corner of the reverse a tiny representation of a mountain as on the Kapiśa coins of Eucratides. This feature in association with the enthroned Zeus has led numismatists to localise this king at Kapiśa, and this seems to be correct. The unique hemidrachm of this king in the collection of the British Museum, of which only a few specimens are known, is of outstanding interest on account of its devices. These are a serpent-footed giant (Skythes?) on the obverse and two standing male figures, presumably sun and moon, the head of the former being radiate, that of the latter having a crescent attached to it. On the reverse of another square copper coin of his, an apparently naked male figure is seen squatting on a lotus (?) which has been described by Tarn as 'an Indian fakir squatting'. Tarn rightly says that the imagination of the Greek die-cutters appears to have run riot on the few known coin-types of this obscure king. Another point of great interest with regard to his coins is that their only two peculiar monograms, which are extremely rare on Indo-Greek coinage, seem to place him very near the Indo-Scythic king Maues, on whose coins they occur. If these refer to the names of the mint-magistrates, then Telephus and Maues could not have been far removed in point of time, and it is likely that the latter annexed the Kapiśa region from the former. The Greek legends on Telephus's coins never contain late forms of letters like those on the coins of Hippostratus, Nicias and others, and we have already seen that there are good numismatic data which show that Hippostratus and Azes I were contemporaries. A careful and comparative study of the coin-types of many of these later Indo-Greek kings and those of the

[1] *NC.* 1948, p. 141

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early Scythic kings of the Panjab leaves little doubt about the gradual transference of the sovereignty over the northern and north-western regions of India from the hands of the Indo-Greeks to those of the Indo-Scythians.

RULERS OF EUCRATIDES'S HOUSE AND OTHERS

Several of the remaining Indo-Greek kings whose coins have been found and whose chronological position has not yet been discussed can be connected with the house of Eucratides on the basis of their coin-types and legends. One of the first and foremost in the series who seems to have immediately followed Heliocles is Antialcidas. The memory of this king is preserved in an interesting Brāhmī inscription which was found engraved on the side of a votive column of the second century B. C., still *in situ* in modern Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā) in Bhopal, Madhya Bharat. It records that 'the Garuda-dhvaja was erected here by Heliodorus, a Bhāgavata, the son of Dion, and an inhabitant of Takshaśilā, (Takhkhasilākena), who came as Greek ambassador from *mahārāja* (the great king) Antialcidas to king Kāśiputra Bhāgabhadra, the Saviour (*tratara —Sōtēr*), then reigning prosperously in the fourteenth year of his kingship.' Though the importance of this Brāhmī inscription is very great in the history of Indian religion, its interest in the political history of India is not less. It synchronises the Indo-Greek ruler Antialcidas with one of the Śuṅga kings of Madhya Bharat who to the eyes of a Greek convert to Bhāgavatism was a *Sōtēr*, and it clearly proves that diplomatic relations existed between the Yavana king of the north-west and the Indian king of Central India. It is certain that Heliodorus's homeland, Takshaśilā, was included in the dominions of Antialcidas, the Yona king, whose ambassador (*Yonadūta*) he was. Antialcidas was not only ruling over Taxila, on the eastern side of the Indus, but on unmistakable numismatic evidence, held sway also over the Kapiśa region. If we accept Rapson's localisation of the device of the *piloi* of the Dioscuri at Taxila, its frequent use on the copper coins of Antialcidas corroborates his sovereignty over this region which is suggested by the Brāhmī inscription. His hold over Kapiśa and its environs seems to be substantiated by his major coin-type, possibly an elaborate adaptation of Eucratides's Kapiśa coins described above. Here we may have the city-deity of Kapiśa with Zeus who holds Nike in his extended right hand, and the elephant in front of the enthroned deity is snatching away the wreath from the goddess. On one rare silver tetradrachm the elephant-god, Indra, and his elephant with its trunk at the salute, are marching, but here also his identification with Zeus is clear from the goddess of victory hovering above. The coins of Antialcidas, with two exceptions, a drachm and a tetradrachm of the Attic standard of weight, are all bilingual, the Greek legend being *Basileōs Nikēphorou Antialkidou* and its Prākṛit equivalent, *maharajasa jayadharasa Aṁtialikitasa*. His unique coin with the above Greek legend only

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on the reverse does not necessarily prove that this was struck in Bactria, but it shows his contiguity to Heliocles, the last Greek ruler over Bactria and India, and its Kapiśa device indicates that it was minted also somewhere in the same region. Thus epigraphic and numismatic data seem to prove that he was holding sway over Taxila, Kapiśa-Gandhāra and the Paropamisadae just after Heliocles. His synchronism with Bhāgabhadra, who has been identified with Bhāgavata in the Purāṇic list of the Śuṅga kings, may show that he flourished till the beginning of the first century B. C., and the commencement of his reign may be carried back to the last quarter of the second century B. C., if not a little earlier.

The continuance of the piloi type on the coins of Archebius alone, probably proves that Antialcidas was succeeded in the Taxila region by Archebius and it should be noted that the piloi device is no longer found on the coins of any other Yavana ruler after him. The type next appears on the coins of Liaka Kusuluka who was the father of Mahākshatrapa Patika. Here also numismatic evidence points to the transference of sovereignty over one part of the extreme north-west of India from the Yavanas to the Śakas. Liaka Kusuluka was no other than a viceregal ruler enjoying the right of coinage under the paramount Śaka sovereign Maues-Moga. The major device of Archebius is a standing Zeus and his titles are, in addition to the royal one, *Dikaios* and *Nikēphoros*, which connected him with Heliocles and Antialcidas. His bust on the obverse is sometimes shown as wearing chain armour and thrusting a javelin with his right hand. The only device which is adopted on the reverse of all the silver and most of the copper coins of Diomedes is the Dioscuri, sometimes charging and at other times standing; on certain square copper coins of this king standing Dioscuri serve as the obverse type and the reverse is occupied by the humped bull. It is presumable that he succeeded Archebius in the Gandhāra region, and his rule was short-lived. Another ephemeral ruler in this region was Epander, very few of his silver and copper coins being extant and, though his only known silver type shows the Athene Alkis, the principal device of Menander and the members of his line, it is not possible to connect him definitely with them. He uses the title *Nikēphoros*, a title frequently adopted by Antialcidas and others of his group. Peucolaus, an obscure king, who was at first placed late along with Hippostratus, was known previously from a few copper coins having Artemis on the obverse and a crowned city-goddess on the reverse; his name as well as his device connects him with the city of Pushkalāvatī, the old capital of Gandhāra. His association with Archebius was, however, demonstrated by the discovery of a tetradrachm of the reduced standard (Von Sallet and Whitehead) showing the diademed bust of the king with the legend *Basileōs Dikaiou kai Sotērōs Peukolaou* on the obverse and standing Zeus with the Prākṛit translation of the Greek legend on the reverse. The discovery of this silver coin shows that Peucolaus was a king of the Upper Kabul valley and closely allied to Archebius. Another late Indo-Greek king who appears to have ruled in this region, but whose dynastic association

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is not certain, is Amyntas. His major type is an enthroned Zeus Nicephorus. Whitehead sees some facial similarity, especially characterised by the same type of portentous nose, between the portrait of Amyntas and those of Archebius and Peucolaus; but this would not carry us far, especially if we bear in mind the now degenerate art of the die-cutters. Amyntas's connection with Hermaeus, the last of the Indo-Greek kings in the Kabul valley, seems to be suggested by the close similarity of the types of bust on some of their square copper coins; the radiate busts of the respective kings are shown adorned with a Phrygian cap. Amyntas's possible connection with Hermaeus was long ago suggested by Whitehead on the basis of the identical monograms appearing on their drachms. Tarn advances a step further and on account of the similarity of the busts and the identity of the monograms observes that Hermaeus was the son of Amyntas. On some square copper coins of the latter, Pallas appears on the reverse; the Greek legend on the obverse of his coins is invariably *Basileōs Nikēphorou Amyntou* its Prākṛit equivalent on the reverse being *maharajasa jayadharasa Amitasa.*

HERMAEUS

The fact that many of the kings discussed above were ruling almost contemporaneously over different parts of the extreme north and north-west of India and fighting for their very existence against the ever-increasing power of the barbarians was an ominous portent for the Bactrian Greek rule in India. It is possible that the growing Śaka menace may have induced a few among them to come together temporarily, but an occasional coalition, if it occurred, was not a strong and effective check. The Śakas seem to have gradually absorbed the whole of the Panjab, Sind, and the older satrapies of Arachosia and Gedrosia and to have been advancing further yet into the interior of India. It was at this time that Hermaeus, the last of the Indo-Greek rulers, was maintaining his precarious hold over the Kabul valley. It is presumable that he belonged to the house of Eucratides, as his major coin-type indicates, and Amyntas might have been his immediate predecessor; but we cannot go further than that and suggest like Tarn that Hermaeus was the son of Amyntas. He had not only to guard against the powerful Śakas on his eastern and southern border, but he had also to protect the kingdom from his new enemies, the Parthians on the south-west and the Yüe-chi on the north. It was practically hemmed in on all sides by the barbarians, and the task which Hermaeus had to face in maintaining the integrity of his small kingdom was a formidable one. It was perhaps in order to stem the advance of the foes who encompassed him that a final unification of the interests of the rival houses was made in his time. This unification is indicated by the joint coins issued in the names of himself and his queen Calliope, who must have been a princess in her own right. The obverse of these coins shows their jugate busts, both diademed, with the legend

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Basileōs Sōtēros Hermaiou kai Kalliopēs and the reverse, the king on a prancing horse with the legend *maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa Kaliyapaya*. The reverse device may suggest that Calliope was related to Hippostratus. But all this was of no avail to Hermaeus; the end was not long in coming, and it was from one or other of his barbarian neighbours that the last blow to his rule must have descended. It was at first generally held by scholars on the basis of numismatic evidence which will be discussed in fuller detail in Chapter viii of this volume, that the Kushān emperor Kujula Kadphises was responsible for the final destruction of Hermaeus's kingdom. Some coins which bear the bust, name, and titles of the last Yavana king on the obverse and the name and titles of Kujula Kadphises on the reverse, were regarded as clear testimony for this conclusion. It was further suggested by some scholars that Hermaeus sought the aid of the Kushān chief to ward off the Parthian attack and in the end was destroyed by his helper. But a careful consideration of the coins of Hermaeus which bear his name alone, as well as of those issued in the joint names of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises, has led Rapson to suggest that the last of the Indo-Greek kings had long before been overwhelmed by one of his bitterest foes, the Parthians, who were continuing his currency in a debased form in the conquered regions. This suggestion seems to find support in the writings of Justin who states that the Bactrian Greeks were finally oppressed by the Parthians. The Chinese annalists who refer to their realm as An-si say that it was the Parthians who were conquered by Kieu-tsiu-khi-o (Kujula Kadphises) in this region. The probable sequence of events was this : Hermaeus, despite all his efforts could not survive the onslaughts of his hostile neighbours and succumbed to the Parthians or the Pahlavas of the Kandahar region some time in the beginning of the second half of the first century B. C. That it was these Pahlavas, and not the Kushāṇas, who overthrew him seems to be indicated by the evidence of the coins which were struck by Spalirises with the characteristic type of the Yavana kings of Kabul, 'Zeus enthroned'. The victors, however, continued the currency of the last Indo-Greek ruler in his dominions which they conquered; but naturally the coins which they issued with the name and types of Hermaeus were very much debased. It was the final overthrow of the supplanters of the Yavana king in gradual stages by the Kushān Yabgu Kujula Kadphises that is shown by the so-called joint issues of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises, and it is probable that a little more than half a century intervened between the last date of the Yavana rule in the Kabul region and the beginning of the Kushāṇa.

The comparative prosperity of the early part of Hermaeus's rule is proved by his earliest coins, for these were of good style and execution. Silver with little alloy is the metal that was used. They bear the diademed bust of the king with the legend *Basileōs Sōtēros Hermaiou* on the obverse and enthroned Zeus and the Prākṛit equivalent of the Greek on the reverse ; early forms of the Greek letters occur on them. On other coins

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of the same type, the round form of omicron, gives place to the square form, □ ; their metal is now much alloyed, and the execution, indifferent, and they appear to indicate the beginning of his troubles. The alloyed coins in their turn are succeeded by barbarous copper issues in some of which the word *Sōtēros* is written as *Sterossu* and rendered in Prākṛit as *mahatasa* on the reverse. These last seem to have been issued by the Parthians, and were gradually replaced by the successive coin-types of Kujula Kadphises. This is Rapson's interpretation of the numismatic data of this period and there is little doubt that it is a sound one.[1] These series of coins are the principal mute evidence of the drama that was being enacted on the other side of the Indus.

Thus ended the second Greek conquest of India. It was far more important for India than Alexander's. The cultural contact between the conquerors and the conquered for nearly two centuries of Greek rule was considerable and both parties reacted upon each other. It was not merely a case of the Greeks influencing the already well-developed civilisation of the Indians or vice versa. That the religious ideals and ideologies of the Indians were adopted by some of the great men of the ruling race is proved by the evidence of the *Milindapañha* and the Besnagar inscription. There were certainly many more Greek converts to the different religious systems of India. One case is that of a Greek officer, a certain Meridarkh Theodorus, who enshrined the relics of Bhagavān Buddha in the ancient country of Udyāna (Swat valley) in the second century B.C. It asks for no imagination to suppose that he was a Buddhist convert, even though he was a Greek, and an important member of the ruling race. Another Meridarkh of a little later date, whose name has unfortunately been lost, erected a *stūpa* evidently over some relics of Buddha in the vicinity of ancient Takshaśilā 'in honour of his mother and father, for the presentation of a respectful offering,' and he was associated with his wife in this pious act. The Greeks again adopted gradually the Indian way of living and identified themselves to a great extent with the children of the soil. A second Theodorus, about a century after the Meridarkh of the same name mentioned above and possibly a descendant of the latter, caused a tank to be made in Udyāna, in honour of all beings. A low stone relief showing two wrestlers, below whom appears the Kharoshṭhī inscription, *Minaṁdrasa* (of Menander) in the collection of the Peshawar Museum, is probably an *ex voto* offering of a Greek wrestler named Menander. This gives us a glimpse of the Graeco Indian secular life of the remote past.[2] In the realm of art, it was the Bactrian Greeks who made a notable contribution. The die-cutter's art attained perfection in Bactria and some of the coins of her early independent rulers can vie in point of style and

[1] *CHI.* I pp. 561-2. But Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw is of definite opinion that 'Kujula Kadphises struck coins with Hermaeus.' *The 'Scythian' Period of Indian History*, pp. 362 ff.

[2] For the two Meridarkh inscriptions, cf. *CII.* II (i) pp. 1-5 ; a seal found in the Bajaur region contains the name of one Theodamas, a Greek chief who 'lived in the Kabul valley at the time when the Greek dominion was overthrown by the Parthians and

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3. WESTERN ASIA IN THE HELLENIC AGE

After Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, C.U.P.

facing p. 184)

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execution, especially in the skill with which the individualistic portraits were made, with the finest coins of the world. This degree of excellence no doubt deteriorated when these Greeks settled in India, but the moneyer's art remained potent enough to remodel some of her indigenous tribal currency. Many of the coins of the ancient tribes of the Kunindas and the Audumbaras were undoubtedly modelled on the money of Apollodotus and others, as regards the manufacturing technique, though the devices adopted by them were mainly indigenous. The Greeks themselves possessed highly receptive minds and they did not hesitate to experiment sometimes on the lines of Indian monetary technique, as is shown by the very interesting group of copper coins issued by certain early Indo-Bactrian rulers like Pantaleon and Agathocles. Some silver, but much more the copper money, of most of the Indo-Greek kings shows distinct evidence of the adaptation of the indigenous methods of India. Numerous Kharoshṭhī letters and monograms, found on almost all the coins from Apollodotus and Menander to the last king Hermaeus, may contain the names of Indian die-cutters whose services were being more and more requisitioned by these alien rulers. It was during the time of the Bactrian Greek occupation of India that the foundations of the Hellenistic school of Gandhāran art were laid, which attained its zenith in the hands of the local Greek artists and their pupils during the period of the Scytho-Parthian and early Kushāṇa supremacy in India.

subsequently, by the Kushāṇas'; ibid. p.6. Hargreaves, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum*, pp. 106-7
For the Peshawar Museum relief, cf.

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CHAPTER VII

THE SCYTHIANS AND PARTHIANS IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

THE Greek suzerainty over Bactria was destroyed by the nomad hordes of Central Asia. They were presumably the Śakas and the Yüe-chi; the former are variously named in classical literature as Sacae, Sacarauli, Sacaraucae, etc., or mentioned as Sai-wang in the early Chinese texts. It was the Śakas again who were forced by the Yüe-chi to quit their habitat on the Bactrian border and follow the Greeks into India; they gradually spread their supremacy over the northern and north-western regions of India at the expense of the local Indo-Greek rulers. Some phases of the struggle between the Śakas and the Indo-Greeks have already been discussed in the last chapter. The fortunes of these nomadic peoples in their migrations and conquests and their final overthrow in India at the hands of the Parthians will be traced now. The main sources for the reconstruction of this history are references to these peoples in Greek and Graeco-Roman annals and in the early Chinese accounts. The Scythian and Parthian invaders of India find occasional mention in many of the old Indian texts and they are often coupled in the memory of the Indian writers with their immediate predecessors here, the Yavanas, the compound *Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava* occurring often enough in early epic and other literature. These allusions are usually of a general character, and do not supply us with any connected account of their Indian career. The classical and Chinese accounts, are far more helpful; but they, too, mostly deal with the early history of the people as a whole and throw little light on the details of the Śaka-Pahlava occupation of parts of India through successive generations. An apocryphal Christian legend refers to the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares and his brother Gad; and archaeological discoveries have substantiated the existence of this king Gondophares in India during the first part of the first century A.D. It is mainly the archaeological sources, however, that have enabled us to reconstruct, though partially, the history of the Śaka-Pahlava occupation of India. Epigraphic and numismatic data have helped scholars to throw light on this comparatively dark period of Indian history.

THE SCYTHIANS

One of the oldest references to the Śakas or the Scythians is found in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius I, where as many as three different

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branches of these people are enumerated. The Śaka and Maka are included in the Persepolis inscriptions among the various countries that were conquered by the Achaemenian emperor, and the Nakshi Rustam epigraphs contain the names of three types of Śaka peoples who were numbered among his vassals; these are *Śakā Somavargāḥ* (Haumavarkā), *Śakā Tigraxaudā* (wearers of pointed helmets) and lastly *Śakā tyetiro-jraya*[1] (Taradraya i.e. the Śakas beyond the sea). Herodotus, while describing the various national contingents of Xerxes's expeditionary force mustered for the invasion of Greece, also mentions some of these Śakas, and his 'Amyrgian Scythians' seem to include the first two branches mentioned in Darius's inscriptions. This historian tells us that 'the Sacae or Scyths, clad in trousers, had on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point. They bore the bow of their country and the dagger; besides which they carried the battle-axe, or *sagaris*. They were in truth Amyrgian Scythians, but the Persians called them Sacae, since that is the name which they give to all Scythians.'[2] The wearers of the pointed helmets and the Amyrgian Śakas have been located by some scholars in widely distant regions such as the country of the river Jazartes (the Syr Daria) and the Persian province of Drangiana, the country of the river Helmand, which came to be known afterwards as Śakasthāna, i.e. the abode of the Śakas, the later Persian Sijistan and modern Seistan.[3] But in the face of the above explicit description of Herodotus, it seems likely that these two branches of the Scythian people lived in contiguous regions, if not in the same province, which appears to have been the Drangiana-Seistan territory. They may have spread in course of time over far distant regions and there is reason to believe that smaller migrations of these peoples in countries south of the Hindukush were taking place from comparatively early times. The third branch of the Scythians has been justifiably identified by Rapson with those of Europe who dwelt in the Russian steppes on the north of the Black Sea. The Śakas on the borders of the Achaemenid Persian empire were the descendants of the older immigrants in these regions, whose migrations from Central Asia probably began as early as the eighth century B.C. The rise of the strong Persian power, and the might of the Macedonian, Syrian and Bactrian Greeks, rising to greatness after the destruction of the Persian empire kept these turbulent people in check for a long time; and it was only the internal weakness of the Bactrian Greeks, occasioned by their chronic internecine strife, and the preoccupations of the Syrian emperiors, that enabled the Śakas of Sogdiana and other lands to conquer portions of the Bactrian empire, in India, Drangiana and other adjacent territories. The premonition of Euthydemus I of Bactria was not unfounded, and subsequent history proved the justice of the case he

[1] S. Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, (Cal. Univ.) pp. 93, 98

[2] G. Rawlinson, *The History of Herodotus*, Bk. vii, ch. 64. 'According to Hellanicus, the word "Amyrgian" was strictly a geographical title, Amyrgium being the name of the plain in which these Scythians dwelt'; ibid. *n.* 5

[3] E. J. Rapson, *CHI*, 1 pp. 564-5

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presented through his son Demetrius and his countryman Teleas to his besieger, Antiochus III (Magnus), the Syrian emperor.

The Śakas of Sogdiana, however, were compelled to move south and south-eastwards under pressure from other nomadic hordes of Central Asia and Western China, in the second century B.C. These wholesale migrations of the barbarian tribes were in the nature of gigantic upheavals, of which we find an account, not altogether disconnected but at the same time somewhat compressed and confused, in surviving Chinese annals more or less contemporary. The various peoples who played a prominent part in these events were the Hiung-nu, the Wu-sun, the Yüe-chi, the Saiwang and the people of Ta-hia, with the last three of which we are here directly concerned. The principal Chinese texts which supply us with relevant information about these tribal wanderings are, according to chronological sequence, the *Shi-Ki* (ch. 123) of Ssu-ma Chien (*c.* 90 B.C.) containing the report of the Chinese ambassador Chang-Kien's embassy (*c.* 126 B.C.) to the west in search of prospective allies for the Chinese emperor; the *Ts'ien-Han-shu* of Pan-ku (died A.D. 92) containing the annals of the Earlier Han Dynasty, covering the period from 206 B.C. to A.D. 24; and lastly, the *Ho-Han-shu* of Fan Ye, recording the annals of the Later Han dynasty, spread over the period from A.D. 25 to 220. The information about these tribal migrations that can be gleaned from translations by eminent Sinologists of the relevant passages in the above works is as follows: 'In 176 B.C., Mao-tun, king of the Hiung-nu, sent a message to the Chinese emperor, and stated that he had defeated the Yüe-chi. The latter had formerly been living between Tun Huang and Ki'-lien. After their defeat, they went westwards and drove another people whom the Chinese call Sai-wang, i.e. the Śaka-kings, out of their country, but were subsequently themselves driven out by the Wu-sun. We further hear that the Yüe-chi in the west made themselves masters of the Ta-hia, while the Sai-wang went southwards and made themselves masters of Ki-pin. About 126 B.C., the Chinese envoy Chang-Kien found the Yüe-chi to the north of the Oxus, while the Ta-hia had their capital to the south of the river.'[1] We need not follow here the account any further in connection with the early history of the Scythians who later invaded India. It is apparent that events spread over a considerable period, about half a century or so, are compressed in this bare statement, and the fortunes of the Sai-wang in the Ta-hia region are not explicitly mentioned. The Sai-wang of the Chinese extracts evidently denotes Śaka-lord, for it is accepted that the word *wang* is a Chinese translation of the Śaka word *muruṇḍa* which occurs in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhi inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era, in the sense of 'lord' or 'king'. The Indian equivalent of the word is *svāmī* which was attached to the names of some of the Indian Śaka chiefs in Western India. It was the thrust of the Yüe-chi which drove the Śakas from Sogdiana, as can be inferred from the *Shi-ki* passage to the

[1] Sten Konow, 'Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology,' *JIH.* XII, pp. 5-6

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effect that the Yüe-chi, when defeated by the Hiung-nu, moved westwards from their original homeland in the region between the Great Wall built by the Chinese emperors as a protective measure against the Huns (Hiung-nu) and the mountainous part of the Kan-su province of China. They passed Ta-wan (modern Ferghana) and attacked and subjugated the people of Ta-hia.[1] In their westward march, after they had passed through Ferghana, they fell upon the Śakas of Sogdiana who in their turn passed through the western borders of Bactria. The main branch of the Yüe-chi came in course of time to conquer Ki-pin (Kapiśa). The Ta-hia have been generally identified by many scholars with the local people of Bactria which contained primitive, Iranian, and some Greek elements in their composition. After the destruction of the Greek ruling power in Bactria, the peace-loving commercial people of the country, at the end of the short period of presumably Śaka overlordship, came under the sway of the powerful Yüe-chi tribe, an important section of which was destined to play a great part in the history of Northern India in subsequent times.[2] It was, however, only one of the two branches of the Yüe-chi into which they divided themselves in the region round Issy-kul lake during their westward march, that was responsible for driving the Śakas of Sogdiana southwards and subsequently occupying the country of the Ta-hia. This division was known by the name of the Great Yüe-chi; the other group was designated as the Little Yüe-chi which went southwards from the Issy-kul region and settled in the Tibetan borders. The division and dispersal of the tribes of the Sai is also mentioned in the concise summary given in the Chinese encyclopaedia of Ma-twan-lin, who refers not only to the occupation of Ki-pin by the king of the Sai and his followers but also to the formation of different Śaka kingdoms here and there.

The association of the Śakas with India proper may have begun long before the time when one of their main branches accompanied their king into Ki-pin. References to them occur in the texts of the pre-Christian period, the earliest certain mention being found in the *Mahābhāshya*. Patañjali's comment on Pāṇini's *Sūtra, śūdrāṇām aniravasitānām* (ii. 4.10) leaves little doubt that the Śakas at the time of the commentator were living with the Yavanas outside the limits of Āryāvarta. Śaka infiltration into the extreme north-western and western borders of India some considerable time before the beginning of the Christian era is extremely likely,—perhaps even when the Bactrian Greeks were ruling in these regions. That they had early settlements on the far eastern borders of the Persian and Parthian empires has long been conjectured by scholars. In fact, sometimes large hordes of these barbarians menaced their stability. The Indians must have acquired their first knowledge of the Scythians

[1] Ta-hia has been taken by scholars like Marquart, Chavannes, Konow and others to stand for the Tochari, which name, according to Tarn, signified part of the Yüe-chi. Tarn, op.cit. pp. 295-6

[2] G. Haloun is of opinion that there was no conquest of Bactria by the Śakas. It was conquered from the Greeks by the Yüe-chi who were there when Chang Ch'ien came; *ZDMG.* 91, 1937, pp. 825-8; cf. also *JAOS.* 65, 1945, pp. 71-2

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from these border settlements, and comparatively old epic and Purāṇic texts as well as Jaina literature occasionally refer to these people. The *Rāmāyaṇa* places the settlements of the Śakas (*Śakānāṁ pattanāni*) along with the Kāmbojas and the Yavanas in the extreme north beyond the Śūrasenas, Prasthalas, Bharatas, Kurus and Madrakas, while the *Mahābhārata* locates them along with the Pahlavas, Barbaras, Kirātas and Yavanas in the extreme north-west beyond Śākala, the capital of the Madras.[1] The *Harivaṁśa* gives us a characteristic description of the Śakas who used to shave half of their heads.[2] The mediaeval Jaina work *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* (the story of the Jaina spiritual teacher Kālaka) informs us that Kālaka, who had a grudge against the Mālava king Gardabhilla, went to Sagakula and induced the Śaka chiefs called Shāhīs, owing allegiance to an overlord called the Shāhānu Shāhī (king of kings), to accompany him to Hindukadeśa. Crossing the Indus they proceeded to Surāshṭravishaya (Kathiawar) and divided that country among themselves. Then Kālaka led them to Ujjayinī, Gardabhilla's capital. Gardabhilla was defeated and imprisoned, and a line of Śaka kings was established in Malwa. Konow finds here a reference to an early Scythic conquest of Kathiawar and Malwa, which must have happened during the first half of the first century B.C., for the Jaina text informs us later that this Śaka dynasty was uprooted by Vikramāditya, who then established the Vikrama era.[3] It is not certain whether the above account should be accepted in its entirety, because we have no other source to corroborate it, but it may contain a genuine tradition of an early Scythic settlement in parts of Western and Central India. Similar such settlements in Northern India are also alluded to in some indifferently preserved Kharoshṭhī inscriptions found in the extreme north. The explicit mention in most of the Chinese sources of the occupation of Ki-pin by the Śaka king and his followers after they were driven from their previous habitat is apparently corroborated by these epigraphic sources. The early Chinese writers seem to have had a vague idea about the geographical position of Ki-pin, but in the period we are speaking of, it appears to have denoted ancient Kapiśa country, the Kafiristan of the modern maps.[4] The provenance of the few inscriptions is no doubt far to the east and south-east of Kapiśa, but they unquestionably refer to the further expansion of this alien power resulting from the Śaka movements in the north and also from their incursions from the south-west.

[1] *Rām* iv 43, 12; *Mbh.* II 32, 17

[2] *Harivaṁśa*, xiv, 16; according to the author of this text, the Yavanas and the Kāmbojas used to shave their heads fully, the Pāradas used to wear their hair loose and the Pahlavas had moustaches and beards. All these peoples are described as allied ones and fallen from their original (Kshatriya) *dharma*.

[3] *JIH.* XII, 1933, pp. 17-18; *CII.* II (i) pp. xxvi-xxvii

[4] Lévi and Chavannes identified Ki-pin with Kashmir; the latter suggested that it meant Kashmir from the period of the Han and down to that of northern Wei, and was only in the Tang period identified with the country about the northern affluents of the Kabul river, the present Kafiristan (*CII* II (i), p. xxiii). Tarn accepts Lassen's and Gutschmid's view that Ki-pin imports a Greek place name Kophene (op. cit., 469); of. also P.C. Bagchi's Presidential Address, sec. I, *PIHC.* VI Session.

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ŚAKA MOVEMENTS FROM THE SOUTH-WEST AND THE NORTH

The fact that there remained in the Kabul valley a Greek dynasty ruling over the adjoining territories long after portions of the extreme north and west of India came under the occupation of different lines of Scythian chiefs had led scholars to conclude, not without reason, that the bulk of these invaders entered India proper by an indirect route. Their principal path of invasion did not lie through the Khyber Pass, the usual highway into India. After crossing the Hindukush, they outflanked the Greek pocket of resistance and passing through the western fringe of Aria into Arachosia entered the northern borders of Gedrosia and thence crossed into the Indus valley through the Bolan Pass. It is the numismatic data which have helped scholars to come to this conclusion, for coins of the early Śaka rulers of India were found in Arachosia and northern Gedrosia on the one hand and the Panjab on the other, while they were conspicuous by their absence among the hoards discovered in the upper Kabul valley. Many of the early Śaka kings again were undoubtedly contemporaries of later Indo-Greek rulers like Hippostratus. The types that were being issued by the Indo-Greeks in Arachosia and the Panjab were being copied by the Śakas, some of whom also were re-striking the issues of several Indo-Greek kings. The evidence of the contemporary coins thus shows that the main branch of the Śakas could not have utilised the principal highway in their immigration into India, and it has been rightly presumed that their direct entry was checked by the Greek principality under Hermaeus and his immediate predecessors in the Kabul valley. The Śaka influx after the Yüe-chi occupation of Bactria, and even before, was mainly flowing in a southerly and south-westerly direction, receiving checks in the east and the west from the Indo-Greeks and the Parthians respectively. It then made its way into the lower Indus valley, later known as Indo-Scythia. This was the view held by Cunningham and others; an alternative suggestion was put forward by P.Gardner, who maintained that the Śakas entered first into Kashmir and the Panjab through the Karakoram Pass and then spread over the Indus valley region and other parts of Northern India. This hypothesis, however, is wholly untenable because the extreme difficulty of the terrain is quite ill-suited to the migration of an entire people. This route, in fact, is used chiefly by pilgrims and caravans. The *Ts'ien-Han-shu*, however, writing about the southward march of the Sai-wang into Ki-pin refers to their crossing of the *Hien-tu* (the hanging passage) also described in the *Wei-lio*, the history of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 220-64). According to Chavannes's interpretation, this is the Bolor route through the Tasin valley, used by travellers *en route* from Wakhan to the Indus and further to Kashmir and Udyāna; Fa-hien entered India along this route.[1] The Chinese evidence thus shows that a branch of the

[1] Tarn observes that Pan-ku's reference to the entry of the Śakas into Ki-pin over the 'hanging passage' is a mistaken one; for in the second century B.C.,

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Sai-wang with their chief, came to India by this direct route and gradually spread over the northerly regions. In all probability there were two ways, indirect and direct, taken by the Śaka immigration into India vouchsafed by numismatic and literary data respectively. Early epigraphic evidence also appears to support the theory that, the Seistan region was the original homeland of a large body of the Indian Śakas. The Mathurā Lion Capital inscription No. P contains the passage *sarvasa Sak(r)astanasa puyae* which was translated by Bühler as 'in honour of the whole Śakastāna'. The word Śakastāna here (the intervocalic *r* attached to *k* is redundant, as has been shown by Konow) has been taken by many scholars to be the same as modern Seistan in eastern Iran. The reading of the passage is beyond doubt, and though different interpretations have been suggested by other scholars, yet Bühler's explanation is the most acceptable one.[1]

DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE ŚAKA INVADERS—THEIR NATIONALITY

Two or more lines of Śaka kings and potentates ruling over the northern, the north-western and western parts of India, have been recognised by scholars chiefly on the basis of the abundant numismatic data. Some of these chiefs again are known from a few Kharoshṭhī and fewer Brāhmī inscriptions; but it is interesting to note that none of them seems to have been mentioned clearly in any known Indian or foreign literature. If we leave aside the various branches of the Śaka Satraps of Northern and Western India whose history will be discussed separately, (ch ix) the two main royal lines of the Scythians known from their coins, are those of Maues in the Panjab and its adjoining lands, and of Vonones and his associates in Kandahar (Arachosia) and Baluchistan (Gedrosia and Drangiana) regions. Maues and probably his immediate successor Azes are mentioned in a few Kharoshṭhī records, but neither Vonones nor any of his direct associates are known to have been alluded to in any inscription either Brāhmī or Kharoshṭhī. It is presumable that Maues and Vonones were roughly contemporary rulers, the former, perhaps, being the earlier of the two. Certain numismatic and other features of these rulers led V. A. Smith to question their Scythian nationality; he maintained that these chiefs and their successors were Parthians by race. There is no doubt that some Parthian elements are distinctly associated with these rulers. The name Vonones, for example, is unmistakably a Parthian one, the imperial dynasty of Parthia claiming two rulers of this name, Vonones I (A.D. 8-12) and Vonones II (about A.D. 51). The peculiar title *Basileōs Basileōn* (i.e. 'of the King of Kings), which is prefixed to the names of both the Vonones and Maues group of kings, is clearly Parthian and can

the Chinese term Ki-pin had no definite localised meaning, and the pass was impracticable for a tribal migration; op. cit., pp. 227-8

[1] *CII.* II, (i) pp. 46-7

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be traced back to the Achaemenid imperial title *Kshāyathiyānām Kshāyathiya*. The title in this form seems to have been introduced first either by Arsaces VI (Mithridates I, 171-136 B.C.), or by his nephew Mithridates II, the Great (123-88 B.C.). Smith suggested that the conquests of Mithridates I extended as far as the river Hydaspes (Jhelum) in the east as is known from the statement of the historian Orosius (*c.* A.D. 400). Taking advantage of a temporary eclipse of this foreign power some time after Mithridates's death *c.* 136 B.C., a Parthian chieftain Maues made himself king in the Panjab sector, and another such, Vonones, in the Drangiana sector of the Parthian empire, and both began to extend their sway. Vonones, owning perhaps a nominal suzerainty to the imperial Parthian power, ruled over parts of Seistan, southern Afganistan and northern Baluchistan employing some of his relations as viceregal chiefs. At a later stage in their history, the lines of Maues and Vonones coalesced and thus formed a strong Indo-Parthian block in the extreme north and west of India. The Parthian character of Maues though not so self-evident as that of Vonones can be clearly demonstrated, according to Smith, with the help of one particular type of Maues's coins in which the distinctively Parthian devices, a 'horse' and a 'bow in case', appear on the obverse and reverse sides respectively.[1]

Vincent Smith's hypothesis based on the above premises is hardly tenable. The statement of Orosius in connection with the history of Parthia ('*Omnes praeterea gentes quae inter Hydaspen fluvium et Indum jacent subegit*,' i.e. he, Mithridates I, 'conquered all the peoples between the rivers Hydaspes and the Indus') would not justify us in identifying the Hydaspes of the passage with the Indian Hydaspes, i.e. the Jhelum. It would rather indicate that the Indus was the eastern limit of the Parthian expansion under Mithridates I, and the Hydaspes in this context should be sought for somewhere in the western parts of the Parthian empire. Rapson refuted Smith's main hypothesis in this manner and suggested that the river was identical with the Medus Hydaspes of Virgil (*Georgics*, iv, 211). He observed that 'the theory of a conquest of North-Western India by Mithridates I would seem to be founded on a misunderstanding of the historian's statement.' The undoubted Parthian features of Vonones and Maues, on the other hand, were explained by him as due to the long contact of the Śakas with the Parthians in eastern Iran. Wroth, and after him Rapson, were of the opinion that the distinctive title *Basileōs Basileōn* was first introduced in the Parthian coinage by Mithridates II, in whose reign,

[1] Smith elaborated his views in *ZDMG.* 1906, pp. 49-72. In his *CCIM.* I, he describes the dynasties of Maues and Vonones as Indo-Parthian. It should be noted that in *ZDMG.* 1907, he distinctly asserts that 'Śakas did invade the Panjab in the second century B.C.' and that 'Śaka chiefs ruled in the Panjab until the Yüe-chi conquest in the latter part of the second century A.D.' 'The Śakas would then naturally have become merged in the cognate Yüe-chi, known to Sanskrit literature as Tushāras, Tukhāras, Turushkas.' But still he holds, 'the evidence, as it now stands, does not warrant us in affirming as a fact that Maues and his successors were Śakas' (p. 421).

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according to Rapson, 'the struggle between the kings of Parthia and their Scythian subjects in eastern Iran was brought to a close and the suzerainty over the ruling powers of Seistan and Kandahar confirmed.'[1] The names of Maues and his successors, as well as those of the associates of Vonones, appear to contain definite Śaka elements. Arrian names an Asiatic Śaka ruler as Mauakes, while Meuakos and Moaphernes are the names of European Scythians; the names of Azes, Azilises, Spalirises and others contain either Scythic or Iranian elements.[2] Sten Konow while accepting the Scythian origin of Maues would, however, describe the Azes group of kings as Parthian, and regard Vonones as identical with Vonones I of the imperial Parthian dynasty, ruling in the Drangiana and Arachosia regions with the imperial titles some time before 10 B.C., about two decades before his short-lived career as the Parthian emperor.[3] But this view of Konow, also, can hardly be accepted, for it rests on data which are very largely hypothetical. Nothing can be said with absolute certainty about the career and character of these early foreign chiefs of India, mainly for the reason that whatever we know about them is gleaned from archaeological data unsupported by any literary evidence of an explicit and illuminating kind. In their rule over the middle and lower Indus valley and Drangiana and Arachosia, the Parthians (Pahlavas) and the Scythians (Śakas) were so closely associated, according to Rapson, that 'it is not always possible to distinguish between them', the same family including both Pahlava and Śaka names. Rapson observes further, 'it is little more than a convenient nomenclature which labels the princes of the family of Maues, who invaded the lower Indus valley, as Śakas, and those of the family of Vonones, who ruled over Drangiana and Arachosia as Pahlavas.'[4] F. W. Thomas also, after a close linguistic survey of the various names of the early foreign chiefs, both royal and satrapal, known from their coins and inscriptions came some time before Rapson to an almost identical conclusion. The close association of the Śakas and Pahlavas in this period is demonstrable from various sources, and it is highly probable that the tribes from eastern Iran invading India contained diverse elements. There is no clear mention of any regular Parthian invasion of India; on the other hand, there were inroads by adventurers of various origin such as Maues or Vonones and his associates.[5]

MAUES-MOGA

Maues, one of these successful adventurers, is known only from a series of coins; and probably also from inscriptions, one of which contains a date. The dated copper-plate inscription discovered in Taxila records the establishment of the relics of Buddha in a *stūpa* and the building of

[1] E. J. Rapson, *CHI.* I pp. 567-8; *Indian Coins*, p. 8, sec. 30.
[2] *JRAS.* 1906, pp. 208 ff.; F. W. Thomas has made a careful analysis of these names.
[3] *CII.* II (i) pp. xl-xliii; *JIH.* 1933, p. 20
[4] *CHI.* I p. 568
[5] *JRAS.* 1906, p. 215

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a *saṅghārāma* by one Patika, the son of Liaka Kusuluka, in the 78th. year, during the reign of the great king, the great Moga. Another extremely fragmentary Kharoshṭhī record recovered from a well in a small village called Maira in the Salt Range, Jhelum district, may contain the word *moasa* ('of Moa or Moga') and the date 58; but on account of its most indifferent state of preservation, the reading of the name and date is extremely uncertain. The great king Moga of the Taxila copper-plate has been identified almost unanimously by scholars with Maues-Moga of the coins, though Fleet would differentiate between the two. The date 78 in the Taxila plate, like most, if not all, other dates in Indian inscriptions of the pre-Gupta and even early Gupta periods, is not specified according to any known era, and this is why there is so much difference of opinion with regard to the time of Maues. Fleet was of opinion that the year 78 was referable to the Vikrama Saṁvat whose first year fell in 58-57 B.C. Thus, according to his view, Moga flourished in A.D. 20-21, and he would under no circumstances place Maues of the coins at such a late period. Numismatic evidence is clear that Maues must have flourished much earlier. Some of his round copper coins bear on the obverse an elephant's head with a bell round its neck to the right inside an astragalus border and a caduceus with a monogram on the left field and the legend *Basileōs Mauou.* This is almost an exact replica of the 'elephant's head : caduceus' copper-type coins of Demetrius, the monogram and the legend being necessarily different. Moreover, Maues directly imitates some of the coin types of other early Indo-Greek kings like Apollodotus and Antimachus, and some of these evidently earlier issues of his bear the above-mentioned Greek legend with its Kharoshṭhī equivalent *maharajasa Moasa.* These coins were regarded as not far removed in date from their prototypes, and at first their issue was placed as early as 120 to 95 B.C. This was the main reason for Fleet's difficulty in identifying Maues with Moga, and he did not try to obviate it by supposing that the Taxila plate was not dated in the reign of the great king Moga, but in the year 78 of an era which was inaugurated during his time.[1]

Those who would identify the two, would not place Maues as early as the last quarter of the second century or the first decade of the first century B.C. The era of the Moga copper-plate had been the subject of a great controversy among Indologists, some describing it as of Parthian and others as of Scythic origin, a third group referring it to the Vikrama Saṁvat of 58-57 B.C. The last view is untenable if Moga and Maues are to be considered identical, for that would place the great king in A.D. 20, when another great king, Gondophares, was flourishing in the same region. Even if we differentiate between Moga and Maues as Fleet has done, there will be no justification for assuming the simultaneous existence of two great kings in Taxila-Gandhāra in the first quarter of the first century A.D. Rapson would place the beginning of the era

[1] *JRAS.* 1914, pp. 994 ff.; Fleet has also emphasised his view in several other papers.

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c. 150 B.C. which 'may possibly mark the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistan after its incorporation into the empire by Mithridates I.' The Śakas may have brought this era into India from Seistan and the name of the month (Panemos) in the inscription being Parthian, Rapson infers that the era itself is probably of Parthian origin. According to this assumption, Moga-Maues was ruling in *c.* 72 B.C., a date which would very well suit the chronological scheme of the Śaka-Pahlava period of Indian history usually advocated by scholars. Both Marshall and Konow, who at first held views different from that of Rapson, later became advocates of this theory, especially since the discovery of such dated Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions as the Taxila silver scroll and the Kalawan copper-plate. Sten Konow in his elaborate but now partly discarded chronological scheme, adopted in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, surmised the institution of an era by the Śakas of Seistan to celebrate their independence shortly after the death of Mithridates II in 88 B.C. He described this era as the Old Śaka era with reference to the later one which undoubtedly commenced from A.D. 78. He fixed the initial year some time in 84 B.C., and dated the Moga plate and many other Kharoṣṭhī records on this basis. The Kalawan copper-plate, however, largely upset his chronology and therefore he accepted Rapson's dating of Maues-Moga.[1] Reference may be made here to a few other suggestions about the date of the Śaka chief, all of them hypothetical. K. P. Jayaswal, assuming an era commencing *c.* 120 B.C. to mark the revolt of the Śakas of Seistan against Mithridates II, and referring 78 of the Taxila plate to it, would place Moga-Maues in *c.* 42 B.C. Herzfeld carefully considered the various theories and showed them to rest on no firm ground; whereupon he added one himself. Computing the probable period of the coins issued by the rulers intervening between Maues and Gondophares, and assuming the identity of Maues and Moga, he dated the copper-plate about 32 B.C., the year mentioned there being thus referable to an era starting from 110 B.C. H. C. Raychaudhuri argued the impossibility of placing Maues (Moga) anywhere between 129 and 33 B.C. and suggested that he ruled over the Panjab and Gandhāra after 33 B.C., but before the second half of the first century A.D. Raychaudhuri's statement, however, that the era to which the year 187 of the Khalatse inscription of Uvima Kavṭhisa (?), the year 191 of the Taxila silver vase inscription of Jihoṇika, and presumably the 78 of Moga's copper-plate all refer, began much earlier than 58 B.C., shows that he himself is not sure about his own dating of the earliest of the Śaka kings of the Panjab; but he has rightly pointed out the untenability of the view suggested by one or two scholars that Maues flourished not only after Azes I, but also after Azes II, both of whom, as will be shown presently, came after Maues.[2] Tarn

[1] *JRAS.* 1932, pp. 949 ff.; *EI.* XXI pp. 251 ff. In his *Corpus*, II(i), he dated Maues-Moga in 6 B.C. (84-78).

[2] For Jayaswal's view, cf. *JBORS.* XVI, 1930, pp. 231 & 240; for Herzfeld's theory, cf. *Śakastān*, pp. 98-100; for H. C. Raychaudhuri's opinion cf. *PHAI.*[4] pp. 364-5

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accepted the identity of Maues with Moga on the ground that the full form of the name Maues sounded Mauakes to Greek and Mu-ku'a to Chinese ears, and this would be transliterated in north-western Prākṛit as Moga. He was further of the opinion that the era of the copper-plate must be a Śaka one which began in *c.* 155 B.C. to commemorate the independent settlement of some Śaka allies or mercenaries of Mithridates I in Śakastān (Seistan—ancient Drangiana), one of the richest and safest districts of the Parthian empire. The era might not have been instituted by the intruding Śakas themselves, but might have been founded by their descendants.[1] Whatever may be the force of Tarn's reasoning, his hypothetical era falls very close to Rapson's, and the year 77 B.C. comes within the reign of Maues-Moga. Lohuizen-de Leeuw accepts the identity of Maues and Moga, and places him about this period; but she is definitely of opinion that Maues belonged to the Parthian stock.[2]

COINS OF MAUES

The above discussion proceeding on the basis of the only available epigraphic evidence about the time of Moga or Maues, and assuming the two to be identical, shows how the date on the inscription has complicated the issue. A few other Śaka-Pahlava and one or two indeterminate Kushāṇa inscriptions bearing dates, as will be shown presently, have added to the difficulty of outlining the chronology of this period. We shall see now how far the coins of Maues as well as other numismatic data help us. Maues issued a large number of coins mostly in copper, and a few in silver. Of the different varieties of his coins, those that have the closest affinities to the earlier Indo-Greek rulers were presumably his first issues. On some of his copper coins, one type of which bears the Greek legend only on the reverse, there being no corresponding Kharoshṭhī legend, the obverse bears *Basileōs Mauou* and the reverse *maharajasa Moasa*. It should be noted that the attributive epithet of Maues on these coins and of Moga on the copper-plate are not exactly similar; Moga is described in the inscription as *maharaya mahaṁta*, 'the great king, the great,' which is nothing but an exact Prākṛit translation of the title *Basileōs Megalou* adopted by several Indo-Greek kings beginning from Eucratides. But in all the other bilingual coin-types of Maues, two only of which are in silver, the legend on the obverse is *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou Mauou*, its corresponding Prākṛit version in Kharoshṭhī being *rajatirajasa mahatasa Moasa*. Such fuller and more high-sounding legends are invariably to be found on the coins of the other Śaka rulers of the Panjab—Azes I, Azilises and Azes II, all of which are bilingual; the attributive epithets in Greek on the obverse are the same, but there is a slight change of the Prākṛit equivalent on the reverse,

[1] W.W. Tarn, op. cit., pp. 496, 499-500

[2] J. E. Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The 'Scythian' Period*, pp. 337 ff. She reiterates mostly the arguments of some of the previous exponents of this view, such as V. A. Smith and others.

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maharajasa rajarajasa being substituted for *rajatirajasa*. An intermediate form of these two Prākṛit legends (*maharajasa rajatirajasa*), as has already been shown (p. 164), occurs for the first time on some rare square copper coins of Eucratides. Chronologically speaking the types of coins with a legend of lesser magnitude should be regarded as the earlier issues of Maues; this is supported by the fact that their devices closely resemble those adopted by earlier Indo-Greek rulers.

Reference has already been made to the 'elephant's head : caduceus' device, common only to Demetrius and Maues. Another coin-type, presumably earlier, bears on its obverse a standing Apollo with bow and arrow in his hands and on the reverse a 'tripod-lebes' within dotted border, a type which is first introduced by Apollodotus I, and continued later by Strato I. It should be noted that these coins of Maues stamped with less high-sounding legends in Greek and Prākṛit are square copper pieces of smaller denomination, and their weight does not usually exceed 35 grains; but similar coins of Maues, heavier in weight and larger in size with the fuller bilingual legends noted above, are also not unknown, one such being in the collection of the British Museum. R. B. Whitehead has rightly observed that this last is imitated from one type of square copper coins of Strato I.

The numismatic data discussed above, taken collectively, leave little doubt about two things: first, Maues was the earliest among the known Śaka rulers of the Panjab, and secondly, though his date was fairly early, he could never have flourished as early as 120-95 B.C. The first point is further corroborated by the fact that Azes I and Azilises not only continue most of the coin-types issued by Maues, but borrow many others from the issues of the Indo-Greek rulers not copied by Maues. This also bears out the usually accepted view of the gradual expansion of the Śaka power in the north and north-west. Maues must have come after Strato I, and thus a date in the second quarter of the first century B.C. will not be improbable for him. Taking the first year of Gondophares, who succeeded Azes II, to be A.D. 19 as will be shown presently, we have to fit in the fairly long-reign periods of Azes I, Azilises and Azes II between that date and the last year of Maues. If we assume a period of seventy years to cover the collective reign of the three rulers, the last year of Maues would fall roughly at about 51 B.C. and so a date in the early seventies of the first century B.C. will not be probably far off the mark. Thus we see that numismatic considerations also seem to support the chronology adopted by Rapson on the basis of the Taxila copper-plate, in spite of the objections that have been raised against his hypothetical Parthian era of 150 B.C.

OTHER COIN-TYPES OF MAUES

Maues's coins as well as the Taxila copper-plate clearly prove that his rule extended on both sides of the Indus, from Pushkalāvatī on the west

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to Takshaśilā on the east, the great plain of Chach, ancient Chukhsa, being then governed by Liaka Kusuluka, a satrap subordinate to him. His dominion may have extended a little further in the east and the south, but there is no clear evidence of this. That he held sway also over Kapiśa to the north of Gandhāra is borne out by his issue of the local coin-type with some re-orientation. It has already been shown (p. 179) that Maues's immediate predecessor in Kapiśa may have been the obscure Indo-Greek king Telephus between whom and Maues a close bond in time and place was first suggested by R. B. Whitehead, the territory associated with both, according to him, being Taxila and Kapiśa.[1] A large square copper coin in the collection of the British Museum shows the Kapiśa device (enthroned Zeus Nicephorus, the forepart of an elephant with upraised trunk before him) on the obverse, but Heracles with his attributes crowning himself on the reverse.[2] Similar copper pieces having an enthroned Zeus holding a sceptre in the left hand and the right hand resting on a thunderbolt personified on the obverse, and Tyche (?) on the reverse may also be localised at Kapiśa. A unique, round, silver piece of smaller denomination (36 grs.) in the Panjab Museum may also belong to the same region; the obverse shows an enthroned deity with a long sceptre in the left hand and an outstretched right arm (probably Indra of Śvetavatālaya near Kapiśa), and a standing Zeus Nicephorus on the reverse. The 'Artemis and bull' round copper coins of Maues may have been issued at Pushkalāvatī, the old capital of Gandhāra. They are modified adaptations of similar coins of Artemidorus, which, however, are square. All these coins, possibly to be localised in Kapiśa and Gandhāra, bear Maues's usual high-sounding Greek and Prākṛit legends. The local character of many of the early foreign coin-types was emphasised by Rapson, and reference has already been made to his findings (p. 169). As these localities were being gradually absorbed into the empire of the Indo-Scythians, the types formerly used by the preceding Indo-Bactrian Greek kings were copied with some slight modifications by the new rulers.

The obverse sides of Maues's coins do not usually bear his figure but instead a large number of deities, many of which are no doubt Greek, but some no less certainly non-Greek in character. Among the latter can be recognised one or two Indian deities such as Śiva, undoubtedly, and Buddha, possibly.[3] The few silver and copper coin-types of Maues which bear his figure either on horseback or riding in a two-horsed chariot with the driver in front, are interesting. The British Museum possesses 'the biga type of silver coins known in the didrachm, hemidrachm, and square hemidrachm sizes' (Whitehead); they are thus important for more than one reason (the square hemidrachm is not usually met with in the Indo-Scythic series). They are bilingual with the fuller legends and have on the obverse 'King radiate, standing in biga (a chariot drawn by two

[1] *NC.* 1923, pp. 337-8
[2] R. B. Whitehead now thinks that the city deity of Kapiśa was not Zeus, but a goddess ; *NC.* 1947, pp. 29-31
[3] *Contra* Leeuw, op. cit., pp. 97-8

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horses) to right, holding spear in right hand, with charioteer in front' and on the reverse, 'enthroned Zeus to front, right arm extended to right, holding an indistinct object (*hasta pura* according to Cunningham) in his left hand.' Though the reverse device is undoubtedly borrowed from Indo-Greek money, the obverse shows great originality, for no Indo-Greek king appears to have adopted any such device. The ephemeral Bactrian king Plato shows on the reverse of his tetradrachms a deity, most probably Helios, driving in a quadriga i.e. a four-horsed chariot, but the device can in no circumstances be taken as the prototype of this particular kind of obverse. This unique type of Maues's silver coins may be localised also at Kapiśa on the basis of its reverse. Several other coin-types of Maues, having distinct associations with some previous Indo-Greek ones, very often appear in a new setting. Thus, the Poseidon device on the obverse of certain square copper coins of Maues is not an exact copy of the same appearing on the reverse of the coins of Antimachus Theos; in the former the deity is shown either trampling on a river god or hurling a thunderbolt at him, the corresponding reverse design being a Maenad (or a Bacchante) within two vine stems. Now this is undoubtedly a re-orientation of an old device, and it is not at all certain whether it points to a successful passage of the Indus by Maues.[1] In any case we find an exact copy of its obverse and reverse in one type of the numerous coins of his successor Azes I; 'coins of this type of Azes I seem commonly to have been re-struck on suitable issues of the Greek kings.'[2] Two things are clear from the extant coins of Maues : first, that Maues did not re-strike any of the coins of the Indo-Greek kings, some of whom were undoubtedly his contemporaries; and, second, that he was never, like many Scythian and Parthian rulers of India, associated with any other person during his fairly long reign. Another interesting feature to be noted about his coin-types is 'the wealth of most remarkable and original barbaro-Hellenic figures.' This was pointed out long ago by Gardner who observed that 'by some means or other Maues and his race secured the services of the artists who had been instructed by Greeks, but were not restricted by Greek traditions.'[3] We have a rough idea about the length of his rule from the large number of coins with some borrowed and many original devices that

[1] This view was first suggested by Raoul Rochette and endorsed by Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, Part II. 3-4 (Reprinted from the *NC.* XIII series, pp. 104-5). Tarn finds in this device a definite allusion to Maues's decisive victory over a Greek fleet on the Indus, 'which gave him control of the river and opened the way to Taxila'; op. cit., p. 322

[2] R. B. Whitehead, *PMC.* I p. 122, *n.* 1; the Panjab Museum, Lahore, has two such types re-struck on coins of Apollodotus and Hippostratus, and the British Museum, one such re-struck on a large Hippostratus copper coin.

[3] P. Gardner, *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. lviii; besides the well-known Greek types of Zeus, Poseidon, Nike, Heracles etc. with some re-orientation of others such as 'a figure resembling Tyche holding in one hand a patera, in the other a wheel', 'a radiate Artemis, with veil flying round her head', 'a draped goddess, bearing a crescent on her head and standing between two stars' etc. occur on his coins.

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were struck by him. It is highly probable that he enjoyed a pretty long reign which may have ended by the middle of the first century B.C., or a few years earlier. But nothing can be said with certainty, and the suggestion now hazarded about the period of Maues is, at best, a hypothesis which will fit in well with the chronology of the Śaka-Pahlava kings adopted here.

VONONES AND HIS ASSOCIATES

There are clear numismatic data which prove that one Azes succeeded Maues in the Panjab, Gandhāra, and Kapiśa regions. But before we take up the history of the immediate successors of Maues we must say something about the other branch of foreign rulers which was almost simultaneously holding sway in Arachosia and other regions on the western border of India. The first member of this line was Vonones about whose exact nationality there is very little doubt. His name is undoubtedly Parthian and the names of his associates such as Spalahora (Greek Spalyris), Spalagadama, and Spalirisha (Greek Spalirises), are pan-Iranic according to Thomas[1], and Scythian according to Rapson.[2] On account of the predominance of the Parthian and Iranic elements in it, the dynasty has usually been described as Parthian or Pahlava, and it is most probable that one of its later members (perhaps Spalirises) was responsible for the final destruction of the last remnant of the Bactrian Greek power in the Kabul valley. Some of the classical writers, Justin for instance, clearly say that it was the Parthians (the old Chinese name for their realm is An-si) who destroyed the Greek sovereignty in the Kabul and Herat region, and the discovery there of coins of some of Vonones's associates along with those of the local Indo-Greek rulers appears to bear out this statement. Vonones's coins are comparatively few in number and in each of them he associates with himself one or other of his relations. Only two types of round silver coins and two types of square copper coins of this king are known, in which joint but at the same time subordinate rulers are his brother Spalahores and his nephew Spalagadames, son of Śpalahores. The Greek legend on the obverse of all of them is *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou Onōnou*, the Prākṛit reverse in one set being *maharajabhrata dhramikasa Śpalahorasa* and in the other, *Śpalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Śpalagadamasa*. The devices on the silver coins are 'king on horseback to right with couched spear' on the obverse and 'Zeus standing with long sceptre and thunderbolt' on the reverse; while those of the copper coins are 'standing Heracles crowning himself' on the obverse and 'Pallas Athene standing to left with shield and spear' on the reverse. They are the original devices of Heliocles and his successors on the one hand, and of Demetrius, Apollodotus and their followers on the other, and were presumably being used by the previous Indo-Greek rulers in the Arachosian

[1] *JRAS.* 1906, p. 209 [2] *CHI.* 1 p. 574

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region. Numismatic evidence proves that the rule of Vonones could not have lasted long. Most probably it began some time after the last year of Mithridates II (88 B.C.), otherwise he could not have adopted the high-sounding titles in his coins issued in the borders of eastern Iran, for these were used by Mithridates himself during his lifetime. It cannot be satisfactorily determined at present at what precise date after Mithridates II he began to rule. The use of the round form of omicron on his coin legends may suggest a date for him earlier than *c.* 40 B.C.; Rapson first pointed out that the square form of the letter appeared side by side with the round form on the coins of the later Yavana kings such as Hippostratus, and on those of Azes I. He also noted the change in the form of this letter from round to square in the coins of the Parthian king Orodes I (57-38 B.C.); he thinks, however, that this palaeographical test, though possibly applicable in some cases, cannot be applied justifiably in the case of Vonones and his associates, 'since the square form seems not to occur in connection with these types until much later.'[1] Nevertheless, we find the square form on the joint copper coins of Spalyris (Śpalahora) and Spalagadames, and these must have been issued not much later than, and probably immediately after, Vonones's date. The coins of Spalirises, however, give us some tangible clue about the date of Vonones, if the king alluded to in the legends thereon be none other than the latter. These round silver coins have the riding king with the Greek legend *Basileōs Adelphou Spalirisou* on the obverse, and standing Zeus with the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajabhrata dhramiasa Śpaliriśasa* on the reverse. Spalirises was probably one brother of Vonones, and Spalahora, the father of Spalagadama, another brother. Reference to the joint issues of Spalyris and Spalagadames has just been made; they bear on the obverse the figure of the king on horseback in square frame with the legend *Spalyrios Dikaiou Adelphou tou Basileōs*, and Heracles seated on rock with Kharoshṭhī legend *Śpalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Śpalagadamasa* on the reverse. It is to be presumed that 'Spalyris' ('Spalyrios' is its genitive) is the Greek form of the Scythian-Persian name Spalahores, and that the person bearing this name ruled with his son Spalagadames as the viceregal ruler, for a short time only, since only one type of his square and round copper coins is known, in the interval between Vonones and Spalirises. Spalirises issued four other types of coins, two alone and two others jointly with a certain Azes. Of the coins issued by him as sole king, a few are square copper ones with an obverse device of some originality, showing in a square frame a king walking to the left with a battle-axe and a bow. The imperfectly preserved legend is probably to be read as *Basileōn Basileōs Megalou Spalirisou*; the reverse shows an enthroned Zeus and the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa mahatakasa Śpaliriśasa*. The other coin-type issued solely by him consists of a few silver pieces almost similar to the silver coins issued jointly by him

[1] Ibid. p. 573

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and Azes, with the difference that the reverse legend is *maharajasa mahaṁtakasa Śpaliriśasa.* Here the king's name in Greek begins with a Doric *sigma.*[1] The next two types, one silver and one copper, are the joint issues of Spalirises and Azes, the silver type having the usual 'riding king and standing Zeus's devices, while the copper one has the same obverse, its reverse showing the original device, 'a strung bow' with an arrow to left and a discus to right.' The legends in these joint issues are *Basileōs Megalou Spalirisou* and *maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa.* The use of the Doric sigma in the initial letter alone of the king's name at such an early date as well as the apparently equal status of the joint rulers, as proved by the legends, is of special interest in these coins. The coins also forcibly suggest that Spalirises was the last member of the Vonones group, and that it was in his time that the houses of Vonones and Maues (on the assumption that Azes belonged to the Maues group) were united. If we identify this Azes with Azes I who succeeded Maues, then Vonones can be regarded as a younger contemporary of Maues, and thus a date for him near about the sixties of the first century B.C. will probably be near the mark. The direct connection between Vonones and Azes I which was presumed at first on the basis of certain coins supposed to have been issued jointly by the two has no basis in fact, for it was pointed out correctly that these so-called joint coins of Vonones and Azes were really the issues of Maues.[2]

This brief summary of the coin-types of Vonones and his associates does not afford us any clear idea about the period during which they were ruling on the borders of India. All we get is the bare skeleton of a history, which it may be useful to sum up here again. Vonones, probably a younger contemporary of Maues, was ruling in the eastern Iran border country and Arachosia in association with his brother Spalahores and his nephew Spalagadames. His rule was presumably of short duration, and was followed for a brief spell by the joint rule of Spalyris (the Greek form of Śpalahora) and his son Spalagadames. Then began the reign of Spalirises, first as the brother of the king (most probably Vonones), then later as the sole ruler, and lastly conjointly with one Azes, whose relationship with Spalirises is nowhere even hinted at. It is likely that, during the lifetime of Spalirises a substantial extension of this foreign power took place, spreading its sway from Arachosia to the Paropamisadae. This ruler may be regarded as the last of his line, for there is no direct evidence to suggest that his co-ruler Azes was his son.[3] Whatever other conclusions are made

[1] *NC.* 1923, p. 341 pl 1. xvii 14

[2] Cunningham, op. cit., pp. 5, 36, pl. iv, 8. Thomas's description of this so called joint type in *JASB.* 1858, p. 252 and in his edition of Prinsep's *Ant.* II p. 203 was accepted by Cunningham; but Rapson and Smith correctly identified it as one of Maues's coins (*CCIM* I p. 39, n. l)

[3] Rapson inadvertently suggested that this Azes was Azes II, the son of Spalirises (*CHI.* I p. 573); but in p. 572, he says that Azes II was the son of Azilises. Tarn says that he was Azes I and Spalirises's son, who came to conquer the Panjab and Gandhāra some time after the death of Maues; op. cit., pp. 348-9

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about this group of kings, (and several have been drawn by scholars from numismatic no less than literary data of an indirect character), they are all highly problematical. One such theory which has been worked out elaborately by Tarn may here be briefly mentioned. The *Ts'ien-Han-shu* tells us that Wou-ti-lao, king of Ki-pin, killed certain Chinese envoys; after his death his son sent an envoy to China with presents and Wen-chung, the Chinese general at the Barrier (the *limes* west of Kan-su), was instructed by the Chinese emperor to escort the envoy back to his home. Wou-ti-lao's son conspired to kill Wen-chung, but the latter got scent of the plot and allying himself with Yin-mo-fu, son of the king of Yung-kiu, attacked Ki-pin and killed the conspirator. Yin-mo-fu was then installed by Wen-chung king of Ki-pin as a vassal of China. Afterwards, in the reign of the Chinese emperor Yuan-ti (48-33 B.C.), Yin-mo-fu killed the escort of a Chinese envoy and sent his apologies to the emperor who felt little concern for such a distant country. Von Gutschmid suggested long ago that the Yin-mo-fu of this story was Hermaeus, Wou-ti-lao a Śaka king, Ki-pin, Kophene (Kabul), and Yung-kiu, Yonaki. According to Wylie, and after him Tarn, Wou-ti-lao, could very well be the Chinese transliteration of the Greek epithet *Adelphou* on the coins of Spalyris. Tarn deduces the following facts principally from the above data: Wou-ti-lao was Spalyris, the Śaka governor of Ki-pin (Kabul) and of as much of the Paropamisadae as the Śakas of Kabul held; his son and successor was Spalagadames. Yin-mo-fu, son of the king of Yung-kiu (Inonake, Greek) was Hermaeus, son of Amyntas, king of (Indian) Alexandria; Hermaeus was installed as a vassal king of Kabul by Chinese help after it was conquered from Spalagadames by Wen-chung. The Chinese general had no force of his own, but the whole prestige of the Han emperors was behind him; he might have got some help from one of the Yüe-chi princes who could be none other than the Kushān chief Miaos, ruling between Chitral and Panjshir. We are not here concerned with Tarn's further deductions from these and other data about Hermaeus, Miaos (or Heraos), Kujula Kadphises and others. His conclusions about Spalyris-Śpalahora and Śpalagadama, however, may appear plausible to some; but they can on no account be regarded as ascertained historical truth.[1]

THE AZES GROUP OF KINGS

The exact nature of the connection between Azes, the first member of this group of kings, with either of his two predecessors, Maues and Spalirises, cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be determined with certainty. Was this Azes, sometime co-ruler of equal importance with Spalirises, Azes I or Azes II? What is the evidence to prove that there were two rulers of this name? Is there anything on record to show in what relation Azes I, Azilises, and Azes II stood to one another? What was

[1] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 339-41

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the chronological position of this group of kings ? These questions have long engaged the attention of Indologists and as in Maues's case, as well as that of the Vonones group of kings, there is no unanimity in the opinions of scholars. The coins are almost our only guide, and they are clear on one point only, that the Azes group of kings came after Maues and Spalirises. An unusually large number of coins with a multiple variety of types has been discovered, bearing the name of Azes-Aya; and the number and variety of coins issued by Azilises-Ayilisha, though not so plentiful, is also considerable.

Certain types of coins issued in the joint names of Azes-Ayilisha and Azilises-Aya led scholars like V. A. Smith and D. R. Bhandarkar to suggest that there were two Azeses, Azes I and Azes II, the latter succeeding Azilises, who came after Azes I. A few silver coins with the usual 'king on horseback' device on one side and 'a goddess with palm' on the other have the legends *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou Azou* on the obverse and *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa* on the reverse. Several other silver didrachms and hemidrachms and a few copper pieces, with such devices as, 'king on horseback' or 'Heracles with wreath, club and lion's skin' on the obverse, and 'Athene Promachus' or 'Zeus Nikephorus' or 'horse' on the reverse bear almost similar legends with this noteworthy difference that, *Azilisou* replaces *Azou* and *Ayasa*, *Ayilishasa*. Smith and Bhandarkar postulate that these two joint types, when considered together, prove that Azilises, before his accession to independent power, was the subordinate viceregal colleague of an Azes, and that an Azes, similarly, was subsequently the subordinate viceregal colleague of Azilises. The two princes named Azes cannot be identical, and they must be distinguished as Azes I and Azes II. A careful scrutiny of the considerable number of coins bearing the name of Azes alone appears to support the suggestion; they can be divided into two groups, one well executed with good Greek legends, the other semi-barbarous, with debased and often corrupt Greek inscriptions. The finer coins were attributed by Smith and others to Azes I, the cruder ones to Azes II. This view, though usually accepted by scholars, has had its critics in Whitehead and Konow; the former thought that the evidence cited above lacked sufficient weight to justify such an important conclusion. Whitehead observed that the coins being our only source of information, the priority of Azilises to Azes can be as well presumed on the basis of some finer types of Azilises's silver coins as the usually accepted view that Azes came before Azilises, and following the line of Smith's argument one could as well duplicate Azilises, as Azes. But Whitehead did not suggest that there were two kings with the name of Azilises in place of two Azeses; he explained away the differences in type and style observed in the abundant coins of Azes as due to their being issued in various parts of a large empire during his long reign. Nor did he offer any explanation of the joint issues of Azes-Azilises on the one hand and of Azilises-Azes on the other, but merely referred to the theory of G. Hoffmann, propounded as early as 1880,

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which he described as erroneous, that the names of the issuers are the same, one being a contraction of the other.[1] F. W. Thomas also explained the name Azes as a shorter form of Azilises.[2] Sten Konow at first agreed with Whitehead's criticism, remarking that Thomas's explanation 'leads us to the conclusion that Azes and Azilises were one and the same person, that we have neither two kings of the name Azes nor two kings of the name Azilises, a conclusion which seems to follow necessarily from a consideration of the coin legends discussed by Smith . . . the use of the imperial title on both sides of the so-called joint issues raises a strong presumption in favour of identifying the two names.' But Konow gave up this opinion afterwards and observed that 'the coins bearing the names Azes and Azilises are so numerous, and seem to cover such a long period, that most scholars think that there were more than one ruler of that name, and I now accept that conclusion.'[3] He does not explicitly tell us in his last statement whether he endorses the generally accepted view that there were two Azeses, but archaeological evidence, both stratigraphic and palaeographic, seems to support the theory of Smith and Bhandarkar. Marshall pointed out that in the course of his excavations on the Sirkap site at Taxila, the coins usually attributed by numismatists to Azes I on the ground of their better style and execution were unearthed, almost invariably, from strata lower than those ascribed to Azes II. N. G. Majumdar also showed that the former group of coins had an earlier variety of dental *s* in the reverse Kharoṣṭhī legend, than the type of the same in the latter group where the letter had the much later form adopted in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kushān period.[4] Other considerations also appear to prove that there was a second Azes who came after Azilises; for one Aśpavarma, son of Indravarma, about whom more will be said presently, served first as the strategos under Azes II, and transferred his allegiance later to Gondophares. Azes, the overlord of Aśpavarma, could hardly have been Azes I who preceded Azilises. The existence of two rulers Azes I and Azes II being thus almost certain, the question may be asked which of them was the co-ruler of Spalirises ? Rapson was labouring under some confusion when he suggested that Azes, the associate ruler of Spalirises, was his son Azes II, for while discussing the joint issues of Azes-Ayilisha and of Azilises-Aya respectively, he had already referred to the inference that 'Azilises was associated with two kings named Azes—possibly with his father and predecessor at the beginning of his reign and

[1] For the view of Smith and Bhandarkar, cf. *ZDMG.* 1906, pp. 62 ff. and *JBBRAS.* 1903, 'A Kushān Stone Inscription'. For Whitehead's criticism of the above, cf. *PMC.* I p. 93, and criticism of Hoffman's suggestion, ibid. p. 132, *n.* 1. But Hoffman's view was supported by Herzfeld, and has recently found an advocate in Lohuizen-de Leeuw, op. cit., p. 348

[2] *JRAS.* 1906, p. 208. Here Thomas follows the authority of Justi.

[3] For Konow's earlier view, cf. *CII.* II (i) Intro. p. xl; for his subsequent opinion, cf. *JIH.* XII, 1933, p. 24. Lohuizen-de Leeuw has not noticed that Konow partly withdrew his support of Hoffman and Thomas's view afterwards.

[4] For Marshall's and Majumdar's observations, cf. *JRAS.* 1914, p. 979, and *ASIAR.* 1928-9, pp. 169-74

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with his son and successor at its close;"[1] but as has already been observed, it is highly probable, nay almost certain, that Spalirises's co-ruler was Azes I and not Azes II.

The relationship between Maues and Azes I cannot be determined satisfactorily at present. It has been suggested by some that the two belonged to different racial stocks. Konow has consistently held the view that Maues was a Śaka and Azes a Pahlava who succeeded the Śaka king Moga (Maues) in Taxila and was the oldest of the three Pahlava rulers named Azes, Azilises and Gondophares.[2] Tarn is of opinion that Azes I was Spalirises's son, but thinks that these two kings were Śakas by race.[3] Rapson describes Maues, Azes I and Azilises as the first three Śaka kings of India, and this seems to be correct, for the close numismatic affinity between the three places them in one and the same class. It is possible that the last two, if not all the three, were in the same line of descent.[4] A careful consideration of the numerous varieties of coins issued by them leaves little doubt that the empire which was founded by the first was being gradually extended by his two successors. Under Azes II, who might have been the son of Azilises, the empire seems to have fallen on evil days, and it was in his time that the Parthian chief Gondophares asserted his supremacy in the Panjab, Gandhāra and Kabul regions.

There is a wide difference of opinion among scholars about the exact date of Azes I. If the period assigned here to Maues-Moga on the basis of numismatic as well as epigraphic data be correct, then his successor would have flourished very near the middle of the first century B.C. The restrikings of coins as well as the use of the same monograms on them show that Azes I and Hippostratus, one of the later Indo-Greek kings, were contemporaries, and Hippostratus's date probably falls about the same time. The second Shahdaur inscription of Śivarakshita possibly contains the name of Azes in its first line which may also contain a date; but it is so damaged that nothing certain can be inferred from it. Two other inscriptions, a copper-plate and a silver scroll of a much later period, the former found at Kalawan near Taxila and the latter in Taxila itself, have in their first lines the words *samvatsaraye* 134 *ajasa* and *sa* 136 *ayasa* respectively. The Taxila silver scroll was incised during the reign of an unnamed Kushāṇa king whose titles alone are given on it. The *aja* and *aya* of the two records have been taken by Marshall, and after him many other scholars, as different ways of transliterating the foreign name Azes into the north-western Prākṛit. The years of the two inscriptions were assumed by Marshall to refer to an era which was started by Azes I, and he further suggested that the reckoning which dated from 58-57 B.C. and which subsequently came to be variously designated as *Kṛita*, *Mālava* and commonly *Vikrama Samvat*, was really this era of Azes. More about these inscriptions and the dates will be said in the next chapter; but it may be observed here that if Marshall's theory is accepted, then Azes I's date,

[1] *JIH.* XII, 1933, p. 24
[2] *CHI.* I pp. 572-3
[3] Tarn, op. cit., pp. 346, n. 3, 347
[4] Cf. Leeuw, op. cit., pp. 345-6

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perhaps his initial year, falls in 58-57 B.C. The theory has many critics, but though no satisfactory reason has been assigned for associating the *Vikrama Samvat*, one of the earliest and most important eras, still current in India, with Azes, the period assigned by Marshall on this basis to Azes I falls within a decade of what was probably his actual age. Reference has already been made to Aśpavarma, the son of Indravarma, who served as strategos under both Azes II and Gondophares. Gondophares's first regnal year was most probably A.D. 19. Starting backwards from this date, as in the case of dating Maues-Moga, we arrive as before at a period somewhere near the middle of the first century B.C. for the probable time of the rule of Azes I in India.

Some facts about the coins of the Azes group of kings have already been noted in the course of the discussion of the chronology of Maues, Azes I and others. Gardner and Whitehead do not distinguish between the coins of Azes I and Azes II, and all the coins bearing the name of Azes-Aya are placed under one head in their respective catalogues of coins in the British and Panjab Museums. V. A. Smith differentiates between the two groups in the Indian Museum Catalogue of Coins, Vol. I, and those coins which are better in style and execution are ascribed by him to Azes I. This king not only used most of the devices that are found on Maues's coins, but also introduced others some of which were being used by the Indo-Greek rulers. The implication of this has already been noted; but it may be further emphasised here that the adoption of Pallas Athene as the reverse device of a large number of Azes I's coins probably proves the extension of his sway into the eastern Panjab, a region probably not included in the empire of Maues who did not use this device on any of his coins. Azes also introduced a few strikingly novel devices as 'the king riding on a two-humped camel', 'an Indian goddess with the forepart of a lion by her side' (probably Umā), 'Hermes striding to the left' etc. Drachms and tetradrachms (hemidrachms and didrachms according to Gardner) in various states of preservation, and round and square copper coins, were issued by him in large numbers. The forms of the Greek and Kharoshṭhī letters in his coin legends, *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou Azou* and *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa*, are generally early, and square omicrons are seldom used; the dental *s* in the Prākṛit reverse is almost invariably of the closed variety which indicates a comparatively early date. Stylistically the silver coins of Azilises are hardly inferior to those of Azes I, and some individual specimens are even superior. It is noteworthy that tetradrachms of Azilises have several times been found in association with those of Hippostratus. Whitehead refers to one splendid find made in Kashmir (probably Punch) about half a century ago, from which came all the fine tetradrachms of Azilises and Hippostratus described in the Panjab Museum Catalogue of Coins. They were all practically in mint condition. Another find of 32 tetradrachms of Azilises along with seven tetradrachms of Hippostratus was made in Hazara valley, which is ancient Urasā. These discoveries probably prove that

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Azilises's dominions extended far within the borders of Kashmir, if not into the valley proper. Many of the devices previously used by his two predecessors were, as usual, adopted by Azilises. This ruler, however, introduced some strikingly original ones. One of them is the typically Indian deity, Abhisheka-Lakshmī, i.e. 'Lakshmī standing facing on a lotus-flower with twin stalks and leaves, on each leaf stands a small elephant sprinkling water on the head of the deity.' This device is well known in ancient and mediaeval Indian art and was adopted in their coins by several other indigenous and foreign rulers of India from very early times. A few more divinities, of both sexes, appear on Azilises's coins, who are difficult to identify. Some of them seem to be Indian, and their adoption shows a growing contact of the foreign ruler with Indian culture.[1]

The presence of the mounted Dioscuri or standing Dioscuri, the former in association with an enthroned or standing Zeus, on the silver money of Azilises distinctly shows that the territories previously in the possession of the later members of Eucratides's dynasty, e.g. Diomedes, Archebius and others were being annexed to the dominions of this Scythian king. The use of such a device as Hephaestus with sceptre, tongs and hammer in his hands anticipates the occurrence of a similar one on the later issues of Kanishka and Huvishka. The much debased silver and copper coins, some of them being apparently billon (a compound of silver and copper), attributed to Azes II, bear few of the usual designs found on the coins of his predecessors. The comparatively few varieties of this ruler's issues may indicate that his dominion was much restricted. In all probability it was confined to Central and Western Panjab. He was associated in the western areas of his domains with his strategos Aśpavarma; a large number of round billon coins of the 'king on horseback and rudely designed Pallas' type with the usual legend in 'debased and often corrupt' Greek script on the obverse testify to the above fact. It is interesting to note, however, that the reverse Prākṛit legend *Indravarmaputrasa Aśpavarmasa strategasa jayatasa* meaning 'of the victorious strategos Aśpavarma, son of Indravarma', is written in very well-formed but late Kharoshṭhī script. Aśpavarma served as the connecting link between Azes II and Gondophares, and his father Indravarma, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, was probably Itravarma, son of Vijayamitra, a coin of whom has been found.[2] Vijayamitra again may be the same as Vijayamitra *apracha-raja*, a successor of Viyakamitra *apracharaja*, a contemporary vassal ruler of Menander.

ORTHAGNES AND GONDOPHARES. THE INDO-PARTHIAN RULERS

Azes II was undoubtedly succeeded by one Gondophares whose name

[1] Śiva on the coins of Maues, Abhisheka-Lakshmī on those of the Mathurā satraps, Umā on Azes's coins, etc. prove this statement.

[2] *NC.* 1944, pp. 99-104

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indicates that he was Parthian by race. Numismatic evidence further shows that Gondophares with one Guda or Gudana (his brother?) was ruling, probably somewhere in Arachosia, as the viceregal associate of Orthagnes, before he became the Great King. Thus Orthagnes seems to have won part of the possessions of Azes II in the Arachosian region where he issued a few round copper coins, conjointly at first with Gudupahara or Gondophares and Gudana, and then with Gud(r)ana alone. The first series of Orthagnes's money shows the Parthian type of the diademed bust of the king to the left with a partially preserved but corrupt Greek legend *Basileus Basileōn Megas Orthagnēs* on the obverse, and a winged Nike on the reverse holding a palm branch and a wreath with portions of a Prākṛit legend in Kharoshṭhī script, which in full might be *Maharajasa rajatirajasa Gudupharasaguḍaṇa*. Cunningham once read the latter part of the reverse legend as *Gudupharasagarbha*, meaning 'brother of Gondophares', and taking this as an attributive epithet of Orthagnes, suggested that Orthagnes was the same as Gad, the brother of Gondophares according to the Christian tradition. More will be said presently about the tradition concerning Gondophares, but there can be no doubt that both Cunningham's reading of the Prākṛit legend and its interpretation were wrong. The other set of coins is very similar to the first, but the fragmentary legend on the reverse reads *rajasa mahatasa guḍrana*. Various interpretations have been suggested of the word *guḍaṇa-guḍrana*, either as an epithet, or monetary denomination, or again as the designation of a tribe to which Gondophares belonged. Whitehead's suggestion that it is a personal name is perhaps correct, and it may correspond to the traditional Gad; for an intaglio acquired by the Panjab Museum from the North-west Frontier Province bears the Kharoshṭhī inscription *Gadasa*, which name may also occur on a pedestal excavated at Palatu Ḍheri near Chārsaḍḍa (ancient Pushkalāvati).[1] Rapson observes that 'the coin on which Orthagnes still appears as chief ruler, but with Guḍana as his subordinate, must no doubt be assigned to the period after Gondophares had succeeded Azes II in the sovereignty of North-Western India.'[2] Another inference is possible from the joint coins of Orthagnes and Gondophares: the latter seems to have had no dynastic connection with Azes II. At first an associate ruler of Orthagnes, a Parthian king of Arachosia, he took advantage of the weakness of the last of the Śaka kings of North-Western India and conquered his kingdom. The Satrapal ruler Aśpavarma was not long in transferring his allegiance to his new master, after his old master Azes II was overthrown. Orthagnes is a Parthian name, being the Greek equivalent of the Persian *Verethragna* meaning 'victorious', and therefore the king's reverse device Nike, might have some reference to his name.[2] Nike, however, was such a common device on the coins of the Indo-Greeks and, later, on those of the Indo-Scythians, that Orthagnes might have

[1] Whitehead, *PMC.* I pp. 155-6 [2] *CHI.* I p. 578

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simply borrowed it from his predecessors. His Parthian nationality is also fully established by the type of royal bust appearing on the obverse of his coins.

Gondophares is not only known from his coins, but also from a very interesting Kharoshṭhī epigraph now in the collection of the Panjab Museum, and from the apocryphal legend of Saint Thomas. In fact Gondophares, described variously in the Syriac, Greek and Latin versions of the apocryphal *Acts of Judas Thomas the Apostle*, as Gudnaphar, Goundaphoros, Gundaforus, and Gundoforus, was first known from these Christian tracts, and no historicity was at the time attached to him by scholars. But the discovery in North-Western India of his coins and the solitary inscription bearing his name proved that the Christian mythologists were building their account around some real historical persons. The Syriac version of the Acts, perhaps the earliest, dating from before the middle of the third century A.D., begins the story in this way : 'And when all the Apostles had been for a time in Jerusalem . . . they divided the countries among them, in order that each one of them might preach in the region which fell to him and in the place to which his Lord sent him. And India fell by lot and division to Judas Thomas (or the Twin) the Apostle. And he was not willing to go, saying : "I have not strength enough for this, because I am weak. And I am a Hebrew : How can I teach the Indians?" And whilst Judas was reasoning thus, our Lord appeared to him in a vision in the night, and said to him : "Fear not, Thomas, because My grace is with thee." But he would not be persuaded at all, saying : "Whithersoever Thou wilt, our Lord, send me; only to India I will not go." And as Judas was reasoning thus, a certain merchant, an Indian, happened (to come) into the south country from—(the name, not legible here, is absent in the other versions), whose name was Habban; and he was sent by the king Gūdnaphar (*Goundophoros* in the Greek version), that he might bring to him a skilful carpenter.'[1] The narrative then goes on to say that in order to induce Thomas to obey His mandate, the Lord appeared to him in person, and sold him to Habban. Thomas was thus compelled to accompany the merchant to India where he was introduced to the king, who employed him to build the royal palace. He was given a large sum of money for this task, which he spent in acts of charity on behalf of the king. No temporal palace was thus constructed and the irate king imprisoned Thomas and the merchant. Meanwhile Gad, the king's brother, died, and the angels while taking him to heaven showed him the heavenly palace which Thomas had built by his good deeds. Gad was restored to life, and both he and his brother were converted.[2] The credit of first drawing the attention of scholars to the connection between the Gondophares of the coins and the Indian king of this account is due to M. Reinaud (1848). Cunningham, apparently unaware of the earlier discovery of the French savant, also suggested the same thing a few years

[1] *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, translated by Wright, II pp. 146-7
[2] *CHI.* I p. 579

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afterwards. The views of Reinaud and Cunningham have been unanimously accepted by subsequent scholars, some of whom have gone even further. Rapson has no doubt that Gūdnaphar, definitely called 'the king of India' is Gondophares of the coins, and suggests that the king's brother Gad in the texts may possibly be the Guḍa or Guḍana of the coins. Von Gutschmid finds a still more distant echo of the name Gondophares, transmitted through its Armenian form *Gathaspar*, in Gaspar, 'the traditional name of the first of the three wise men who, according to the Gospel story, came from the East to worship Christ at His nativity.' Another apocryphal text, the *Evangelium Ioannis de obitu Mariae* refers to one Labdanes as the sister's son of a king to whom Thomas went, who was also converted to Christianity. Labdanes may be a copyist's mistake for Abdagases who, as we shall presently see, was a relation of Gondophares. There is no certainty about this identification, for two reasons. The king in this passage is not named, and he might either be Gondophares or another Indian king, probably of the South, named Mazdai who was also visited by Thomas, and in whose kingdom he met a martyr's death; again, Abdagases was the son of Gondophares's brother and not of his sister.[1] Whatever may be the truth regarding this, there can be no doubt that part of the legendary account of St. Thomas's association with India had a clear historical background. Medlycott may be right when he says that 'the Apostle Thomas had entered king Gondophares's dominions in the course of his apostolic career.'[2]

The only Kharoshṭhī inscription in which Gondophares is mentioned is usually described as originating from Takht-i-Bahi, a few miles to the west of Mardan among the Yusufzai. Its first two lines record two dates, 26 and 103, during the reign of the great king Guduvhara (*maharayasa Guduvharasa vashe 20|4|11 saṁbatsaraye tiśatimae 1|100|111*). Guduvhara of this inscription has been unanimously identified with the Gondophares of the coins and Christian mythology, but there has been some difference of opinion among scholars regarding the two dates mentioned above. Konow was the principal dissentient from the usually accepted view that the year 26 refers to the regnal year of Gondophares and the year 103 possibly to the Vikrama Samvat of 58-57 B.C. Konow later abandoned his former theory, and accepted the current explanation that the first date denoted the Indo-Parthian king's regnal year while the second one was associated with the Vikrama era.[3] Taking this explanation to be the correct one we derive two facts about Gondophares from the inscription: first, his reign began in A.D. 19 and second, he was ruling over ancient

[1] Ibid. pp. 580-1

[2] A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, p. 16. He is also of opinion that there may be some truth in the tradition of Thomas's meeting Gondophares. Lohuizen-de Leeuw does not attach any historical value to this tradition (op. cit., pp. 353-4); but much can be said in support of the usually accepted view. Her placing Gondophares in the second half of the first century B.C. is unacceptable.

[3] *JIH.* XII, 1933, p. 25. Konow's earlier view was worked out in his Introduction to *CII.* II (i); where he suggested that the date 103 referred to the old

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Gandhāra even as late as A.D. 45-6. Thus, this inscription proves that he enjoyed a fairly long reign; and this inference is also attested by the large number of coins in billon and copper, some issued by him alone and others jointly with a few associate rulers. His dynasty does not seem to have continued for long after his last date, which must have been very near A.D. 46. It will be shown in the next chapter that the Kushāṇas were soon to be the masters of North-Western India whence they spread their sway far into the interior.

The almost total absence of silver money of Gondophares or of his few immediate successors, may testify to the indifferent economic condition of the Indo-Parthian empire. It is not unlikely that the large number of silver coins that were issued in these regions by their predecessors the Indo-Scythians, and before them by the Indo-Greeks, served the needs of the higher currency of the Parthian state in India, and that they supplemented the coins of lesser value which were more commonly used and in greater demand, by token coinage in inferior metal such as billon (a compound metal in which the proportion of mixture is four-fifths of copper to one-fifth of silver) and copper. Support for this suggestion is found in the fact that the Kushāṇa kings issued practically no silver money, though Wima Kadphises and his successors coined in gold. The billon and copper coins that were issued solely by Gondophares and his only known silver coin, are characterised by several peculiarities worth noticing. The solitary silver coin in the collection of the British Museum shows the Parthian type bust of the king to left wearing the Arsacid tiara and diadem on the obverse, and the enthroned king holding a sceptre, and Nike crowning him from behind, with the legend *Basileōs Basileōn Meg(a)s (G)undopherēs Autokrato(r)* arranged as on the Arsacid coins, on the reverse. This distinctly Parthian type of coin was most probably issued by Gondophares in his dominions in eastern Iran in the early part of his rule, and the unusual title *autocrator* adopted here is very interesting. Cunningham thought that the type and title showed that Gondophares must have belonged to a powerful Parthian family. This reminds us of the title adopted by Miaos or Eraos on his coins, which is that of a *tyrant* (*turannountos*—'in the reign of the tyrant'), but where the epithet did not necessarily denote an independent ruler of great power. A few square copper coins with the king on horseback and a corrupt Greek legend bearing part of the king's name on the obverse have the Gondopharian symbol and the Kharoshṭhī legend . . . *dhramikasa apratihatasa devav(r)atasa Guduvharasa*. The title *apratihata* which was first used by lesser known Indo-Greek kings like Lysius, Artemidorus and Philoxenus, is of great interest in association with this Indo-Parthian king. Philostratus, a writer of the third century A.D., in his life of Apollonius

Śaka era of 84 B.C. and 26 to the Pahlava era started by Azes. On the basis of this calculation also, A.D. 19 will fall in Gondophares's reign, though it will not necessarily be his first year, and Azes's date will correspond to 7-6 B.C. Lohuizen-de Leeuw had noted the changes in Konow's view; op. cit., p. 14 ff.

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of Tyana, says that when the latter came to Taxila, (*c.* A.D. 44) it was governed by one Phraotes; Herzfeld had shown very ingeniously that this Parthian name was nothing but an adaptation of the epithet *apratihata* of Gondophares who was the Parthian king ruling in this region at that time.[1] Of the other single issues of this Indo-Parthian ruler, mention may be made of the generally well-executed round billon coins presenting the king on horseback wearing a diadem and the three peaked Arsacid tiara, with a mostly well-formed Greek legend *Basileōs Basileōn Megalou (G)undopherou* on the obverse, and Zeus holding long sceptre and standing to right with the fairly well-preserved Kharoshṭhī legend *maharaja rajatiraja tratara devavrata Gudupharasa* on the reverse. It should be noted that the Prākṛit version of the royal titles differs somewhat from the Greek one. Indeed, the epithet *devavrata* used almost invariably (it is absent on some small-size round copper coins with the diademed bust of the king and Pallas devices) on the other Indian money of this king is of unique interest. It is perhaps explained by those round billon coins issued solely by this king, which have the trident-bearing Śiva on the reverse. This Indian deity, who appears in his anthropomorphic form for the first time in the foreign money on a few coins of Maues, is very often described in early Indian and foreign literature as Deva, and it is possible that when Gondophares describes himself in most of his coins issued either singly or jointly as *devavrata*, 'vowed or devoted to *deva*,' he refers indirectly to his Śaiva affiliation.[2] The Nike on the other coins of this king is nothing but a continuation of Orthagnes's type, the devices Zeus, Nike and Pallas being adaptations from the Indo-Scythic money. Of the coins that were issued by him jointly with others, mention has already been made of Gondophares-Aśpavarma pieces and the historical conclusion that has been deduced therefrom. The Greek legend on the obverse of these coins is corrupt and illegible, but the nature of the type as well as the particular symbol, invariably associated with Gondophares from whom it was adopted by his nephew Abdagases, leave no doubt that it also bore his name. The other joint-type coins which were certainly issued later bear the 'king on horseback' device with a quite corrupt and illegible Greek legend on the obverse, and either a standing Zeus or a standing Zeus Nicephorus with two types of legends, *maharajasa mahatasa tratarasa devavratasa Gudupharasa Sasasa* or *maharajasa rajatirajasa devavratasa Gudupharasa Sasasa* on the reverse. Cunningham called these 'the coins of Sasan,' which name, according to him, was undoubtedly a Persian one, being also the name of the father of Ardeshir, founder of the Sasanian (Sassanian) dynasty. Smith at one time was quite certain that *sasasa* on these

[1] *Sakastan*, p. 113; Lohuizen-de Leeuw does not accept Herzfeld's suggestion which would not fit in with the date assigned to Gondophares by her; op. cit., p. 363

[2] J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindi Iconography*, p. 133. Wima Kadphises was a Śaiva, as is evident from the legend and device on his coins.

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coins like the *jayatasa* on the Aśpavarma coins was an attributive epithet. But Cunningham, though not quite correct in describing these as the coins of Sasan alone, for they are undoubtedly the joint issues of Gondophares and Sasan, was quite justified in taking *sasasa* to be the Prākṛit genitive of a proper name. This has been proved beyond doubt by Marshall's discovery of a few small silver coins which have the portrait of Pacores, or the bust of conventional Indo-Parthian type representing Sasan himself, and the Gondopharian symbol on the obverse and a Nike on the reverse; the obverse Greek legend is illegible, but the Prākṛit legend on the reverse reads *maharajasa Aśpabhrataputrasa tratarasa Sasasa.* The interesting additional information we get from these coins is that Sasan, a former associate of Gondophares and afterwards one of his successors in the Taxila region, was the son of Aśpa's brother, evidently Aśpavarma, the son of Indravarma. The coins further show that Sasan, who was at first a subordinate ruler under Gondophares, subsequently assumed independent or quasi-independent status. There are some billon coins in the British Museum which bear the name of Gondophares and his nephew (brother's son) Abdagases. These exhibit 'king on horseback' and 'standing Zeus' devices; the obverse legend is [*Gu*] *ndiphero Adelphi*[*deōs*] the reverse being *Gudupharabhrataputrasa maharajasa tratarasa Avadagasasa.*[1] These coins have been described by Rapson as the joint issues of Gondophares and Abdagases. The peculiar symbol of Gondophares on these Indo-Parthian coins is found counterstruck on some coins of the Parthian kings Orodes I (57-38 B.C.) and Artabanus III (A.D. 10-40). Rapson infers from this that Gondophares may have conquered some outlying Parthian dominions; this would explain the incidence of his symbol on some pre-existing Parthian coins. He observes, 'There can be little doubt that under his sway the Pahlava power attained its height; and it appears probable that this power was now controlled by a single suzerain who reigned supreme over both eastern Iran and North-Western India; for the coins of Gondophares bear the types both of Orthagnes and of Azes II, and seem to show therefore that he had succeeded to the dominions of both these suzerains.'[2]

THE END OF THE PAHLAVA RULE IN N. W. INDIA

Abdagases seems to have been the immediate successor of Gondophares. He was for some time the subordinate ruler under his uncle, as the joint issues of both, referred to above, establish. His independent issues are few in number and are also countermarked by his uncle's symbol, and, in nearly all cases express in the Prākṛit reverse his relationship with Gondophares. The exception occurs in the case of a few copper coins which bear the 'Parthian royal bust' and Nike devices with the

[1] Tarn says that the Greek legend on these coins is *basileus basileion* (op. cit., p. 354) but it is not so.
[2] *CHI.* I p. 578

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partially preserved legends *Basileōs Sōtēros A[bdag]asou* and *tratarasa maharajasa Avadagasasa*, for these coins do not bear the particular symbol. The other coins of Abdagases which are almost all in billon have 'the horseman and standing Zeus's devices with the Gondopharian mark; but it is interesting to note that the Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends, *Basileuntos Basileōnu Abdagasou* and *Gudupharabhrataputrasa maharajasa tratarasa Avadagasasa*, are comparatively well preserved and the Greek is far more legible here than on the majority of Gondophares's own coins. The meaning of the somewhat corrupt Greek legend is 'during the reign of king Abdagases': and it can also be presumed from this that the coins were issued when Abdagases was ruling in his own right. The coins of this king having as devices the mounted king and standing Zeus Nikephoros bear more high-sounding titles such as *maharajasa rajatirajasa* etc. These features seem to invalidate Rapson's observation that 'as none of the coin-legends of Abdagases bears the imperial title, there is no evidence that he reigned independently at any time.'[1] The types suggest that he ruled in Seistan and Kandahar, but not always as the viceroy of his uncle. His independent rule, like that of Pacores, was a short one.

Pacores appears to have come after the ephemeral reign of Abdagases, and the only type of round copper coin that can be ascribed to him shows that his reign was very short. The 'king's bust' and the Nike devices on this type show that it was meant for circulation in Seistan. The Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends containing full imperial titles, *Basileus Basileōn Megas Pakorēs* and *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasa*, prove that, however short his reign might have been, he enjoyed full imperial sovereignty throughout. The peculiar cursive Kharoshṭhī script in which the Prākṛit legend is written is also found in the Sui Vihar inscription of Kanishka, suggesting that the interval between this Indo-Parthian ruler and Kanishka was comparatively short. Pacores's bust on the coins of Sasan found in Taxila, if it is not of Sasan himself as suggested by Whitehead, may indicate some sort of nominal suzerainty exercised by this ephemeral ruler over the far distant Indian territory. There is no hint of the relationship between Gondophares and Abdagases on the one hand and Pacores on the other.

The coins of another king, Sanabares, prove that he too had no real connection with India proper and the three types, one in silver and two in copper, must have all been issued in the far remote parts of Seistan. On these coins the customary Prākṛit legend in Kharoshṭhī script is conspicuous by its absence, and the devices on this king's silver and copper money are typically Parthian (head of king wearing tiara of late Parthian form: king dressed in Parthian style seated on throne holding bow); his association, however remote, with the Indo-Parthian group seems to be indicated by the Nike reverse on one copper type. The Greek legend,

[1] Ibid. p. 580

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hardly complete in any single specimen, is *Basileus Megas Sanabarēs*. Rapson rightly says that 'there is no evidence of his rule either in Kandahar or India.' Coins of another Parthian ruler having no clear affiliation with any known Indo-Parthian king were long ago noticed by Von Sallet and Cunningham. He was called Arsaces, a name which was borne by the founder of the imperial dynasty of Parthia, to which Mithridates I belonged. But this Arsaces may have to be placed in the first century A.D. on the basis of numismatic data. All his coins are of copper, of which the square type is similar to the square copper coins of Maues with 'horse, and bow in case' devices ; the legend on the obverse is *Basileōs Theou Arsakou*, there being no corresponding Prākṛit legend. Two other round copper coins of this nondescript ruler noticed by Cunningham are closely associated with the money of Gondophares and Abdagases on account of their type (king on horseback and standing Zeus Nicephorus) and are bilingual; the Greek legend *Basileuontos Basileōn Dikaiou Arsakou*, closely resembles that on one of the varieties of Abdagases's coins noticed above, and the Prākṛit legend is *maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Arshakasa tratarasa*. Cunningham says that none of Arsaces's coins was found in the Panjab; but the type and the Prākṛit legend of the latter group prove Arsaces's association with the Indian border-land, perhaps Arachosia. There is no means, however, of ascertaining his exact position in the order of the Indo-Parthian rulers.

The end of the Parthian rule in India is marked by several groups of small silver coins that were unearthed by Marshall in the course of excavations at the Sirkap site of Taxila. One of these groups with the name of Sasan, the son of Aśpa's brother, has already been noticed. Two other classes contain the conventional Parthian bust either standing for that of Gondophares or of the actual issuers themselves with the Gondopharian symbol on the obverse, and Nike on the reverse, bearing the names respectively of Sapedana and Satavastra; traces of a corrupt Greek legend are visible on one side, while the reverse has either *maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa Sapedanasa* or *maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa Satavastrasa*. Marshall is doubtful whether they reigned in the Taxila region; he thinks that 'they were probably contemporaries of Kujula or Wima Kadphises and ruled over small states further west, acknowledging the supremacy of the Kushāṇa overlord, who had established his capital at Taxila.'[1] Rapson's suggestion, however, that the Taxila region was administered successively by the two kings, probably under the supreme control of Gondophares, is more acceptable. Their short rule was followed by that of Sasan, the sometime associate of the suzerain, who took charge of the administration of the Taxila region during the reign of Pacores, the immediate successor of Abdagases. If the view of Whitehead that the bust on Sasan's own coins is that of Sasan himself be accepted, then he should be placed before Sapedana and Satavastra.

[1] *ASIAR.* 1912-13, p. 44. Also *Taxila* I p. 60*n*. 7 and p. 161 where Sapedenes is identified with Sandanes of the *Periplus*.

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Whitehead believes that 'Aśpavarma was strategos successively of Azes II and Gondophares, then a *maharaja* under the latter, while Sasan, starting where his uncle Aśpavarma left off, was first *maharaja* under Gondophares and then colleague as supreme suzerain.'[1] These transient rulers did not long enjoy their eminence. The control of Taxila, slipping from their hands, soon passed to the Kushāṇas. Their end is told in a fourth class of coins. These are characterised by the bust of the Kushāṇa conqueror, Wima Kadphises, with his distinctive conical headdress; the reverse type is the same (a winged Nike) and the legend reads *maharajasa rajatirajasa Kushanasa Yavugasa*, 'of the great king, supreme king of kings, the Kushāṇa chief.'[2] It is likely that Wima had already wrested from the last of the Indo-Parthians the regions to the west of the Indus, and that the conquest of the Taxila region marked a stage in his advance east and south-eastward. The exact chronological limits of these events cannot be determined with certainty. Rapson however says: 'Gondophares was reigning in the year A.D. 45 and Wima Kadphises was reigning in the year A.D. 78. Within these thirty-three years must be included the latter part of the reign of Gondophares, the reign of Pacores, and some portion of the reign of Wima Kadphises.'[3] His dating of Wima on the basis of the Taxila silver scroll is not universally accepted, and there is a strong opinion among some scholars that Kanishka's rule began in A.D. 78, the initial date of the Śaka era. But all this will be discussed in the next chapter; it need only be observed here that the rule of the Parthians in India certainly did not continue for long after A.D. 45-46, the last known date of Gondophares. It may have come to its end within a decade at the utmost.

ADMINISTRATION : SUBORDINATE RULERS

The foreign domination over the northern and north-western parts of India did not end with the extinction of the Parthians. Parthian rule merely gave place to the paramountcy of another foreign race—the Kushāṇas of Central Asia, whose hold on India was destined to be far more extensive and of much longer duration. The Scythians and Parthians together could have held sway over portions of India for little over a century and a quarter only. The Kushāṇa suzerainty, on the other hand, was to last for more than two hundred years, and it undoubtedly spread over a much larger part of Northern and Western India. When considering the extent of the Scythian occupation, however, it must be allowed that rulers of lesser rank, under the aegis of the suzerain power, appear to have penetrated far into the interior regions of India, Mathurā for instance. The Śakas, and after them the Pahlavas, used to govern many of their Indian possessions through strategoi and satraps, one or two of whom have

[1] *NC.* 1944, pp. 99-104

[2] The simultaneous use of the terms *maharaja rajatiraja* and *yavuga* in one and the same legend is interesting ; it will be commented on in the next chapter.

[3] *CHI.* I p. 581

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already been incidentally mentioned. They ruled in the extreme north and north-west, in parts of the Panjab, in Mathurā and the adjoining regions and later over the north-western Deccan and Western India. The last group of these were independent rulers for all practical purposes, owning only nominal allegiance to the Kushāṇas. Evidence recorded in the last chapter shows that the system of governing through subordinate rulers had already been introduced under the Indo-Greeks; the Bajaur relic casket inscription mentions one Viyakamitra, who was an *apracharaja*, evidently a ruler enjoying lesser rank, probably under Menander. This system was certainly continued throughout the Scytho-Parthian period and adopted by the Kushāṇas. The method of administering districts and other smaller units of the country with the help of such officials as *meridarkhs* and others, which was introduced under the Indo-Greeks, was maintained by the Śakas and still more by the Pahlavas. The Swat relic vase inscription of Meridarkh Theodorus has been now dated, by Konow, in the middle of the second century B.C., during the time of Menander; a copper-plate inscription from Taxila belonging to a period when the Greek rule in Taxila had come to an end mentions another *meridarkh* whose name has unfortunately been lost. Part of the Bajaur relic casket inscription was written by one Viśpila who was either a Śaka or a Pahlava and was the *anaṁkaya* (Greek *anankaios*—royal adviser, an honorific title) of Vijayamitra.[1]

Epigraphic as well as numismatic data supply us with the names of a large number of Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas whose history will be treated at greater length in chapter ix. Reference may be made here, however, to two only, one hardly known, and the other much better known from his inscriptions and coins, who flourished during the Śaka-Pahlava domination. Marshall unearthed six coins of Idharasa and twenty-eight of Rajuvula from different parts of Sirkap, the intermediate city site of Taxila which was in occupation during most of this period. Very few coins of Azilises were found there, and from this he surmised that Azilises might have been represented at Taxila by some local colleague, perhaps by Rajuvula or Idharasa. In point of style, Idharasa's coins with 'king on horseback' and Pallas devices are as closely allied with the coins of Azilises and Azes II as they are with those of Gondophares. Idharasa styles himself *maharaja* and apparently *apratihata*, which shows that during the latter part of the Śaka-Pahlava rule he was enjoying a quasi-independent position at Taxila. It is hardly to be doubted, however, that his power was localised there; he certainly did not extend his power far beyond. But Rajuvula, as we shall see, though he was for some time during the Śaka regime ruling as satrap in Taxila, as seems likely from the coins just mentioned, was destined to reign over Mathurā presumably at a later period of his career. The most probable inference from this is that, these subordinate rulers were the principal agents in the expansion of the Śaka power into the interior regions of India. A few other such rulers appear

[1] *NIA.* 1940, p. 646

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to have been known equally well in North-Western and in Central India. Kharaosta and Patika, the son of Liaka Kusuluka, are two examples who are known from coins and the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions. Zeionises, the son of Maṇigula, a Kshatrapa of Chukhsa, the great plain of Chach, is also known from coins and one inscription in the Taxila region.

ŚAKA-PAHLAVA CULTURE

It has been briefly shown in the last chapter how the Bactrian Greeks and the Indians, both inheritors of ancient culture and civilisation of a high order, reacted upon each other. The Śakas as well as the Pahlavas were people culturally inferior and thus were prone to be influenced by both. That they were so influenced is fully proved by the remains they have left to us. The coins are the most important tangible remains, and they vouch for the truth in a remarkable manner. The Śaka coins are in many cases mere adaptations of those of the Indo-Greeks, though striking originalities are occasionally met with. The decadence which had set in, in the die-cutter's and moneyer's technique, during the latter part of the Bactrian Greek rule in India continued throughout the period of the Śaka-Pahlava domination though in its early stages the gradual decay seems to have been temporarily arrested. The continued use of the Greek and Kharoshṭhī monograms on the coins probably shows that the services of both Hellenistic and Indian die-cutters were requisitioned by the rulers. The Śakas, like most of the Indo-Greeks, did not strike gold, their coins being mostly in silver and copper ; the Pahlavas also had no gold coins but struck billon, copper and, in rare instances, silver money.[1] Copper and billon as media for the moneyer's art were comparatively unsatisfactory and this is one of the reasons, for the further deterioration in monetary technique during the Pahlava rule. However, the art of the sculptor and the architect does not seem to have suffered much and the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra which had perhaps taken its origin from the Indo-Greeks seems to have continued to progress during this period, attaining its apogee with the imperial Kushāṇas. Excavations at Taxila and many other sites of ancient Gandhāra have brought to light a large number of sculptural and architectural remains belonging to this period, which testify to this fact.[2] The general tenor of life seems to have been rather simple and unsophisticated. The remains of the royal palace uncovered in the Sirkap site, the oldest parts of which date from the Scytho-Parthian epoch, reveal that though the palace was 'considerably larger and built more substantially than the private houses, there was nothing at all pretentious

[1] A very small gold piece (weighing 3 to 4 grains) with 'king on horseback' and faint traces of a corrupt Greek legend on the obverse has a monogram with the Kharoshṭhī legend *Athamasa* on its reverse. Whitehead has no hesitation in 'recognising him as a member of the dynasty of Azes and Azilises'; (*PMC.* 145, *n.* 1)

[2] See. also Ch. XXII *post.*

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in its planning or sumptuous in its adornment.'[1] Philostratus, the biographer of Apollonius, writing of the palace says that Apollonius 'saw no magnificent architecture there, and the men's chambers and the porticoes and the whole of the vestibule were very chaste in style.' The religious establishments were perhaps a little more elaborate, and the basements of many Buddhist *stūpas* excavated in the north-west appear to substantiate this supposition. The massive remains of the Jandial Fire Temple at Taxila which was originally constructed mainly according to Greek style during the Scytho-Parthian epoch leave little doubt that it was a very imposing structure in its day. Philostratus is probably describing this very temple when he writes that Apollonius and his companion Damis 'saw a temple in front of the wall, about 100 feet in length and built of shell-like stone. And in it was a shrine which, considering that the temple was so large and provided with a peristyle, was disproportionately small, but nevertheless worthy of admiration; for nailed to each of its walls were brazen tablets on which were portrayed the deeds of Porus and Alexander.'

The Yavanas who were undoubtedly people with a highly developed culture of their own could not resist the environment of India, and had been and still were under process of absorption into Indian society; that 'they became adherents of Indian religious systems is clearly to be seen from their own confession.' Their successors were naturally even more prone to be influenced by the manners, customs and religious beliefs of the people over whom they ruled. The names of these alien kings of India are no doubt Scythian or Parthian in character ; but many persons of lesser rank were adopting Indian names as early as the first century B.C., as is demonstrated by archaeological evidence. The names of Aśpavarman and his nephew Sasan are not Indian; but those of Aśpa's father and grandfather had hardly any foreign element in them. Whitehead rightly observes, 'The names Vijayamitra and Indravarma are Indian, while Sasan is Iranian; the line could not have been Hindu by race. These Śaka military chiefs had adopted high-sounding Indian names; they had become Hinduised and claimed to be Kshatriyas.'[2] Numerous Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of the period discovered in various parts of Northern India prove that these new recruits to the Hindu fold became ardent followers of different Indian religious creeds.

[1] Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 1918, p. 68

[2] Whitehead has published a coin with the legend *Vijayamitraputrasa Itravarmasa apracharajasa*, 'of the son of Vijayamitra, Itravarma, the *apracharaja*' in Kharoshṭhī script. Itravarma and Indravarma, Aspa's father, are taken by Thomas and Whitehead as identical; *NC.* 1944, pp. 99-104

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Chapter VIII

THE RISE AND FALL OF THE KUSHĀṆA POWER

INTRODUCTION

The foreign domination over parts of Northern India did not end with the downfall of the Pahlavas. Pahlava rule gave place to that of the Kushāṇas whose hold over Northern and Western India was far more extensive and complete than that of their predecessors. The Kushāṇas ousted the Pahlavas in the extreme north-west and spread their arms by successive stages in the regions of Northern India which had hitherto escaped the evils of alien rule. The early imperial Kushāṇas possessed territories extending far beyond the Indian border. The vast empire which they controlled in and beyond India, betokened their aptitude for conquest and consolidation. Although it only endured for a century, or a little more, it was no mean achievement for a people of partially nomadic habits, who were indebted for much of their culture to their civilised neighbours. Even after their empire was destroyed by the Sassanians on the one hand, and the Indian powers on the other, there still existed powerful scions of this stock enjoying sovereignty over its different parts, many of whom were ultimately subdued by the great Indian monarch Samudragupta. The long connection of this race with India left a deep impression on the Indian mind as is evident from many references to them in epic, Purāṇic, and other literature. The part which the rulers of this race played in the complex history of India at the period was of great importance. They served the purpose of intermediaries, as it were, between India and the peoples over the north-western and north-eastern borders. The extreme eastern limits of the Roman empire touched the fringe of their extensive empire, and the western outskirts of the vast domains of the divine rulers of China marched with its north-eastern boundaries. The Kushāṇas freely imbibed the culture of their conquered subjects and imported into the land of their conquest and adoption some interesting features of its composite civilisation. The story of their rise and fall in India is thus of unique interest and importance, and it is unfortunate that even now there are many gaps in our knowledge of it. Nevertheless they are better known to history than their immediate predecessors, the Pahlavas and the Śakas. Literary evidence, partly indigenous but mostly foreign, is not wanting, and to this may be added a wealth of archaeological data in the shape of coins and inscriptions, likewise sculptural and architectural remains. In order to draw even an approximately accurate picture of the Kushāṇas and their achievements in India, the historian must painfully sift and analyse all this material, and read, where necessary, between the lines—for the very wealth

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of data at his disposal is liable to baffle the scholar when, as sometimes happens, the testimony is conflicting. The effort to reconcile apparent contradictions has propagated a multitude of divergent views.

THE YÜE-CHI AND THE KUSHĀṆAS

It has long been held by scholars that the Kushāṇas were a branch of the Yüe-chi who were principally responsible for conquering Bactria and expelling the Śakas from the Bactrian borderland towards the south. The original homeland of the Yüe-chi and the causes of their migrations have already been touched upon in the last chapter, but for an understanding of the origin and early history of the Kushāṇas, it will be useful to give here a brief résumé of the annals of the Yüe-chi. The facts are mostly gleaned from Chinese sources.

In the early part of the second century B.C. the Yüe-chi were living in Kan-su and Ning-hsia, west of the Huang-ho river, between Tun Huang and Ki-'lian. Here they were defeated by the Hiung-nu about (170 B.C.), and driven from their home. They divided themselves into two unequal branches in their flight westwards; the lesser horde went towards the eastern Altyntagh and the Richtofen mountains and came to be known as the Little Yüe-chi. The larger group, trekking westward, vanquished a number of Śaka tribes in the northern Tien-shan on the upper Ili, Chu and Naryn, and settled there for about three decades. Between 133 and 129 B.C., a part of this section of the Yüe-chi was subjugated by the Wu-sun, while the rest withdrew farther west. When Chang-Kien came to Bactria in his mission to find prospective allies for the Chinese emperor (*c.* 126 B.C.), he found these people dominant in the rich and fertile country on the north of the Oxus, with their capital established at Kian-she. The Ta-hia, whose capital was Lan-shi (modern Badakshan), seem to have been subject to their rule, and the Yüe-chi subsequently transferred their royal seat to the Ta-hia capital.[1] The Ta-hia have been identified with the local people of Bactria which was conquered, according to the ancient classical writers, by various tribes, among which were the Tochari. There is now hardly any doubt that the Tochari of the classical authors were identical with the Yüe-chi of the Chinese annals. It was generally inferred that the Kushāṇas were a section of the Yüe-chi, and the inference was principally based on a study of the annals of the earlier and later Han Dynasties, the *Tsien Han-shu* and the *Hou Han-shu*. There seems, however, to be a discrepancy between the relevant statements of these two Chinese records, which are of different date, and this has led some scholars to suggest that the Kushāṇas did not belong to Yüe-chi stock, but were of Śaka

[1] Konow thinks that the country of the Ta-hia, i.e., Bactria, was not fully conquered when Chang-Kien came there, the full conquest dating between Chang-Kien's departure and A.D. 25 (*CII.* II (i)s p. liv). But Maenchen-Helfen asserts that this view of the gradual expansion of the Yüe-chi power from the country north of the Oxus, to the 'real' Ta-hia south of the river is unfounded; *JAOS.* 65, 1945, pp. 71-2. *n.* 7

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origin. It is necessary to refer to the extracts in question which have led scholars to hold divergent views about Kushāṇa affiliations. The *Tsien Han-shu* says: 'The Ta Yüe-chi were originally a nomadic nation, which moved along following their cattle . . . The Ta-hia originally had no great rulers or chiefs, the various cities and towns put up small chiefs. The people are weak and fear war. Therefore, when the Yüe-chi came migrating, they subjugated them all. There are five *hi-hous*, viz., Hiu-mi with its capital Ho-mo; Shuang-mi with its capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-Shuang with its capital Hu-tsao, Hi-tun with its capital Po-mao, and Kao-fu with its capital Kao-fu. At that time they were all dependent on the Great Yüe-chi.' Konow says: 'The remark about the five *hi-hous* can hardly mean anything else than that these principalities existed, as part of the Ta-hia realm, when the Yüe-chi transferred their headquarters to Kien-shi=Lanshi (according to Konow these two are variants of the same word), and that the Yüe-chi now assumed suzerainty over them. This seems to imply that the Yüe-chi brought the former Śaka chiefs into subjection.' The *Hou Han-shu* (ch. 118) records : 'Originally, when (the kingdom of) the Yüe-chi was annihilated by the Hiung-nu, they migrated to the Ta-hia and divided their kingdom into the five district *hi-hous*, Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun, Tu-mi.' Karlgren comments thus on the above passage: 'the *Hou Han-shu*, much later than the *Tsien Han-shu*, has altered the account. When the *Tsien Han-shu* says simply "there were five *hi-hous*", the *Hou Han-shu* says, "the Yüe-chi divided the land into five *hi-hous*." This innovation is not to be trusted. The earliest accounts indicate that the Ta Yüe-chi found a country divided into five parts, the "small chiefs" of which were of Sai (SÉK) origin.' The theory that the Kushāṇas did not belong to the Yüe-chi stock, here supported by Karlgren and Konow, was first put forward by a Japanese scholar, Kuwabara Jitzuzo, and his interpretation was accepted by other scholars, e.g. Haneda Toru and Paul Pelliot, besides Karlgren and Konow. Tarn vehemently rejects this theory and sticks to the older one that the Kushāṇas represented the Asü or the dominant element among the Yüe-chi whether they were a tribe or sept or whether *Kushāṇa* was not a tribal name but a family or dynastic title. The older view that the Kushāṇas belonged to Yüe-chi stock has much to commend itself, for the simple reason that both the annals seem to refer to the power of the Ta Yüe-chi in the Ta-hia region, and it was the Yüe-chi power which was subsequently aggrandised as the later Han records inform us.

Maenchen-Helfen after a careful consideration of the extracts from the two Chinese annals in question avers that the alleged discrepancy between the two texts does not exist in reality, and the five *hi-hous*, the Kushāṇas among them, were great feudatories of the Yüe-chi king. He further suggests that the term *Kushāṇa* was a derivative of a short form, *Kusha* (*Kushi*), a point first argued by Von Stael-Holstein from evidence which has since become obsolete. Maenchen-Helfen argues on the basis of the names of some early Kusha towns in Sogdiana and Chinese Turkestan

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that 'since Kutsi, Ku-shih, and Kao-ch'ang (K. chān) were known to the Chinese already in the early Han period, Kusha must have settled in the northern Tarim long before the Kushāṇa empire was founded.' He then tries to prove on the authority of the classical and Chinese texts that the term Yüe-chi, the Tochari of the classical writers, is another Chinese transcription of Kusha. The language spoken by the Kushāṇas seems to have been Śaka, and we shall presently see that the legends on most of the coins of the imperial Kushāṇa rulers like Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva were in pure Khotani Śaka, as has been proved by Sten Konow.[1] Ludwig Bachhofer after a careful investigation of Kushāṇa costumes and weapons from their coins concluded that the Śakas and the Kushāṇas wore the same dress and fought with the same weapons.[2] These facts to some degree support the theory of the Śaka origin of the Kushāṇas advocated by Konow and others, but they can be explained by the theory that the Kushāṇas came under Śaka influence at a very early period of their history. Maenchen-Helfen's reconstruction of the early history of the Kushāṇas long anterior to their descent on India is thus along the following lines: 'Since the fourth century B.C. at the latest, the Chinese knew barbarians in the north-west under the name Kusha Yüe-chi. The Kusha were the dominant group. The tribal name was Togar (or the like). At an undetermined time the Kusha-Togar came under Śaka rule. The usage of two names, Kusha and Ārśi, for designating the rulers, can best be explained by assuming that Kusha was the Tokharian term for "nobles", while the Śaka called themselves Ārśi. The composite horde migrated west. One group, the Little Yüe-chi, stayed in the Nan-shan region; others settled in the oases of the Tarim basin; still others, after a prolonged stay in the northern Tien-shan, conquered Bactria. There at the end of the first century B.C. the Kusha gained final and decisive ascendancy over the whole horde.'[3]

YÜE-CHI-KUSHĀṆAS IN THE INDIAN BORDER

The theory of the American scholar Maenchen-Helfen described in the foregoing section is one of the latest attempts to unravel the problem of Yüe-chi and Kushāṇa nationality, and his proposed solution, though partly conjectural, rests on a skilful appraisal of all available historical and linguistic data affecting this ancient composite tribe. The Yüe-chi seem not only to have imbibed many cultural traits of the Śakas, but also to have absorbed a large Śaka ethnic element in much the same way as the Śakas of another region appear to have incorporated an appreciable quantity of Parthian traits during their long sojourn in eastern Iran, before they invaded India. Their early career in the borderland of India is thus

[1] Konow, *Norske Tidskrift for Sprog videnskap*, 1939, p. 10

[2] L. Bachhofer 'On Greeks and Śakas in India,' *JAOS.* 61, 1941, pp. 247-50

[3] Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Yüe-chi Problem Re-examined,' *JAOS.* 65, 1945, pp. 71-81. For Konow's case, cf. *JIH.* XII, 1933, pp. 10-13

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briefly recounted by the *Hou Han-shu*, a work written by Fan Ye (*d.* A.D. 445) : After referring to the division of the Yüe-chi into the five district *hi-hous*, Hiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tun and Tu-mi, it says[1] that 'more than a hundred years afterwards the *hi-hou* of Kuei-shuang, K'iu-tsiu-k'io, attacked and annihilated the other four *hi-hous* and made himself king. The kingdom was called "the Kuei-shuang kings" (*kuo hao Kuei-shuang-wang*). He invaded An-si and seized Kao-fu; further he trumphed over P'u-ta and Ki-pin and entirely possessed those kingdoms. K'iu-tsiu-k'io died more than eighty years old. His son Yen-kao-chen became king in his stead. He conquered T'ien-chu (India) and appoiinted a general there for the administration. From this moment the Yüe-chi became extremely powerful. All the countries designate them calling (their king) the Kuei-shuang king, but the Han call them Great Yüe-chi, preserving their old appellation'. This extract contains some definite information about the expansion of the Kushāṇa power. It should be noted that the names of the first four of the five principalities are common to this account as well as that given in the *Tsien Han-shu*, but the fifth one is called in it Tu-mi, in place of Kao-fu of the earlier Han record. Marquart in his *Eransahr*[2] has suggested that Hiu-mi corresponds to present Wakhan, Shuang-mi to Chitral, Kuei-shuang, to the country north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself (modern Peshawar district), Hi-tun, to Parwan on the Panjshir, and Kao-fu close to, but distinct from Kabul. It has been shown in the last chapter that Kao-fu, or the Kabul region, was in the possession of the Indo-Parthian ruler Gondophares at a not much earlier date, and it could hardly have been one of the principalities of Ta-hia under the Yüe-chi. Further it is expressly stated by Fan-Ye that K'iu-tsiu-k'io invaded An-si, i.e. the Parthians, evidently under Gondophares himself or his ephemeral successors, and conquered P'u-ta and Ki-pin, the geographical limits of which are extremely uncertain. Thus Fan-Ye's substitution of Tu-mi for Kao-fu of the older Han annals seems to be correct, though we have no idea of its exact position. It is apparent, however, that some of the principalities of the Yüe-chi were situated far outside the boundaries of Bactria. Thus the later Han account of the division of the Ta-hia *empire* or *kingdom* between five *hi-hous* seems to present the actual facts correctly. It also presents the early stages of the gradual spread of the Kushāṇa power which ended in the conquest of India. We can attempt a rough chronology and sequence of these events. *Hou Han-shu* covers the period between A.D. 25 and 125, and Fan-Ye derived his account of the Kushāṇa expansion from the report compiled by Pan-Young at the end of the reign of the Chinese emperor, Ngan (A.D. 107-125). K'iu-tsiu-k'io could thus not have begun his career before A.D. 25; and the whole of his career, as well as Yen-kao-chen's conquest of India, must have taken

[1] *JIH.* XII, 1933, pp. 13-14
[2] Pp. 242 ff. cited by Kennedy, *JRAS.* 1912, p. 669 *n.*

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place before A.D. 125.[1] This date must be the later limit for the occurrence of these events, and the beginning of K'iu-tsiu-k'io's career may also be fixed approximately. It has been shown in the last chapter that the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares was ruling in India about A.D. 46, and it is certain that Yen-kao-chen conquered it after that date. The subsequent rule of Gondophares and the total regnal period of his associates and successors could hardly have lasted for more than ten years after A.D. 46, for it is a fact that the Indo-Parthians had already been deprived of a large part of their possessions by the first Kushāṇa chief. Thus Yen-kao-chen's conquest of India may be placed some time after A.D. 56, and his father's acquisition of the extra Indian territories of the An-si, i.e. the Parthians in India, and of the borders of India, may have been completed several years before A.D. 46.

THE KADPHISES GROUP OF KINGS

K'iu-tsiu-k'io and Yen-kao-chen of the records of the later Han dynasty have unanimously been identified by scholars with Kujula Kadphises and Wima Kadphises of the coins. Mention has already been made in chapter vi of this volume, of the so-called joint issues of Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises. It was at first suggested that the Indo-Greek king who sought the aid of this Kushāṇa chief against the Parthians who were harassing his kingdom in the Kabul valley, allowed some position of administrative importance and power to his barbarian ally. The latter, after giving him effective help against his enemies, shared his power, and coins began to be issued in their joint names. Some time thereafter Hermaeus disappeared from the scene, either by natural death or forcible removal, and the Kushāṇa chief became paramount in the Kabul region. The untenability of this view has long been demonstrated by Rapson and others. In fact, Kujula does not seem to have been the immediate successor of Hermaeus. The coins in this case are our principal guide, and a careful scrutiny of the relevant groups justifies Rapson's conclusion that the last of the Indo-Greek rulers and the Kushāṇa chief were separated from each other by a fairly long interval. The copper coins with the bust of Hermaeus and his name and titles in corrupt Greek on the obverse, and Heracles and the Kharoshṭhī legend *Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa* on the reverse, were not their joint issues. These were really the continuation of the Parthian imitations of Hermaeus's money by the Kushāṇa chief who destroyed the Parthian domination in the Kabul

[1] Fan-Ye states, 'The notes which Pan ku has written on the configuration and the manner of the various (Western) Countries are detailed in the book of the older (Han); now I have chosen what in the events of the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25-55) or later was different from what has already been said formerly and I have compared the chapters on the Western Countries on that; all the facts have been related by Pan Young, at the end of the emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-25)'; *CII.* II (i) p. liv. Pan Ku was the author of the *Tsien Han-shu* which dealt with the period 206 B.C.-A.D. 24; the work was completed by his sister after his death in A.D. 92.

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valley.[1] They were shortly replaced by the coins which, though still containing the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse, bore the name of Kujula Kadphises in somewhat corrupt Greek, varying on different issues (*Kozoulou Kadphizou Koshsonou*), with the Heracles device and the Kharoshṭhī legend, mentioned a few lines above, on the reverse. There are some other types of copper coins usually attributed to this Kushāṇa ruler where we find several other variants of his name. These are Kuyula Kara Kapa, Kuyula Kaphsa and Kuyula Kaü in Prākṛit, and Kadaphes in Greek. The Bactrian association of Kuyula is interestingly illustrated by a group of copper coins with a bull and a corrupt and illegible Greek legend on the obverse, and a two-humped Bactrian camel with the Kharoshṭhī legend *maharajasa rajadirajasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa* on the reverse. It seems that he issued these coins after acquiring much of the territories of the An-si or the Parthians; for his attributive epithets were derived from the Scytho-Parthian ones. Rapson would ascribe these coins to a second Kushāṇa chief,[2] but there is hardly any justification for making this distinction. Similarly Kadaphes of the coins with the diademed head (possibly an imitation of the image of the Roman emperor Augustus on his coins) and the Greek legend *Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes* on the obverse, and the enthroned king with the Kharoshṭhī legend, ... *Kaphsasa sachadhramaṭhitasa Khushanasa Yaüasa*, on the reverse, cannot be differentiated from Kujula Kadphises. The identity of Kujula Kadphises and Wima Kadphises of the coins with K'iu-tsiu-k'io and Yen-kao-chen of the Chinese text, once accepted, forcibly suggests that each of these names really comprises many ways of designating one and the same person. This is rendered still more probable by the fact that the tribal name *Kushāṇa*, the epithet *Kujula*, and the title *Yavuga* are likewise spelt variously in the Greek and in the Kharoshṭhī coin legends.[3] The etymology of the word *Kushāṇa* has already been briefly dealt with, and it is likely that Kuci-Kucha, Kusha and Yüe-chi were all derived from a Tocharian word which meant 'white, bright' (moon), as has been suggested by Bailey.[4] A variant of the epithet Kujula is to be found in that of Patika's father Liaka, the Śaka satrap of Chukhsa (the great plain of Chach), who is called *Kusulua* or *Kusuluka*, about whom more will be said in the next chapter. The title *Yavuga-Yaüa* (Greek *Zaoos*) is transliterated into Chinese as *hi-hou*, which may also have been a derivative of a Tocharian word. It is almost certain that all these three attributes belonged to one person, called by the Chinese K'iu-tsiu-k'io.

A few Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of the extreme north-west of India have been assumed by some scholars to contain implicit reference to the first Kushāṇa chief. The so-called Takht-i-Bahi inscription of the time of Gondophares would, according to Konow, be the earliest of these. In the

[1] Lohuizen-de Leeuw, however, supports the older view; op. cit., pp. 362-4
[2] *CHI.* I p. 582 *n.*
[3] Kushāṇa, Koshsanu, Khoshansu. Kushāṇa, Khushana (Gushana in some inscriptions); Kujula, Kuyula; Yabuga, Yaüa.
[4] *BSOS.* 1937, pp. 900-1

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last line but one, of that very ill-preserved record he reads, *erjhuna Kapasa puyae*, meaning 'in honour of prince Kapa.' The epithet *erjhuna* is the Prākṛit transliteration of the old Śaka term *alysānai*, *e'ysānai* used to translate the Sanskrit word *kumāra*, and, according to him, the 'prince Kapa' was no other than Kujula Kadphises, one of the variants of whose name was Kapa, as his coins show. Thus Kujula Kadphises, Konow says, had not risen to the rank of a *hi-hou*, far less to that of the accredited head of all the other *hi-hous* of the Yüe-chi tribe, at this time (*c* A.D. 45). The Chinese accounts of the aggrandisement of the power of K'iu-tsiu-k'io seem to be corroborated by the Panjtar inscription bearing the date 122 (A.D. 64) 'where a *maharaya Gushana* is mentioned, who cannot well be anybody else than Kujula Kadphises. It was he, and not his son and successor, who conquered Ki-pin, and his son's name has never been found associated with the designation Kushāṇa.' Konow further suggests that the Kushāṇa conquest of India did not stop at the Indus in Kujula Kadphises's time but must have progressed as far as Taxila, for his coins have been unearthed in the Pahlava strata of the Sirkap site. Another interesting document of the early Kushāṇa period recovered from the 'Chir tope' (*Dharmarājika stūpa*, as we know from the inscription) a few furlongs distant from the city site of Sirkap, is the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136 (A.D. 78), which mentions a *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Kushaṇa*. This potentate also (according to Konow) is none other than the first of the Kushāṇa chiefs. After a hypothetical calculation in a similar vein about Kujula's probable date of birth, the date of his conquest of Kao-fu (Kabul) and that of his death, tentatively fixed by him *c.* A.D. 15, some time after A.D. 45, and *c.* A.D. 95 respectively, Konow avers: 'With the conquest of Taxila the Śaka empire in North-Western India had been restored. But the old Śaka country in the Indus valley was still under Pahlava rule. It would be intelligible if the Kushāṇas had directed their attention towards it. The old king did not, however, lead his army to Sind.'[1]

The views of Konow on this question deserve to be discussed at some length, for he made a comprehensive study of the Kushāṇa problems, though subsequently he changed some of his opinions. We must observe, however, that he has based far-reaching conclusions on premises that will not bear scrutiny. Thus, his reading of the partially preserved fifth line of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription has been challenged by competent scholars like Rapson, and it is his own interpretation of it which is the main prop of his theory.[2] It is implausible to suggest, as he has done at first,

[1] *JIH.* XII, 1933, pp. 30-3. The Kushāṇas in Konow's opinion were Śakas by race. According to him the earliest Śaka conquest of the Sind region in the first half of the first century B.C. is alluded to in the story of the Jaina teacher Kālaka, in a comparatively late Jaina work, *Kālakāchārya Kathānaka.*

[2] Plate xii, no. 1 in *CII.* II (i) shows that the line begins with an '*e*' the next letter is a ligature read by Boyer as '*jhsu*', the third one is undoubtedly a '*na*', the fourth and the fifth are without doubt '*ka*' and '*pa*', but then follows a long blank in which nine or more letters might have been originally written, after which comes '*sa puyae*'. To connect

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half-heartedly and then confidently, that Kujula Kadphises was only a prince in A.D. 45. It is on the contrary very likely that he had risen to power and predominance much earlier. It is also highly probable that part of the territorial possessions of the Parthians on the other side of the Indus had already come under the rule of Kujula before the date of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription. Marquart has located the principality of Kuei-shuang in the country to the north of Gandhāra, or Gandhāra itself. The first suggestion is more likely, for Takht-i-Bahi, which is situated in modern Peshawar district, the ancient Gandhāra, was still in Parthian occupation. But Gandhāra itself, and possibly all the territories on the western side of the Indus originally held by Gondophares and his associates, were shortly to fall into the hands of the Kushāṇa chief. It is unlikely that he could have carried his conquests across the Indus to Taxila, for it is expressly written in the later Han annals that India was conquered by K'iu-tsiu-k'io's son Yen-kao-chen. Konow on the other hand suggests that India was simply reconquered by the latter, on the basis of Karlgren's note to him 'that the text unmistakably has "again", "anew", extinguished "T'ien-chu (India)", and not "in his turn".' But by whom was she conquered before ? In his introduction to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, Konow remarks 'since we know that there had been a previous conquest by kindred tribes, so that the Kushāṇas may here be considered as repeating the deeds of their Śaka cousins' (p. lxvii). But how does this interpretation of the Chinese text help us in asserting that it was Kujula Kadphises, and not his son, who conquered the Taxila region, i.e. India, for the first time ? The Panjtar inscription, mentioned earlier, may refer to the first Kushāṇa ruler, but it lay far to the other side of the Indus, very near the old principality of the tribe. If the year 122 which it bears is assigned to the Vikrama Samvat, as is usually done, then we may presume that this record belongs to the latest, if not the last, date of Kujula. He was by then an octogenerian, and his son's rule must have been comparatively short, and to the latter may have to be attributed the Taxila silver scroll. Marshall assigns the few silver Kushāṇa coins which he has unearthed from the Parthian strata to Wima Kadphises, and not, like Konow, to Kujula. It is thus possible on this reading of the relevant data that Kujula Kadphises's career closed some time about A.D. 64. He coined no gold. This was once accounted for (by Kennedy) on the ground that being a mere *Yavuga* (chief) and not an emperor, he had no authority to strike gold coins; but this explanation is untenable, because such imperial titles as *mahārāja*, *mahanta*, *mahārājādhirāja* etc. were also used by him. Cunningham reads the title '*devaputra*' on two of the 'Bull : Bactrian camel' type coins with the name 'Kujula Kara Kaphsa'; but the word *devaputra* cannot be read at all on the two specimens he

the genitive suffix '*sa*' with '*kapa*' is unjustifiable; the record of the discovery of the inscribed stone shows that it was being used for many years, perhaps for centuries, for the grinding of spices, and 'all the middle part of the inscription has suffered and become indistinct, and some portions have been obliterated altogether.'

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reproduces. No other coins of this king are known bearing the title *devaputra* and it is worth noting here that none of the other Kushāṇa coins, whether belonging to the Kadphises or to the Kanishka groups of kings, bear this term; it is in fact used only in a few of their inscriptions.[1] The two epithets *dhramaṭhida* (*dharmasthita*) and *sachadhramaṭhida* (*satyadharmasthita*) meaning 'established in faith or true faith' may prove that Kujula was either a Buddhist or a Śaiva by creed. One of the coin devices assignable to Kadaphes, a variant of Kadphises, has been explained by some numismatists as 'Buddha seated in conventional attitude'; but it may as well be identified as Śiva. A coin of the same king shows Roman influence; it bears on its obverse a diademed head which is an imitation of that of the emperor Augustus or his successor Tiberius.

Wima Kadphises, Yen-kao-chen (pronounced *iam kau t'ien* in the sixth century A.D.) of the *Hou Han-shu*, appears to have succeeded his father at a fairly mature age some time about A.D. 64, and to have ruled until the early part of A.D. 78. The later limit of his reign is probably fixed by the Taxila silver scroll inscription of the year 136, which records the enshrinement of the relics of Buddha by one Urasaka, a native of Bactria, for the bestowal of perfect health on 'the great king, king of kings, the son of God, the Kushāṇa' (*maharaja rajatiraja devaputra Kushaṇa*). Scholars differ about the identity of this unnamed king, but it is likely that he was Wima Kadphises. The fact that Wima did not use his tribal designation *Kushāṇa* on his coins while it is used in the scroll, would not justify us in distinguishing him from the *maharaja rajatiraja* of the inscription; no one doubts his Kushāṇa nationality. The title *devaputra*, probably an adaptation of one of the epithets of the Chinese emperors, first used for him here and continued in some inscriptions of his immediate successors, also had its basis in the divine character of the king. Wima Kadphises was the first to emphasise this character in his coins and was followed in this practice by the later Kushāṇa kings. *Devaputra* also occurs in a Brāhmī inscription, between the feet of a colossal stone statue seated on a lion throne, in the collection of the Mathurā Museum (No. 215). The statue was discovered in the *devakula* at Mat, nine miles north of Mathurā. The inscription reads *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kushānaputra shāhi Vema takshama*; *takshama* is an old Persian word meaning 'strong,' and it is highly probable that this 'Vema, the strong, the scion of the Kushāṇa race' was Wima Kadphises.[2] The year 136 of the Taxila scroll is referred by some scholars to the Vikrama Samvat (though there are many dissentients), and may thus be the equivalent of A.D. 78. If so, this was his last year, for we shall see presently that his successor Kanishka most probably began his rule in the same year. In a fragmentary stone inscription found by Franke at Khalatse in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh, bearing the date 187 (or 184), Konow has read *maharajasa Uvima Kavthisasa*. But the reading of the king's name is not clear and we really have

[1] *JNSI.* IX pp. 78-81

[2] *JBORS.* VI pp. 12-22

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no other ground for supposing that Wima extended his rule into this corner of Tibet.

Wima may have been associated with his father in the latter part of his reign, and have materially helped him in his conquests and annexations. From the time of his formal accession to the throne until his death, his comparatively short reign seems to have been absorbed by his efforts to advance the Kushāṇa power into the interior of India. Taxila and the Panjab were annexed to his empire in the first years of his reign, and if the evidence of the inscribed statue, previously mentioned, in the collection of the Mathurā Museum is to be interpreted as has been done by Jayaswal, the Kushāṇa empire perhaps reached Mathurā during his reign. The later Han records tell us that Yen-kao-chen governed his Indian empire through a viceroy. We hold this to be likely, not only because the capital of his vast empire probably lay far to the west of the Indus, but also, because he was intensely busy with expeditions of conquest and annexation.

His association with India was at the same time very intimate. This is proved by the fact that he was one of the few early foreign rulers who found time among his various activities, to become an avowed adherent of an Indian creed. As the Indo-Greek king Menander became an ardent Buddhist, so this semi-barbarous Kushāṇa emperor became a zealous convert to the Pāśupata or Māheśvara creed. His conversion appears to have occurred some time before his formal accession, for all his coins, whether in gold or copper show unmistakable signs of his Śaiva affiliation. The reverse device of his coins, almost invariably, consists of Śiva with his long trident, sometimes accompanied by his bull and sometimes not, or of a trident-battle-axe, undoubtedly a Śaiva emblem. The obverse presents the king in various attitudes either seated on a couch, or standing sacrificing at an altar, or even riding in a chariot drawn by two horses; sometimes his bust or full figure seated cross-legged is represented as rising from the clouds. The latter device, as well as such other traits as the flame issuing from his shoulders, distinctly emphasise his claim to divine nature. The obverse legends of his coins in Greek are either *Basileus Ooēmo Kadphisēs* or *Basileus Basileōn Sōtēr Megas Ooēmo Kadphisēs* and the Kharoshṭhi legend on the reverse is either simply *maharaja rajadiraja Vima Kathphiśasa* or, in a more elaborate style, *maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kathphiśasa tradara*. The latter not only indicates the nature of the creed of his choice (*mahiśvara*, i.e. Māheśvara, another name for a Pāśupata devotee), but also describes him as the Lord of all the Worlds and the Great King, King of Kings, the Saviour. This illustrates in a very striking manner his accession to great power, much more effectively than the Chinese source. The king's figure on the coins, probably something in the nature of a portrait, portrays an elderly man of strong character and powerful personality. His association with a viceregal ruler in the administration of the Indian portion of his empire appears to be corroborated by numismatic evidence. A unique copper

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coin bears on one side a Janiform bust; the bearded face evidently belonging to Wima Kadphises himself, has his peculiar symbol before it, while the beardless face, presumably his viceroy's, has the latter's own mark placed in front. This subordinate ruler is usually described by numismatists as the 'Nameless King' because none of his coins bears the name of the issuer. Most of these have simply the Greek titles *Basileus Basileōn Sōtēr Megas*, or the same together with their Prākṛit equivalents, *maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa*. The close similarity of the lay-out of his attributive epithets in Greek with that of the Greek titles of Wima Kadphises should be noted. Cunningham has observed that 'the coins of both kings are common in the Kabul valley, throughout the Panjab, and in North-Western India, as far east as Benares and Ghazipur.' All the above numismatic data seem to prove the contemporaneity of these two rulers, one suzerain and the other subordinate, the latter issuing no coins except in copper.

The prosperity of the Kushāṇa empire under Wima Kadphises is attested by the large number of gold and copper coins that were issued in his reign. His empire lay between the two other great empires of the time, the Chinese and the Roman, and a brisk trade in silk, spices, gems and other articles was carried on by traders of Indian and other nationalities. Pliny refers to the flourishing commerce between the Indian and the Roman empires in the first century A.D., and deplores the heavy drain of specie from Rome to India to pay for luxuries imported for the use of Roman nobles. The gold coins of the Roman emperors, that poured into India appear to have been melted down and recoined by Wima Kadphises and his successors, for their own use and the use of the traders and commercial magnates in their empire. This connection between the Roman and the Kushāṇa money seems to have influenced the gold coinage of the imperial Kushāṇas, especially in their metrology.[1] The numismatic data thus indirectly prove that the progress of the tribe to power and prosperity, beginning with the aggrandisement of the first Kushāṇa chief, was immensely developed during the comparatively short period of his son's reign. It was maintained in full during the reigns of their immediate successors.

Wima Kadphises was succeeded by Kanishka, the greatest of the Kushāṇa rulers in India. According to the chronological scheme adopted here, he ascended the throne in the latter part of A.D. 78. His name has been surrounded with a halo in the traditions of northern Buddhism, but only a small measure of clear and connected information about his reign can be gleaned from literature, whether Indian or foreign. We have his numerous gold and copper coins and a number of inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī, but they do not materially help us to fix the exact date of his accession to the throne. Scholars have variously

[1] Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians*, Pt. I p. 20. But a somewhat different explanation of the metrology of the Kushāṇa gold coins has been given by J. Kennedy in *JRAS*. 1912, pp. 987 ff.

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interpreted the literary and archaeological evidence, and different historians have differently determined his chronology. One certain fact about him to be gathered from his own inscriptions and those of his successors Vāsishka, Huvishka, Kanishka II and Vāsudeva, is that an era began from his first regnal year and continued to be current throughout the reigns of his successors, and probably endured thereafter. Several dates, ranging from the year 1 (?) to the year 98 of this era are read in these inscriptions, and opinions differ about the exact time of its commencement. Fleet, and after him Kennedy, support the view once sponsored and subsequently given up by Cunningham, that Kanishka's era started from 58 B.C., and that it was this era which came to be known afterwards as the Vikrama Samvat. A corollary of the above is that the Kadphises group of kings succeeded the Kanishka group, for neither Kujula nor Wima can be placed in the first half of the first century B.C. Marshall, Konow, Smith and a few other scholars suggest that Kanishka began to rule in the beginning of the second quarter of the second century A.D. (*c.* 125-128), and that his reign lasted for about a quarter of a century.[1] Fergusson urged long ago the theory that Kanishka was the inaugurator of the era of A.D. 78, which became known afterwards as the Śaka era (*Śakābda*) still current in different parts of India. This view found support with such scholars as Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Raychaudhuri and others. Several other views have been aired, but these three are most generally discussed by the Indologists interested in the subject. One of the latest writers to give an opinion on this subject is J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, and she has supported the theory of Kanishka's association with the era of A.D. 78, starting from his first regnal year.[2]

To appraise the several theories about Kanishka's date, the evidence supplied by the archaeological data should be carefully studied and analysed. Among those the coins and inscriptions are the most important, and though they help us little towards fixing a definite date for him, they hardly leave any scope for doubt that the Kanishka group of kings is later than the Kadphises group. Fleet and Kennedy's view is thus *a priori* untenable, for major numismatic considerations alone would prevent our placing Kanishka or his successors before the Kadphises kings. If we carefully study the series of coins issued successively by the alien rulers of India up to Vāsudeva I, it becomes quite clear that the Kadphises coins were issued immediately after those of the Śakas and the Pahlavas. The coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, though they differ in some respects from those of Wima Kadphises, can be shown to have for their prototypes the money of the latter. The practice of issuing bilingual and biscriptural

[1] Konow has changed his views several times. His latest opinion about the date of Kanishka is that he began to rule in A.D. 200 which is impossible; *India Antiqua*, p. 195

[2] Lohuizen-de Leeuw, op. cit., p. 65; she holds that before the accession of Kanishka only one era was in use which began in 129 B.C., not long after the year 200 of which, i.e. shortly after A.D. 71 and before A.D. 86, Kanishka ascended the throne; op. cit., p. 64

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coins, introduced by the Indo-Greek kings, was continued throughout the Śaka-Pahlava period up to the time of Wima Kadphises. Kanishka discontinued it, the legends of his coins being written only in Greek script though the language of most of them was not Greek; Huvishka and Vāsudeva mainly followed Kanishka's mode of issuing coins. The obverse devices of Wima Kadphises's money clearly influenced those of the coins of Kanishka and his successors. Thus it can be conclusively demonstrated with the help of the coins that the Kadphises group of kings preceded the Kanishka group, whatever might have been their respective dates; and it necessarily follows from this that Kanishka could never have ascended the throne in 58 B.C. and founded the Vikrama Samvat era. Those who believe that he became the king of the Kushāṇas some time between A.D. 125 and 128 stand on firmer ground; but the literary and the archaeological considerations which they adduce can be differently interpreted. The Chinese texts indicate no sure date for Kanishka, though a few of them purport to record some events of his reign. The *Hou Han-shu* says nothing about him, and it is inferred that as the report of Pan-Young (*c.* A.D. 125) was the principal authority of its author Fan-Ye, Kanishka's epoch was later than A.D. 125. Now, Fan-Ye's work records events which happened in countries near China long after the reign of Emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-125); and Kanishka's name and career might have been accidentally omitted from these later chronicles. The stories about him which have been preserved are mostly gleaned from several works originally written in Sanskrit, but translated into Chinese in the sixth century A.D.; these were the *Sūtrālaṁkāra* by the great Buddhist theologian Aśvaghosha, the *Saṁyuktaratnapiṭaka* and the *Dharmapiṭakanidāna Sūtra*, whose originals are now lost.[1] There is nothing in these works to suggest a definite date for Kanishka, though some vague statements that he reigned 700 years after the Nirvāṇa occur in some of them. The archaeological evidence, likewise, affords no conclusive support for a second century date for Kanishka.

The view of Fergusson, Oldenberg and others who suggest that Kanishka was the inaugurator of the Śaka era of A.D. 78 has much in its favour. It is true we cannot be absolutely certain of it, but it certainly harmonizes with one major probability, viz., the association of Kanishka with a continuous reckoning. The era which started from the first regnal year of this great Kushāṇa emperor remained in force ever after, and there is no era except this, the well-known *Śakābda*, (still current in parts of India), which could have had its origin in the first or the second century A.D. The objection previously urged against this theory, that Kanishka as a Kushāṇa could not be associated with it, has lost its force; even if we do not fully subscribe to the view held by many scholars that the Kushāṇas were a branch of the Śakas, it is beyond cavil that they imbibed many Śaka characteristics in the course of their long association with that people. Again, the era of

[1] *IA.* XXXII, 1903, pp. 382-9

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A.D. 78 first began to be described as the *Śakakāla* or *Śakanṛipakāla* in inscriptions from the fifth century A.D. onwards. This appellation was probably chosen because the era was in continuous use throughout the reigns of the Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India who owned allegiance to the Kushāṇas. It may be presumed that the earliest of these Satraps and Great Satraps belonged to a period when the Kushāṇa supremacy was well established in the greater part of Northern India, and was even perhaps already on the wane in the outlying parts of the empire. This would explain the almost supreme power enjoyed by these nominally subordinate rulers. The great Kshaharāta satrap Nahapāna, may have begun his career early in the reign of Kanishka, but the control of the imperial Kushāṇa power over this remote corner of the empire probably grew less and less strict in course of time, until Nahapāna came to enjoy a virtually sovereign authority including the right of issuing silver coins with the royal bust. Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman after him, were for all practical purposes, sovereign rulers of parts of Western India, and their reigns can hardly be equated with the early years of the mighty Kushāṇa monarch Kanishka. Kanishka had probably passed from the stage long before, and no doubt Huvishka, who came after Vāsishka, the immediate successor of Kanishka, had already sat on the imperial throne for a fairly long time. These and various other considerations lend a great deal of weight to the views of Fergusson, Oldenberg and others. The objections raised by Konow, Dubreuil and others are not irrefutable.

KANISHKA I

There is hardly any doubt now about the existence of more than one ruler named Kanishka. The difficulty of dating the first (and most important) Kanishka, is mainly due to the confusion made by the Indian writers of Buddhist texts and their Chinese translators concerning the kings of this name. Tāranāth, the Tibetan historian, distinguishes two Kanishkas, and, presumably, the Kanishka who reigned in the second century A.D., on the evidence of some Tibetan and Chinese texts, was a later Kanishka whose existence is attested by the Ara inscription of the year 41. The Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (probably written some time in the second or third century A.D.), says : In the family of the Kiu-sha there was a king called Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a (Kanishka). He conquered Tung T'ien-chu and pacified the country. His power spread fear; his good fortune was complete.'s Similar information is derived from the Chinese versions of such work as the *Sūtrālaṁkāra* of Aśvaghosha, and others. Lévi at first thought that 'Chen-t'an' or 'Tchen-tan', the base of the form 'Chandana', associated with Kanishka in the Tibetan account of the Kushāṇa king, denoted China-sthāna (Chinthān) or Kashgaria; thus 'Tchen-t'an Kaníshka' according to this view would be Kanishka, king of Khotan, and Lévi believed that the cradle of the power of the Tukhāra-Turushkas lay in that region of Central Asia

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But in his posthumous article, unfortunately incomplete, 'Kanishka et Śātavāhana',[1] he explained the word and its variants in a different manner: these forms transcribed the Indian word Chanda (Chandra-moon) which was also probably the basic sense of the term Yüe-chi, 'the moon people'. Now, Chandana Kanishka was most probably the first Kanishka, the immediate successor of Wima Kadphises, and his association with Kashgar and Khotan, though not necessarily proved by this attributive epithet, is demonstrable from data available from several other Chinese texts, mainly translations from Sanskrit works. Chandana probably appears as Sandanes in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* which was composed in the latter part of the first century A.D. The 'Tung T'ien-chu' of the extract from *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* quoted above denoted, according to most scholars, some part of Eastern India, and Kanishka I's conquests in this region are proved by the inscriptions and coins. The Buddhist image inscriptions of Sārnāth (Benares) and Śrāvastī (Saheth-Maheth in the Gonda and Bharaich district of Uttar Pradesh) bear the year of *mahārāja* Kanishka, and there can hardly be any doubt that these places were incorporated into the vast Kushāṇa empire early in his rule. The year 3 in the first of the two inscriptions shows that Sārnāth was conquered early in his reign, unless it had already been annexed in the latter part of his predecessor's rule. The Saheth-Maheth record, though fragmentary, may also belong to the early part of his time, because the donor of this image was Bhikshu Bala, also the donor of the Sārnāth image.

The Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of Kanishka bearing different dates, 1 (? Peshawar relic-casket inscriptions), 11 (Suë-Vihar copper-plate and Zeda stone inscriptions) and 18 (Māṇikyāla stone box lid inscription), show that his sway extended far to the north and north-west of India, the distant Panjab, Gandhāra and upper Sind. The Chinese translations of the Sanskrit texts already mentioned, though their account is somewhat garbled and confused, seem to refer to the wide extent of the Kushāṇa empire. The Tibetan and Chinese writings contain the traditions of his conflict with the kings of Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭaliputra. The king of Pāṭaliputra, the suzerain of Eastern India, was vanquished by the Yüe-chi; he offered nine hundred thousand pieces of gold to purchase peace, and being unable to amass this huge sum, he gave his Yüe-chi conqueror the alms-bowl of Buddha, Aśvaghosha and a miraculous cock. The annalists further tell us that Kanishka after making himself master of the south and east, turned his attention to the west and the north. The king of the Parthians wished to close the west to him, but in vain. Only the north still remained unsubdued. 'Kanishka organised a great expedition, and got as far as the passes of T'sung-ling; but he announced his projects of conquest too soon and his people, tired of always waging war, smothered him when he was lying ill.' We need not accept the evidence of these late texts in full, but they contain some allusions to his reverses in the north and north-east

[1] *JA.* 1936, pp. 61-121

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in the latter part of his reign. The victories in the south-west, of Pan-chao, a general of the Chinese emperor Ho-ti (A.D. 89-105), may be placed in this period of Kanishka's reverses, and Kanishka may be regarded as partially contemporaneous with him. This Kushāṇa contemporary of Pan-chao has been identified by some scholars with Wima Kadphises, for the reason that, had Kanishka been the contemporary of the Chinese general, the annalists would have explicitly recorded the fact: for Kanishka was certainly a famous personality. But little stress can be laid on this line of argument. The early Chinese historians knew of Wima Kadphises as Yen-kao-chen; had he been really the adversary of Pan-chao, his name would in all probability have been mentioned in this context. In fact, the omission of the name of Pan-chao's Kushāṇa adversary is immaterial. We know from the inscriptions tha Kanishka enjoyed a reign of about twenty-three years. The first part of his reign was crowned with glorious successes; in his wars in the north and north-east of his Indian empire, he may have gained some initial victories. Hiuan Tsang records the traditions that 'Kanishka Rāja of Gandhāra in old days having subdued all the neighbouring provinces and brought into obedience the people of distant countries, governed by his army a wide territory, even to the east of the T'sung-ling mountains.' He also mentions that hostages were sent to Kanishka by the tribes occupying the western districts of the Yellow River; the king treated these hostages with singular care and assigned separate establishments for them during summer and winter in different parts of his empire. All these events may be assigned to the first part of his reign when his sway extended far beyond the borders of India. But it is not unlikely that in its latter years, especially in the regions outside India towards the north and east his power underwent some diminution. It was probably in this time that the victories of the Chinese general Pan-chao spread far and wide across the western borders of China. It must be noted however, that there was no diminution of the Kushāṇa empire in India during the lifetime of Kanishka. The Buddhist tradition and his inscriptions in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī afford ample testimony to the wide extent of his Indian possessions.

KANISHKA'S CAPITAL : FOURTH BUDDHIST COUNCIL

Hiuan Tsang tells us that Purushapura (modern Peshawar) was the capital of the vast Kushāṇa empire. The situation of the royal seat far to the west of the Indus, indicates that the imperial possessions spread far towards the west and north. The Chinese pilgrim refers to the construction of a many storied relic-tower at Purushapura in which some relics of Buddha were enshrined. The Indian Archaelogical Survey while conducting excavations in two large mounds at Peshawar, known now as *Shahjī-kī ḍheri*, lit. 'the mound of the king', unearthed a gilt relic-casket, the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions on which purport to record a religious gift (probably the enshrinement of the relic itself) 'in Kanishka's Vihārā, in Māhasena's

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Saṅghārāma' in the reign of the great king Kanishka. Konow reads in it the date of the endowment, which according to him is the first regnal year of Kanishka. But the reading of the date is doubtful. Two interesting facts can be deduced from these somewhat disjointed inscriptions : one is the truthfulness of the tradition recorded by Hiuan Tsang that Kanishka caused a big relic-tower to be built in his capital, and the other that the works-manager (*navakarmika*) of the establishment was a Greek slave Agisala (Agesilaos) by name. The tower and the monastery attached to it, which were erected under the orders of the great king drew the admiration of Chinese and Arab travellers.

During Kanishka's rule the momentous Fourth Council of the Buddhist congregation was held in the Kuṇḍalavana Vihāra in Kashmir, probably under the presidency of the great Buddhist theologian Vasumitra. Another tradition records that the council was held at Jālandhara in Eastern Panjab. It was in this council that a great re-orientation of Buddhism took place. Hiuan Tsang tells us that the convocation of 500 Buddhist elders was the direct outcome of the great interest which was taken by the foreign monarch in the Buddhist scriptures. Kanishka found the different views of the several schools regarding Buddha's teachings so contradictory, that he desired to have them all systematised and codified according to the respective schools. Then with the aid of the venerable Pārśva, one of the great Buddhist theologians of the time who lived in his court, he caused the more prominent Buddhist elders to be summoned from all parts of his empire, and set a select body among them the task of collecting the variant texts of the *Tripiṭaka* and of writing expository commentaries on them. The council collected the different texts and composed a vast number of explanatory treatises, displaying in their task an extraordinary acquaintance not only with Buddhist learning of various kinds, but also with the different branches of Brāhmaṇical learning. Hiuan Tsang further tells us that Kanishka had this extensive literature engraved on copper plates, enclosed in stone coffers and deposited in a *stūpa* specially built for the purpose. Hiuan Tsang is our principal informant on Kanishka's council and the nature of its work, though some later Tibetan books seem to afford partial confirmation of what we learn from him.

It is to be presumed that this council gave a new impetus to the development of Buddhism, and that the adoption of Sanskrit as the medium through which the initiated were instructed in the various branches of the developed creed was chiefly responsible for the remarkable transformation which the Buddhist creed underwent. The previous belief in the ways of the Śrāvakas (the listeners to the precepts of the elders and the Buddhas), the Arhats (those who deserved Nirvāṇa) and the Pratyeka-Buddhas (the individuals who had attained *Buddhatvam* by their personal efforts) gradually gave place to a faith in the attainment of Bodhisattvahood, a condition which the aspirant claimed to be of the greatest good to the greatest number of living beings. The *Bodhisattva-yāna*, or the way,

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the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas, came to be described afterwards as the *Mahāyāna* or the 'great vehicle' the followers of which would dub in derision the earlier ways of the Śrāvakas, the Arhats and the Pratyeka-Buddhas (*Śrāvakayāna*, *Arhatyāna* and *Pratyeka-Buddha-yāna*) as the *Hīnayāna* or the 'lesser vehicle' of a selfish nature. There is no doubt that the transformation was already in progress long before Kanishka, but it is the 'Fourth Council' of the Buddhist elders, held under his auspices, that seems to have regularised and systematised many of these changes. The changes in the creed found concrete expression in the Buddhist art of his time. The representation in human form of the present (Śākya-muni) Buddha and the previous Buddhas who used to be shown by such symbols as footprints, the Bodhi-tree with the *vajrāsana* beneath it, the *stūpa* etc., as well as the figures of several Bodhisattvas in the contemporary art of Gandhāra and Mathurā, testify to the revolution in the religious outlook which had meanwhile taken place. One of the earliest figures of Buddha is to be found on the top of the lid of the Peshawer relic-casket described above, and several gold and copper coins of Kanishka bear Buddha figures in the usual standing or sitting attitudes with descriptive legends (*Sakaumo Boddo*, i.e., Śākyamuni Buddha or simply *Boddo*) beside them. Kanishka's great zeal for Buddhism did not, however, make him intolerant of the other creeds followed by his numerous subjects all over his empire. This fact is characteristically proved by the large number of deities appertaining mainly to the Zoroastrian but partly to the Hindu, Greek and Roman religions which he used as the reverse devices of his gold and copper coins. While we cannot infer from the style of these coins a strictly eclectic frame of mind in the Kushāṇa emperor, for these deities have been regarded as objects of worship in various parts of his dominions, they establish beyond doubt his remarkable toleration and benevolence towards different creeds.

ADMINISTRATION OF KANISHKA'S EMPIRE AND THE END OF HIS RULE

Kanishka ruled his vast empire through subordinate rulers enjoying the status of satraps and great satraps. This was the practice followed by the immediate predecessors of the Kushāṇas, viz., the Pahlavas and the Śakas. The Sārnāth Buddhist image inscription dated in the third regnal year of Kanishka (A.D. 81) records the installation of Friar Bala's image of the Bodhisattva at Benares by Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna and Kshatrapa Vanaspara. It is possible that Vanaspara was the son of Kharapallāna, and that both were governing the eastern part of Kanishka's empire as subordinate rulers under the imperial suzerain. The northernmost part of India, which fell presumably under the direct supervision of the emperor was also administered by satraps, as it is proved by several Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. The Zeda inscription (named after a village near Und in the ancient Gandhāra region) of the year 11 of Kanishka (A.D. 89)

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refers to one Kshatrapa Liaka possibly a descendant of Liaka Kusuluka, the satrap of Chukhsa under the great king Moga mentioned in the Taxila copper plate. Another such Kshatrapa, Veśpasi, apparently belonging to Khudacha or Khudachi, is mentioned in the record (dated in the 18th year of Kanishka) found at Mānikyāla in the Rawalpindi district, West Panjab. The same inscription mentions the name of Lala, 'the increaser of the G (K)ushāṇa race' described as the general (*daṇḍanāyaka*), evidently of the great Kushāṇa emperor. The above epigraphic data and a few others of the same nature tempt one to suggest that Kshaharāta Nahapāna of Western India, if he be the same as Mambaros (almost universally emended by scholars to Nambanos) of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, was a satrap under Kanishka in the early part of his satrapal rule.[1] It, cannot be doubted, however, that ruling as he did in regions far removed from the imperial capital, Nahapāna enjoyed more of the royal prerogative (cf. the title of *rāña* on his coins) than Kanishka's other Kshatrapas whom we have previously had occasion to mention. He was virtually independent and he coined money in his own name, a privilege evidently denied to the others.

The prosperity of the Kushāṇa empire, so remarkably attested by the fine gold pieces struck by Wima Kadphises, appears to have increased under his successor. The many beautiful gold coins issued by Kanishka furnish direct evidence of this. The times of Wima Kadphises and his immediate successors thus offer a strong contrast to those of the Parthians, their predecessors. The Parthian coins were in the compound metal billon consisting of one-fifth silver to four-fifths copper. This mixture, probably the sign of a debased coinage, incidentally emphasises the weaker economic condition of the Indo-Parthian power. The gold and copper coins of Kanishka bear the figure of the king usually shown standing and sacrificing at altar on the obverse, and deities belonging to different pantheons on the reverse, with the legend written in Greek script; the language, however, is not Greek. The obverse legend is *Shāonāno Shāo Kaneshki Koshano*, the reverse containing only the names of the various deities shown thereon. The epithet *Shāonāno Shāo* from which the later Shāhānu Shāhi or Shāhān Shāh is derived, is undoubtedly a Kushāṇa adaptation of the Parthian title *Basileōs Basileōn*, in itself the old Persian *Kshāyathiānām Kshāyathiya* in Greek garb. The language according to Konow is Khotanese Śaka. These gold coins, like those of Huvishka and Vāsudeva, indirectly prove Roman contact with the imperial

[1] The *Periplus* is dated by some scholars in the last quarter of the first century A.D., while others date it between A.D. 41-72. It is probable, however, that part of the work, especially the earlier portion mentioning Malichas, king of the Nabataeans (Malichas II, A.D. 41-72), was written in the latter period; to it was added the other part which contains a reference to Mambaros-Nambanos, no other than Nahapāna, the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa of Western India. As the work was of the nature of a log book of a Greek mariner, there is no inherent improbability in its sections being composed in two different periods. For a slightly different view which places Nahapāna some decades earlier, see ch. x.

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Kushāṇas, and their weight system seems to have affinities with the *denarius aureus* (gold *dināra*) of the early Roman emperors. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* reckons gold and silver specie as one of the imports of Barygaza (modern Broach), a port on the western seaboard of India. Sewell has referred to huge hoards of Roman coins found in 'Madras Presidency' which were generally the issues of the first five Roman emperors.[1] They appear to have constituted the hoarded wealth of the rich South Indian magnates and traders. But the large number which found their way to the North were recoined by the Kushāṇa emperors from the time of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka. The Kushāṇa emperors, however, hardly struck any silver money (very few Kushāṇa silver coins are known) and it is logical to suppose that the imported silver specie was used for purposes other than monetary. The name *denarius* came to be adopted in the Sanskritic languages as *dināra* usually in the sense of a gold coin, as *dramma* was also adopted by the Indians normally in the sense of a silver coin from the Greek coin denomination *drachma*. The large numbers of silver coins that were issued by the earlier foreign rulers of India may have served the purpose of an intermediate currency in the Kushāṇa empire. Numerous copper coins were issued by the Kanishka group of kings as a token coinage mostly meant for everyday use.

Nothing certain is known about the time or manner in which the rule of the great Kushāṇa emperor came to its end. The tradition of his death preserved in the Chinese translations of Sanskrit Buddhist texts has already been briefly referred to. It records that his greed, cruelty and insatiable lust for power raised grave discontent among his subjects. His soldiers grew tired of his constant wars, and a rebellion seems to have broken out against him. His death was brought about in a peculiar manner; when he was lying ill, 'they covered him with a quilt, a man sat on top of him, and the king died on the spot.' It is not known how far the tradition is true, but it certainly indicates a very undignified end for a great emperor. Kanishka seems to have ruled for about 23 years, for a Brāhmī inscription found in a mound at the village of Sonk, Mathurā *tahsil*, mentions 'the establishment of an image of the Bodhisattva in her own convent by one Puśyadatā in the first month of the summer season of the year 23 in the reign of Mahārāja Kanishka.' This may have been his last year, for an inscription of Mahārāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāsishka of the year 24 was discovered at Isapur, a village near Mathurā. Here we may recall that the Sāñchī inscription of a king Vaskushāṇa of the Kushāṇa year 22 records the installation of an image of Buddha by one Vidyāmati. It is not at all certain who this king Vaskushāna was, and as the prince does not bear any of the Kushāṇa titles, e.g. *devaputra*, and as he is simply styled Rājan, it has been suggested that he was a local prince of Kushāṇa extraction.[2] The year 22 falls within the reign of Kanishka I, and if the name Vaskushāṇa be another form of Vāsishka who succeeded

[1] *JRAS.* 1904, pp. 590 ff.
[2] Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, I pp. 278, 386

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Kanishka, then it is likely that Kanishka was associated with Vāsishka in the last part of his rule in the south-western part of his empire. Many of the alien rulers who preceded Kanishka are known to have associated viceregal kings with themselves and Kanishka may have followed the common practice.

VĀSISKHA, HUVISHKA AND KANISHKA II

Vāsishka, possibly identical with the Vaskushāṇa already mentioned, seems to have been entrusted during the lifetime of Kanishka with the administration of parts of Central India. We do not know the relationship between the two, but probably they were father and son. Vāsishka ruled for a few years only over an empire confined mostly to the interior of India. The Isapur *yūpa* inscription referred to above shows that Mathurā and its surrounding regions were in his possession. Another Brāhmī inscription of the year 28 engraved on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image, now in the Sāñchī Museum, refers to the erection of a shrine and the establishment of an image of Buddha in the Dharmadeva monastery by one Madhurikā, the daughter of Vera, in the year 28 during the reign of the '*mahārājā rājātirāja devaputra shāhi* Vāsashka' (Vāsishka). This proves that he held sway in the Sāñchī region also. The year 28 was the last of Vāsishka's rule; for there is definite evidence to show that it was also the first regnal year of Huvishka, his successor. No inscription of Vāsishka has so far been discovered in any other part of India and we must conclude that he lost control over the distant corners of the Kushāṇa empire. If Jushka, one of the three Turushka kings Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka referred to by Kalhana in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (i. 168 ff.), is identical with Vāsishka, then the latter probably still held Kashmir. The Kashmir chronicler informs us that Jushka founded the city of Jushkapura with its monastery, and that he was also the founder of Jayasvāmipura; Jushkapura has been identified by Stein with modern Zakar in the valley. Possibly Vāsishka was the same as Vajheshka, the father of Kanishka II who is named in the Ara inscription. He does not seem to have issued any coins, either gold or copper, in his own name, and this fact also might indicate a temporary eclipse of the Kushāṇa power during his rule. No certain reason for such an eclipse can be discovered in the present state of our knowledge, but there is little doubt that during the time of his immediate successor the Kushāṇas recovered their former glory.

Huvishka succeeded Vāsishka in the year 28. The Mathurā inscription of the same year[1] records several endowments made by one Prāchīnika (?) who describes himself as the son of Sarukamāna and lord of Kharāsalera and Vakana (perhaps the same as Bakana of the Mat inscription) in the month of Gourppiya (Indian *Praushṭhapada*, English August) during the rule of Devaputra Shāhi Huvishka. The date of the Sāñchī

[1] *EI*, xxi pp.55 ff.; *JBORS*. xviii, 1932, p. 6

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inscription of Vāsishka falls in the third Hemanta month (i.e. Pausha) of the year 28, and thus we see that Huvishka succeeded him within less than eight months of the date of this inscription. Huvishka is designated in the inscription merely as 'devaputra Shāhi', and as the imperial titles *mahārāja rājātirājā* are not assigned to him in any inscription before the year 41, Konow has suggested that another Kushāṇa might have been at that time the real suzerain at the centre of Kushāṇa power, in Badakhshan. But not much stress need be laid on the absence of the imperial titles, for it is a fact that in these Kushāṇa records, which are not really official in character, there is no uniformity in the use of these epithets. It is evident that Prāchīnika at whose request the record was drawn up in Mathurā belonged to a region beyond the north-west of India and owed allegiance to Huvishka. Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of Huvishka have been found in the Mathurā region and the North-West Frontier of India and in eastern Afghanistan. The Wardak vase Kharoshṭhī inscription of the year 51 shows that the region lying about thirty miles to the west of Kabul was included in the empire of Huvishka who is described as '*māhāraja rājātirāja* Huvishka.' It should be noted that though he is endowed with the full imperial titles, the epithet *devaputra* is omitted. In the Mathurā Museum Buddhist image inscription of the same year (51), however, he is called simply *mahārāja devaputra*, which seems to be the norm in the Brāhmī inscriptions of Huvishka derived from this vicinity. The Kashmir chronicler further informs us that the kings Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, though descended from the Turushka race were given to acts of piety, and built at Sushkaletra (?) and other places *maṭhas*, *chaityas* and similar structures.

During the reign of these powerful rulers, Kashmir was mostly a land of the Bauddhas who by practising the law of religious mendicancy had acquired great renown. 'And a Bodhisattva lived then in this country as the sole lord (spiritual) of the land; namely the glorious Nāgārjuna, who resided at Shaḍarhadvana.' Huvishka appears to have enjoyed a long and prosperous rule, because the inscriptions prove that both the years 28 and 60 fall within his reign. We have no knowledge of any of the incidents of his reign. The Indian and Chinese records contain hardly any reference to him. Kalhaṇa alone tells us that the town of Hushkapura was founded by Hushka, i.e. Huvishka, in Kashmir; its present site has been located by Stein in the modern village of Ushkur, a position of strategic importance inside the valley, beyond the Baramula Pass, its western gate. Hiuan Tsang informs us that there was a Buddhist monastery at Hushkapura when he visited India, and the inmates of the establishment were very hospitable to him before he proceeded to the capital city. The ruins of a *stūpa*, probably to be associated with the ancient Hushkapura *vihāra*, are still to be found at Ushkur, the Ūshkārā of Alberūni.

The prosperity of Huvishka's rule is attested by the large number of gold and copper coins that were issued in his name. The obverse of the

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gold coins usually bears the imperial bust wearing garments decked with jewels, and a high or a flat topped ornamental head-dress, with the imperial sceptre in his hand. The obverse of his copper coins which are indifferently preserved shows him in various attitudes, such as riding on an elephant, reclining on a couch etc.; of these the former emblem is the most common. The reverse contains, like Kanishka's coins, the figures of deities belonging to various pantheons, but many new deities not present on Kanishka's coins make their appearance here. Thus, Indian divinities like Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha, Mahāsena and Umā, the Alexandrian Serapis (Sarapo), personified Rome (Riom-Roma), the Greek Heracles, several Zoroastrian deities like Shariar, Luhrasp, Orlagno, Ouron, Oaninda (resembling the Greek goddess Nike) and others can be recognised among the numerous reverse devices of Huvishka's coins with the help of the descriptive legends by their side. The die-cutters appear to have blundered sometimes, giving a wrong description of the figure or making a mess of the Greek letters. Huvishka is almost invariably described on the obverse as *Shāonāno Shāo Ooēshki Koshano*, i.e. Shāhān Shāh Huvishka the Kushāṇa. These numismatic peculiarities present Huvishka to us as a powerful monarch of barbaric splendour with an appreciable amount of religious liberalism. Cunningham has recognised his figure on a nicolo seal where an alien chief wearing one of the typical head-dresses attributed to Huvishka is shown standing in a suppliant attitude before the four-armed Brāhmaṇical god Vishṇu; on a few other seals reproduced by Cunningham probably the same monarch is seen as a suppliant before the Syrian goddess Nana. But the nicolo seal device has been differently identified by Ghirshman who finds in the suppliant figure a Hephtalite Hūṇa chief, and a combination of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Mihira in the deity. Huvishka's portrait on a few well-preserved gold coins reveals a man with regular features, aquiline nose, large deep-set eyes, and a look of firm determination.

It is of interest to note here that within the long reign of Huvishka falls the period of another Kushāṇa emperor, Kanishka, the son of Vajheshka. The existence of this second Kanishka (for he could not have been the first, the last year of whose rule, as we have seen, was the year 23), is proved by a Kharoshṭhī inscription discovered at Ara, a village near Attock in the North-West Frontier Province now in Western Pakistan. It bears the year 41 and describes Vajheshka's son, Kanishka as '*maharaja rajatiraja devaputra kaïsara*.' Vajheshka has almost unanimously been identified with Vāsishka, the immediate successor, and possibly the sometime colleague of Kanishka I. Huvishka the immediate successor of Vāsishka was ruling from the year 28 to the year 60. How then can another imperial ruler, Kanishka II, be accommodated within this period ? From his titles Kanishka II appears at first sight to have been a sovereign independent ruler. Lüders first pointed out that the attributive epithets of this Kushāṇa monarch form a kind of commentary on the ancient notion of four emperors, 'the sons of Heaven', of India, Iran, China and Rome.

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Pelliot examines this tradition and shows that it was well known at an early date over a large area. Konow remarks, 'If it is of Indian origin, we should expect the arrangement of the four kingdoms to be India, Iran, China and the Roman empire, and such an arrangement is clearly reflected in the titles of our inscription, where *mahārāja* is the Indian, *rājātirāja* the Iranian, *devaputra* the Chinese, and *Kaïsara* the Roman title.'[1] R. D. Banerji, who first edited the Ara inscription but could not read the title Kaisara in it, assumed that this Kanishka was the same as the founder of the Kanishka era; the usually accepted view, however, that the two Kanishkas were different persons is the correct one. But the overlapping of Huvishka and Kanishka II at one period of their rule has to be satisfactorily explained. Lüders suggested that the Kushāṇa empire was divided after Vāsishka's death, Kanishka II, the son of Vāsishka, ruling in the north, Huvishka holding sway in the Indian interior; Huvishka, however, subsequently made himself master of the north also, as the Wardak vase inscription proves. As to this there is no positive proof of the division of the Kushāṇa empire after Vāsishka —Vājheshka's death, and the fact of his hold on the extreme north-west is, as has been shown above, very uncertain. The only probable explanation is that Huvishka was associated with Kanishka II in that region for a brief period. Kanishka II appears to have died before Huvishka, for no other record of his reign has so far been discovered. The attribution to him of high sounding imperial titles may go against this theory, but it should be remembered that at that epoch the associate rulers sometimes enjoyed full imperial titles and privileges. Azes I and Azilises, and Azilises and Azes II, as has been shown in the last chapter, used the same titles on their joint coins. The Sassanian viceregal rulers in the east were endowed with lofty designations on their coins such as *mazdes'n bage péróze vazurg Kúšán Šāh*, i.e. 'the mazda-worshipping lord Péróz Great Kushān shāh,' or *mazdes'n bage ohormizde vazurg Kúšán Šáhán Šáh*, i.e.' the mazda-worshipping lord Hormizd, Great Kushān king of kings,' during the lifetime of the Sassanid suzerain rulers. If this erstwhile associate ruler of Huvishka be identified with Kanishka of Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, then he may be the founder of the city of Kanishkapura in the Kashmir valley. The name of the city still persists in the modern village of Kanispur. We do not know whether Kanishka II issued any coins in his own name. If he did so, their extant specimens should be sought among those assigned to the great Kanishka. The attribution to him by some numismatists of some indifferently executed coins of debased gold bearing the name and titles of Kaneshko is hardly justifiable for the deterioration in the monetary art and technique of the Kushāṇas had not set in as early as the year 41 of Kanishka's era. The coins of Huvishka and even of Vāsudeva fully prove that it remained at a fairly high level for several decades thereafter.

[1] *CII.* II (i) p. 163

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VĀSUDEVA I: DECLINE OF THE KUSHĀṆA POWER

We do not know when the long and apparently prosperous rule of Huvishka came to a close. But it must have been some time between the year 60, his last known date, and the year 74, the earliest date of his successor, Vāsudeva. The new Kushāṇa emperor bears a purely Indian name, a name associated with the holy memory of the founder of the *bhakti* school of Bhāgavatism. This fact speaks eloquently of the gradual process of the indianisation of the foreigners. Though his dress and accoutrements as discerned in the royal effigy on his coins still have a foreign cast, Vāsudeva's name, and probably his religious affiliation, were Indian. It is true that two other non-Indian deities, Nana and Ardochso, appear, though rarely, on the reverse side of his coins, but the device *par excellence* is the Indian god Śiva. His name alone might not sufficiently attest his Śaiva association, but the trident battle-axe standard, on the obverse, almost invariably placed beside the figure of the king sacrificing at altar, and the frequent appearance of Śiva (sometimes polycephalous) accompanied by the bull Nandin on the reverse of his coins are conclusive as to the nature of his creed. Admittedly the inscriptions bearing his name are all associated either with Jainism or Buddhism; but these are the records of his Jaina or Bauddha subjects and their pious endowments. A fragmentary relief of the Kushāṇa period in the collection of the Mathurā Musuem depicts a royal personage with a companion reverently approaching a Śiva *liṅga*, the emblem *par excellence* of the god. Each of these persons wears Kushāṇa dress and the first of the two may represent Vāsudeva himself.[1]

There is no clear evidence of the bounds of Vāsudeva's empire. Probably his rule did not extend much beyond a part of modern Uttar Pradesh. No Kharoshṭhī inscription bearing the name of this Kushāṇa monarch has been discovered in the north-west, and almost all his Brāhmī inscriptions were found in Mathurā and its environs. This probably shows that the imperial Kushāṇas of India had by this time lost their hold over the extreme northern and north-western parts of India. We are quite in the dark about the events that contributed to the decline of the power of the Indian Kushāṇas in the north-west, but it is likely that the local Kushāṇa and other chiefs took advantage of the weakness of the central power, and made themselves independent. The last known date of Vāsudeva is the year 98 of the era of Kanishka corresponding to c. A. D. 176-7. Vāsudeva's rule seems to have come to an end shortly after this, and the mighty Kushāṇa empire melted away. The gold and copper coins that were issued in the name of Vāsudeva tell an interesting tale. Some of the former are well-executed and fully maintain the monetary standard and technique of his predecessors; others, especially the copper coins, show unmistakable signs of deterioration. Many of the latter, bearing only

[1] *JISOA.* IV, 1936, p. 130, pl. xxiii, fig. 1

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traces of the full legend usual on the obverse of Vāsudeva's coins, *Shāonāno Shāo Bazodēo Koshano*, are rudely executed, and there is little doubt that they were mere imitations of his coins issued by his successors, not necessarily of Kushāṇa lineage. The indigenous supplanters of Vāsudeva's line in parts of Northern India may have continued these issues for some time, till they began to strike coins in their own name.

SUCCESSORS OF VĀSUDEVA I

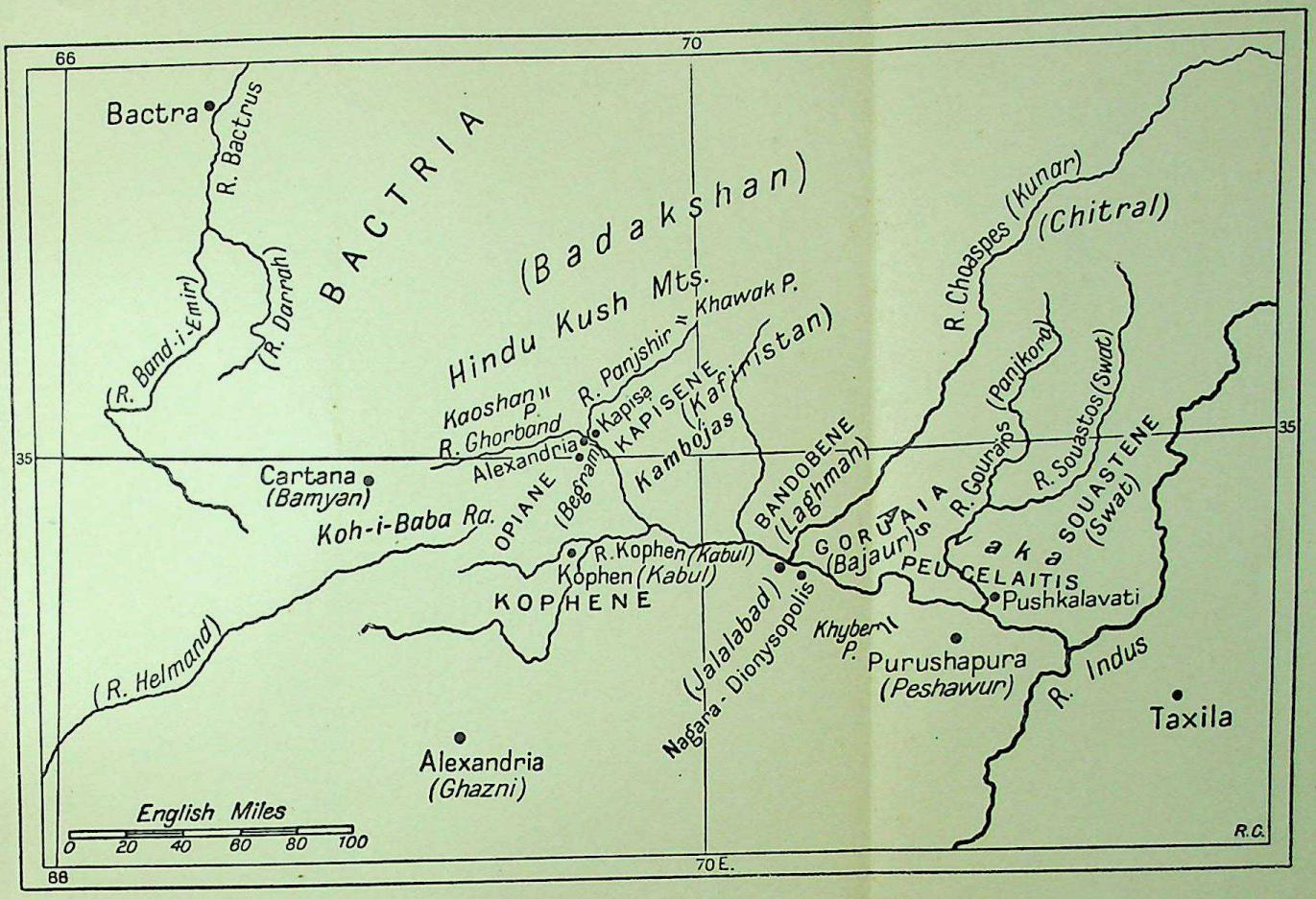
It is difficult, in fact impossible in the present state of our knowledge, to offer an orderly reconstruction of the history of the Kushāṇas after the death of Vāsudeva I. There are no certain literary and archaeological data to help us in this task. Coins are our only guidance, and they by themselves, hardly afford clear and definite historical clues in this case. We may, however, recognise in the names of the issuers of coins undoubtedly minted after the time of Vāsudeva I, a third Kanishka and a second Vāsudeva. The existence of Kanishka II has already been established with the help of the Ara inscription. Some coins of not much debased gold in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, bear the usual obverse of Vāsudeva's coins, but the legend, never fully preserved, is *Shāonāno Shāo Kanēshko* with different stray Brāhmī characters in the field; their reverse is the Śiva and Bull device also familiar in Vāsudeva's coins. These can with some justification be attributed to Kanishka III, though it would be hazardous to fix his date. He has been placed by some scholars immediately after Vāsudeva I, with a reign of 30 years (*c.* A.D. 180-*c.* 210); but all we can really say is that he was later than Vāsudeva. Nor can we assert on the basis of a few stray finds of his coins that his sway extended over such vast and widely separated regions as the Panjab, Seistan, Afganistan, Kashmir and Bactria. Stray Brāhmī letters on the obverse of these coins were taken by Banerji to stand for the initial of the issuer's name, the name of the mint and the name of the province. Altekar has suggested that some of these letters contain the initials of the names of the Satraps or governors through whose agency Kanishka III ruled his far-flung empire.[1] But the explanation of these stray letters is still a mystery, and it is to be noted that they are usually found on the later issues of such groups of rulers as the Indo-Greeks and the Kushāṇas ; they also appear occasionally on some coins of the later Guptas.

Vāsudeva II's coins are characterised by the same obverse device of the standing king sacrificing at an altar ; but the reverse, instead of the Śiva and Bull, contains a seated Ardochso device occasionally used as the reverse type on the coins of Vāsudeva I. These coins exhibit undoubted Chinese influence inasmuch as the name Vāsu is written vertically under the king's left arm in well-formed Brāhmī characters of the late Kushāṇa

[1] *NHIP.* VI p. 14

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4. GANDHĀRA AND PAROPAMISADAE

facing p. 248)

After Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, C.U.P.

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period. On a unique copper coin the whole of the obverse side is occupied by the legend *Vāsu* written vertically, while the reverse is filled up by the peculiar symbol usually found on the coins of Vāsudeva I. Cunningham attributed this coin to that ruler, but the Brāhmī script seems to prove its later date. It is not unlikely that this coin was issued by Vāsudeva II. His gold coins show that the Greek script was still being used both on the obverse and on the reverse; but the legend, especially on the obverse, is mostly a jumble of ill-formed characters which indicates that the die-cutter was really ignorant of the proper letter-values. The partially debased gold which was used in the issue of these coins indirectly points to the indifferent economic condition of his kingdom. It is likely that Vāsudeva II followed Kanishka III, but nothing can be affirmed concerning the relationship between the two; nor have we any clear idea as to the regions over which they ruled. It is possible that they were associated with the extreme northern and north-western parts of India. The use of Brāhmī on some of their coins shows that they had Indian associations, but the mode of writing the king's name in Brāhmī points to a region which was susceptible to Chinese influence. Altekar has assigned an approximate length of twenty years to the rule of Vāsudeva II, from *c.* A.D. 210 to 230, but there are no definite facts to go on.

The final break-up of the mighty Kushāṇa power seems to have been completed by the time of these successors of Vāsudeva I. Most of the territories in the interior of India were now lost to Indian chiefs who had grown powerful. Probably though, it was the Nāgas and the Yaudheyas who stepped into the shoes of the effete Kushāṇas in this region. There are clear epigraphic data which indicate that the Nāgas attained prominence a century or more before the reign of Chandragupta II. The early Nāgas holding sway over Padmāvatī (Pol Pawāyā in Gwalior) and Mathurā, regions previously in the Kushāṇas' possession, performed ten *aśyamedha* sacrifices and must therefore have thrown off the Kushāṇa yoke. The Purāṇas also tell us that seven kings had already ruled at Mathurā and nine at Padmāvatī when the Guptas came to power. These earlier Nāga kings may have aggrandised themselves at the expense of the Indian Kushāṇas. Another Indian power which appears to have had a hand in destroying Kushāṇa dominion, according to Altekar, was the Yaudheyas, the martial tribe whose rule, from the beginning of the third century A.D., lasted for a century or more over territory lying on the banks of the Sutlej as far as the borders of Bahawalpur State. This region is still known by their name (Johiya bar).[1] A variety of the Yaudheya copper coins shows clear affinity with the Kushāṇa money, and we may safely surmise that these coins were struck by the Yaudheyas some time after they had shaken off Kushāṇa sway. Not only the Nāgas and the Yaudheyas, but a few other tribes also like the Mālavas and the Kuṇindas may have regained their political importance at this time and portioned

[1] Ibid. pp. 28-9

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out among themselves territories formerly held by the Kushāṇas. The political condition of parts of Northern India in the second and third century A.D. was not unlike that of the Panjab and North-Western India on the eve of Alexander's invasion, a time when the Achaemenid authority over these regions was virtually dissolved. Just as the mighty Mauryas of the earlier times erected their empire on the ruins of these autonomous states, so the Guptas asserted their paramountcy at the expense of the majority of these tribal groups which had raised their heads for a spell while the Kushāṇas' Indian empire was sinking.

It has already been shown that under Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II the Kushāṇa power was still of some importance in the north-west and the neighbouring border regions. They seem to have lost their hold on their territories in the interior of India; these passed into the hands of indigenous tribes or chiefs. Nothing can be said with certainty about the successors of Kanishka III and Vāsudeva II in North-Western India, but it seems that the western, perhaps also the central, Panjab and tracts on the other side of the Indus were subject to two or more tribes some of whose names have been read on coins as the Shākas and Shilādas. R.D. Banerji places the dynasty of the Shākas in Gandhāra, inasmuch as a large hoard of Shāka coins was discovered near Peshawar; to the Shilādas he would assign territory to the east of the Indus. The names of such Shāka chiefs as Sayatha, Sita and Saṇa have been read in the coin legends while those of Bhadra, Bacharṇa and Pāsaka occur among the coins of the Shilāda tribe. Smith describes these rulers as sundry chiefs ruling in the Panjab and the neighbouring countries in the third and fourth centuries A.D. We know nothing of their connection with the later Kushāṇas, but it is apparent that they were closely imitating Kushāṇa coin types. The obverse of their coins shows the Kushāṇa device of 'the king sacrificing at an altar' with Brāhmī legends containing the names of the tribe and the tribal chief, while the reverse has the goddess Ardochso on a throne with traces of her name in a corrupt Greek script. The metal is debased gold, and the execution is sometimes rude and barbarous. The poor quality of the metal and the uncouthness of the style hint at the gradual decline of their political power. How long their rule lasted and how it ended cannot now be determined with certainty. If they are placed in the second half of the third century A.D. their downfall can be tentatively accounted for by the expansion of the Sassanian power towards the east. Such of them as perhaps were spared by the Sassanids on this side of the Indus felt the might of the rising Gupta power in the first half of the fourth century A.D.

THE SASSANIAN POWER AND THE DOWNFALL OF THE KUSHĀṆA EMPIRE

The expansion of the early Sassanian empire to the east is veiled in obscurity, but there is reason to believe that from the very date of its foundation under Ardeshir I, the son of Papak, in A.D. 225-26, the Sassanid rulers

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turned their attention eastwards. After establishing his power over the whole of the west and south of Iran, Ardeshir turned eastwards as far as Khorasan. The Kushāṇa Shāh and the kings of Turan and Makuran sent envoys to him acknowledging his suzerainty. Turan is not a vague term in this context, but denotes the modern district of Suzdar, to the south of Quetta, while Makuran indicates the coastal region of the Gulf of Oman and the neighbouring stretch of land. From these regions the Sassanian power gradually extended towards Seistan (Sakastāna, modern Sijistan) from where it spread in course of time over parts of Western and Central India and over the north-western regions and the borderlands of India. It will be shown in the next chapter that the Sassanian drive towards Western and Central India was executed at the expense of the Western Kshatrapas and the Śātavāhanas. All doubt of this has now been dispelled by Herzfeld who has successfully deciphered the Paikuli inscription. A systematic study of the 'Sassanian Kushān' coins (inaccurately described as Scytho-Sassanian by previous authors) supplemented by other literary and archaeological data have enabled the same scholar to assert that not only Bactria, where unknown Kushāṇa chiefs were ruling for a long time, but also the whole north-west of India became important provinces in the eastern division of the Sassanian empire. The unique silver drachma of the prince-governor Péróz I, son of Ardeshir, on the reverse of which this Mazda-worshipping prince is presented as a worshipper of Buddha, endows him with the titles, *mazdesn bage Péróze vazurg Kúsán Śáh* ('the Mazda-worshipping lord Péróz Great Kushān King'). Not very long afterwards we find on the scyphate gold coins of Hormizd I, son of Shapur I, that the prince-governor is described as '*Mazdesn bage Ohormizde vazurg Kúśán Śáhān Śáh*' ('the Mazda-worshipping lord Hormizd, Great Kushān King of Kings'). The titles are certainly more pretentious than those of Péróz, and they imply according to Herzfeld 'not only the actual dominion over Khorasan and hence, over great parts of the ancient Kushān empire, but also the claim to the suzerainty over the whole of that empire, including the hitherto independent parts, the Kabul valley and the Panjab.'[1] The Sassanian Emperor Varhran II (276-93), the nephew and predecessor of Narseh (the short rule of four months of Varhran III, son of Varhran II intervened between their reigns) had to encounter the rebellion of his brother Hormizd (Ormies), in which the Śakas, the Kushāṇas and the Gelans sided with the rebels. In this event we trace the effort made by these vassal nations to free themselves from the Sassanian yoke when that power was menaced by the Romans. Varhran II had to come to terms with the Roman Emperor Diocletian, by ceding Armenia and Mesopotamia in order to concentrate his entire energies on quelling this insurrection. Herein he was successful, and he appears to have strengthened his hold over the vast eastern possessions of the Sassanids. Narseh (293-302), the uncle of Varhran II and the usurper of the

[1] E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I p. 47

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throne of his son Varhran III, in spite of his apparent failures in the west, seems to have retained many of these territories as is proved by the inscriptions, especially the Paikuli inscriptions. V.A. Smith long ago pointed out that the disappearance of two great paramount dynasties of India, the Kushāṇa and the Āndhra, coincided with the supersession of the Arsacidan dynasty of Persia by the Sassanids, and he shrewdly conjectured some connection between these three events. He surmised on the basis of the persianisation of the Kushāṇa coinage of Northern India that some unrecorded Persian invasion took place at that time. The information leaned from the Paikuli and other inscriptions, as well as from the Kushāno-Sassanian coins, leaves little doubt that Smith was correct in his surmise. The rising Persian power undoubtedly dealt a severe blow to the declining strength of the Kushāṇas in the northern and western parts of India and beyond. But even in their decay the Kushāṇa chiefs seem to have enjoyed some amount of political consideration under the aegis of the Sassanian monarchs. In the Paikuli inscriptions, the Kushāṇa Shāh is mentioned only once, but even then he is included in the list of the independent allies of Narseh. An Iranian tradition records the marriage of Narseh's son Hormizd II with a daughter of the Kabul Shāh. The power of the Sassanians and of the Kushāṇas under them appears to have been held in check in the east by the Chionites who invaded Bactria in A.D. 356 when Shapur II (309-379) was occupying the throne of Iran.

The Kushāṇas on the border of India and probably also in the Panjab appear by now to have thoroughly intermingled with various other tribes. They continued their chequered existence even up to the time of Samudragupta. That great Gupta emperor compelled them to allegiance; and they are styled in the Allahabad Pillar inscription as *daivaputra shāhi shāhānushāhi*. These epithets clearly remind us of the titles so frequent on the inscriptions of the early imperial Kushāṇas. '*Shāhi shāhānushāhi*' is moreover nothing but the indianised version of *Shāonāno Shāo*, a part of their coin-legend, as it was also the base of 'shāhān shah,' a part of the title of the practically independent Sassanian prince-governors of Khorasan. The Kushāṇas in the latter part of the fourth or early in the fifth century A.D. came to acquire a new designation viz., *Kidāra*, and these Kidāra Kushāṇas are usually referred to by scholars as the Little Yüe-chi. Their existence in parts of the Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir in the fifth century A.D. and a little later is vouched for only by the discovery of a large number of coins in pale and much debased gold. R.D. Banerji rightly says that it is impossible to arrange these chronologically, but the names of the issuing chiefs read on them by him and some other numismatists require consideration. These are all Indian names like Kṛitavīrya, Sarvayaśa, Bhāsvan, Śilāditya, Prakāśa and Kuśala. We have no means of ascertaining the exact periods of their rule, their order of succession or even the limits of the territories over which they ruled. Their coins are crude copies of the 'sacrificing king and enthroned Ardochso, type of the late Kushāṇas as are those of the 'Gaḍahara' or 'Gaḍakhara'

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tribe which also belong to this period. The 'Gaḍahara' ('Gaḍakhara') tribe should also be grouped with the Little Yüe-chi, for almost all the extant coins issued by the chiefs of this tribe bear the syllable *Kshuṇa* so common on the Kidāra Kushāṇa coins. Three types of Gaḍahara coinage have been distinguished by R.D. Banerji on the basis of the coin-legends, such as Peraya, Kirada and Samudra. The last two names should be specially noted in this connection, for one of them occurs as a variant on the coins of the Kidāra Kushāṇas, while the other is evidently based on the name of the imperial Gupta monarch. Banerji inferred from the resemblance between the 'Samudra' type of the Gaḍahara coin with the 'standard' type coin of Samudragupta that 'the Gaḍahara tribe at last acknowledged the suzerainty of the great conqueror and placed his name on their coins.'[1] This inference is not likely, for the Gaḍahara coins, as Banerji himself says, could not have been issued earlier than the fifth century A.D., by which time Samudragupta must have long been dead. The likely explanation is that the die-cutter in the employ of the tribal chief merely copied one of the commonest types of Samudragupta's coins which had found its way to the Gaḍahara territory. It is beyond our power at present to assign the limits of the tribal territory; but it is possible that they mastered part of the dominions of the Kidāra Kushāṇas when the power of the latter was on the wane. Both the Kidāras and the Gaḍaharas, however, appear to have succumbed to the fierce onslaught of the Huṇas who poured into India like an avalanche in the middle of the fifth century A.D.

Thus faded the last remnant of the great Kushāṇa power. Undoubtedly it was vastly changed in the later part of its career by admixture with different stocks, both Indian and non-Indian. The barbarian Yüe-chi race with its partly nomadic habits, and its principal constituent, the Kushāṇas, was from the very first prone to be influenced by peoples of superior culture, wherever in their wanderings they came in contact with them. When they settled in India and on her borders, they did not take a long time to succumb to the cultural impact of the Hellenistic Greeks and of the Indians. The coins which they issued, the epigraphic and monumental remains which we associate with their name, all tell the tale of their cultural discipleship; but they were vigorous and sturdy rulers and had gifts to impart which enriched the stock of that composite Indian civilization which was taking shape in their times and continued to grow when they were gone. Vast regions of Northern India, ravaged by the rivalries and wars of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, now felt the healing effects of a strong and well-organized government. An era of political stability favoured an effloresecence of Indian culture. The Kushāṇas were great patrons of art and literature; their early emperors fostered the Hellenistic art of Gandhāra and the indigenous art of Mathurā, so that both in the north-west and in the mid-India region art

[1] *JASB.* Ns. IV, 1908, p. 93

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reached a memorable climax. The making of images and the building of temples had certainly not been neglected in earlier days, but under the new régime these activities developed a higher scale of energy as artists, both indigenous and foreign, found never-failing scope for their skill and industry in the religious needs and piety of the times. Among the many religious establishments which later tradition ascribes to Kanishka I, none was of more importance than the *Chaitya*, said to have been four hundred storeys high, which he raised up in his capital Purushapura, modern Peshawar. Passing through Gandhāra in the fifth century, Fa-hien saw numbers of huge Buddhist *chaityas* and *vihāras* which, from his glowing account, had evidently lost nothing of their original splendour. He praises the images of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and numerous other deities, the finely carved reliefs and the admirable architecture of these majestic piles, a good many of which must have been erected during the period of Kushāṇa ascendancy. A school of art flourished at Mathurā which sent its products as far afield as Śrāvastī and Sārnāth. We have the name of one sculptor, Bhikshu Bala, and images from his workshop were dedicated in both the places. In the minor arts, the achievements of the die-engravers employed by the Kushāṇas were far from negligible. Certain devices adopted on Kushāṇa coins, blending influences derived from Hellenistic, Roman and Indian monetary technique, became the prototypes of many varieties of coinage, foreign as well as indigenous, which circulated for more than half a millennium over wide areas of Northern India, and even beyond. Among these we must note the obverse and reverse devices of certain coins of the Yaudheyas, the imperial Guptas, one or two Kashmirian kings, some kings of Nepal, and several Chedi kings, and lastly a particular type of coinage issued by the Sassanian rulers. These devices are unmistakable adaptations, some better and some worse, of such familiar Kushāṇa types as 'a king sacrificing at an altar,' 'the seated Ardochso' and 'the Śiva and Bull.' Of the applied sciences there is one, medicine, which was highly developed in Kushāṇa times. Charaka, the great systematizer and expounder of that science, is traditionally said to have resided at Kanishka's court. For religion too, these were stirring times. Not only did Buddhism take a new direction at this period, but there is also proof that many Brahmanical sects now underwent re-shaping and re-modelling. In this age likewise the Sanskrit language felt the impulse of a new intensity of cultivation which brought it to a culminating pitch of achievement in the succeeding period of the Guptas. Taken altogether, the abundance and quality of cultural achievement under the Kushāṇas distinguish the age as one of the most interesting and important in Indian history.

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THE REVIVAL OF INDIGENOUS RULE IN NORTHERN INDIA c. A.D. 200-300

Although the Kushāṇas had become completely indianised—they had adopted Indian religions, Indian languages and Indian social customs—it appears that the indigenous population in general, and the ruling houses which had been dispossessed, in particular, were not reconciled to the Kushāṇa rule. The location of their capital at Purushapura (Peshawar) on the very outskirts of Bhāratavarsha and the inclusion of the non-Indian provinces of Bactria and Sogdiana in their empire, perpetuated the popular notions of their barbarian descent. As soon as the Kushāṇa rulers showed signs of weakness, the Indians rose in revolt simultaneously in several parts of the country. The record of this struggle for freedom has not been preserved in literature, but the numismatic and epigraphic evidence recently examined and interpreted by Indian scholars has thrown a flood of light on this obscure chapter of Indian history and has enabled us to visualise how the Yaudheyas, the Kuṇindas, the Madras, the Ārjunāyanas, the Nāgas of Mathurā, Padmāvatī, Ahichhatra and Kāntipurī, and the Maghas of Kauśāmbī pulled down the mighty edifice of the Kushāṇa empire. It is not possible to ascertain who initiated the assault nor can we compute the exact proportion of the credit that each of these powers may claim in the feat of expelling the Kushāṇas. We shall therefore be content to narrate the simple facts of the establishment of these states, as the Kushāṇa empire gradually crumbled.

1. *THE YAUDHEYAS*

We have seen above that the Yaudheyas were ruling in south-eastern Panjab during the first century A.D. Evidently they had successfully withstood the Śaka onslaught and had emerged victorious from the struggle. In the middle of the second century A.D. we find them still strong and prosperous, firmly upholding their independence. In the Girnār Rock inscription of Rudradāman dated Śaka year 72 (A.D. 150) they are described as a proud people who had proclaimed their title of heroes amongst all Kshatriyas.[1] Rudradāman's claim to have annihilated them appears to be a vain boast; for the continued existence of the Yaudheya republic in the late second century A.D. is proved by their coinage. Rudradāman may have defeated them, but evidently he could not destroy their power. According to Allan, the struggle with the Śakas and the war with Rudradāman put a great strain on the financial resources of the Yaudheyas, and this accounts for the poor state of their currency of the late second century. After a brief period of strain they recovered their strength and played a still more glorious role. The legends *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* on their coins and *Yaudheyānām jayamantra-dharāṇāṁ* on the clay seals discovered

[1] *Sarva-kshatrāvishkṛita-vīra-śabdajātotsekāvidheyānāṁ Yaudheyānāṁ EI.* VIII pp. 42 ff. *Kshatra* may have a covert reference to the Kshatrapas of Mathura.

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from Sunet near Ludhiana[1] show that they had won a great victory to commemorate which a special series of coins and memorial medals were struck. Altekar has rightly concluded that this evidence points to a victory over the Kushāṇas.[2] It was the Yaudheyas who dealt the first great blow at the Kushāṇas and turned them out of the eastern Panjab.

The Yaudheyas ruled independently throughout the third and early fourth centuries. Their coinage of this period bears the proud legend *jaya yaudheya*, and the figure of Kārttikeya, god of war, and his consort Shashṭhi. The Yaudheyas were finally subdued by Samudragupta, in the middle of the fourth century. Thereafter their coinage ceases.

2. *THE KUṆINDAS, KULŪTAS AND MADRAKAS*

We have noticed above that the Kuṇindas lost their independence when the Śakas advanced into the Panjab. The re-appearance of their coinage in the third century A.D. shows that they reasserted their independence as the Kushāṇa empire declined. It is likely that the Kuṇindas joined hands with the Yaudheyas, and that these two peoples jointly expelled the Kushāṇas from the eastern Panjab. The Kuṇinda revival seems to have been short-lived. They disappeared from the political map some time before A.D. 350, for they are not mentioned in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, nor is there any other evidence of the continuation of their rule.

In the neighbourhood of the Kuṇindas, in the territory now known as the Kulu valley, there came into existence another independent principality. We have coins of king Vīrayaśa of Kulūta, bearing Sanskrit legends in both Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī scripts. These coins may be assigned to the third century A.D. The Kulūtas as a separate political entity, were known to the author of the play *Mudrārākshasa*, and are also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. But these references afford us no help in exploring the early history of these people, and the coins of Vīrayaśa still remain the only definite evidence for the history of the Kulūtas.

The mention of Madrakas in the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta, shows that they too had established their independence some time before the middle of the fourth century A.D. The country between the rivers Rāvi and Chenab was known as Madradeśa. In all likelihood the Madrakas of Samudragupta's epigraph have to be placed in this region. No inscriptions or coins of the Madrakas have so far been found, and it is not possible to give any details of their history.

3. *THE ĀRJUNĀYANAS*

As noticed above the Ārjunāyanas wielded political power during the second and first centuries B.C. Their coinage ceased towards the close of the first century B.C.—an indication probably that they were subdued by

[1] *JASB.* 1884, pp. 134 ff.

[2] *PAIOC.* XII, Benares 1943, pp. 513 ff.

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the Śakas. No coins or inscriptions of the Ārjunāyanas of the subsequent period have yet been brought to light, but we find this people mentioned in the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta. It is apparent therefore that they regained independence after the collapse of the Kushāṇa power. It is likely that they helped the Yaudheyas in the war against the Kushāṇas and shared the fruits of victory with the other allies.

4. *THE MĀLAVAS*

The Mālavas had, as we have seen, a long and glorious record as a ruling people. They have been identified with the Malli who at the time of Alexander's invasion were occupying the territory below the confluence of the Jhelum and the Chenab extending towards the Rāvi. They had put up brave resistance against Alexander. They are known to Patañjali, the author of the *Mahābhāshya*. In the first and second centuries A.D. we find them in the territory of what is now Jaipur (Rajasthan) as evidenced by their coins discovered at Karkotnagar and other sites. We do not know at what time and under what circumstances they migrated from the Panjab southwards. What we do know is that they came to occupy the whole of the Vindhyan plateau which was later known by their name as the Mālava country. During the Śaka-Kushāṇa ascendancy, the Mālava power was eclipsed but in the second century A.D. they seem to have won a great victory—evidently over the Kushāṇas. The coins bearing the significant legend 'victory of the Mālavas' in characters of the second or third century A.D. appear to commemorate this victory, not elsewhere recorded. During the third century the Mālava power reached the zenith of its glory, and this people ruled independently till the middle of the next century when they accepted the overlordship of Samudragupta.

5. *THE NĀGAS*

In the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas the Nāgas appear immediately before the Guptas. The existence of several Nāga principalities in the early fourth century is attested by Samudragupta's Allahabad Stone Pillar inscription which enumerates Nāgadatta, Nāgasena,, Gaṇapatināga and Achyutanandi amongst the rulers of Northern India uprooted by the Gupta conqueror. The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas mention two families of Nāgas, one comprising nine kings ruling at Padmāvatī and another of seven kings holding sway at Mathurā.[1] Nāga coins have been discovered in large numbers both at Padmavatī, modern Padama-Pawāyā in the Narwar district of Gwalior (Madhya Bhārat), and at Mathurā. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa*[2] adds a third Nāga dynasty ruling at Kāntipurī which

[1] *Nava Nākāstu bhokshyanti purīṁ Padmāvatīm nṛipāḥ | Mathurāṁ cha purīṁ ramyāṁ Nāgā bhokshyanti sapta vai.*

[2] *Nava Nāgāḥ Padmāvatyāṁ Kāntipuryāṁ Mathurāyāṁ DKA.* p. 53 *n.* 2.

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has been identified by Jayaswal with modern Kantit near Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh. Although Kantit may be an ancient town as indicated by the remains of its mud fort, no antiquities of Nāga rule have been discovered there. Jayaswal propounded the theory that the Nāgas of Kāntipurī are identical with the Bhāraśivas mentioned in the copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭakas. In these inscriptions the royal house of the Bhāraśivas is stated to have been founded by the favour of Śiva whom they had propitiated by carrying a Śivaliṅga on their shoulders, and further the Bhāraśivas are said to have been consecrated to the throne by the holy waters of the Ganges which they had obtained by the prowess of their arms. From the last statement Jayaswal has inferred that the Bhāraśivas ousted the Kushāṇas from the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh. According to him the kings named Nava, Vīrasena, Hayanāga, Trayanāga and Acharjanāga all known from coins, belonged to this dynasty of the Bhāraśivas of Kāntipurī.[1] However it is to be noted that no coins of these kings have been found at Kantit, nor have any other traces of Bhāraśiva rule come to light at or near Kantit.[2] Moreover there is no evidence to prove that these kings were Nāgas. With the exception of Vīrasena even the reading of the names is doubtful. The modern place-names Nagod and Bharhut may well point to Nāga and Bhāraśiva associations with this part of Baghelkhand, but this evidence is not sufficient to support Jayaswal's theory.[3] On the other hand the coins of a king Bhavanāga found at Padam-Pawāyā exhibit all the characteristics of the Nāga coinage found there. Altekar has given very sound reasons for identifying Bhavanāga of the coins with the Bhāraśiva *mahārāja* Bhavanāga of the Vākāṭaka grants.[4] That the Padmāvatī Nāgas were worshippers of Śiva is abundantly clear from the occurrence of Śaiva symbols—the bull and the trident—on their coins, and the discovery of the platform of the famous Śivaliṅga called *svarṇabindu* at Padam-Pawāyā.[5] We may therefore agree with Altekar in regarding the Nāga kings of Padmāvatī as Bhāraśivas. It is possible that the Bhāraśivas originally belonged to Baghelkhand from where they made successful raids into the Kushāṇa territory and temporarily occupied a part of the Ganges valley.

The following Nāga kings of Padmāvatī are known from the coins: Bhīma-nāga, Prabhākara-nāga, Vibu-nāga, Skanda-nāga, Vyāghra-nāga, Va-u-nāga, Deva-nāga, Bṛihaspati-nāga and Bhava-nāga. Coins of Gaṇapati-nāga have also been discovered at Padam-Pawāyā, but probably he belongs to Mathurā where his coins are more numerous. Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* mentions a Nāga king of Padmāvatī, named Nāgasena, who lost his kingdom as his secret counsel was divulged by a

[1] K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India* (A. D. 150-350), pp. 7 ff.

[2] A white sand-stone torso of a man carrying an object like a Śivaliṅga on his shoulders in the Bhārata-Kalā-Bhavana, Benares, seems to answer the description of a Bhāraśiva worshipper of Śiva, but nothing is known about its find-spot.

[3] Cf. A.S. Altekar, *PAIOC.* 1943-44, Benares, p. 513, and Karuna Kana Gupta, *JC.* I pp. 635 ff.

[4] *JNSI.* v pp. 21-7

[5] *ASIAR.* 1915-16, p. 100 f.

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starling. Śaṅkarārya, the commentator of *Harshacharita* explains that it was a minister of Nāgasena, who killed his master and usurped the kingdom. This Nāgasena is apparently not the same as he who was overthrown by Samudragupta. From the coins of Bhavanāga, who was a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka emperor Pravarasena I it can be inferred that the Nāga house of Padmāvatī continued to rule up to the middle of the fourth century A.D., when the kingdom came under the sway of the Guptas. The excavations carried out at Padam-Pawāyā show that Padmāvatī was a very flourishing city. It retained its importance and splendour in much later times, as is proved by a description in the Khajurāho inscription.[1]

Regarding the Nāga dynasty of Mathurā our information is very scanty. The Purāṇas simply state that 'seven kings will rule over Mathurā'. They do not give the names. Gaṇapati-nāga whose coins are very common at Mathurā and who was overthrown by Samudragupta may be regarded as the last among them. The Nāga house of Mathurā may thus be said to have been founded *c.* A.D. 200 allowing an average reign of twenty years to its seven kings and assuming that Gaṇapati-nāga was overthrown by Samudragupta in *c.* A.D. 340.[2] Virasena whose coins have been found all over Uttar Pradesh, and who is also known from an inscription discovered at Jankhat[3] in the Farrukhabad district of U.P., may have been a Nāga ruler of Mathurā.

6. *THE MAGHAS OF KAUŚĀMBĪ*

Inscriptions, seals and coins have supplied the following names of rulers —Bhīmasena, Poṭhaśrī, Bhadramagha, Śivamagha, Vaiśravaṇa, Bhīmavarman, Śatamagha and Vijayamagha, who seem to constitute a dynasty which has been named as the Magha[4] dynasty. Originally they seem to have belonged to Bandhogarh in Rewa, in Vindhya Pradesh, but in course of time they extended their sway over Kauśāmbī and the neighbouring region.

An unpublished Bandhogarh inscription supplies the earliest date, 51, for Bhīmasena who therefore may be regarded as the first member of the

[1] *EI.* I p. 149

[2] K. P. Jayaswal's view that Kīrtishena of the play *Kaumudī-mahotsava* was a Nāga king has not been accepted by any scholar. As a matter of fact the historicity of the play itself has been questioned by many writers including Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya (*IHQ.* XIV p. 582), D. C. Sirkar (*JAHRS.* IX p. 63), and the present writer (*Thomas Festschrift*).

[3] Ed. Pargiter, *EI.* XI p. 85

[4] The dynastic appellation Magha does not occur in any of the records of these kings, but has been coined by modern historians on the basis of the name-endings of two of the rulers Bhadramagha and Śivamagha whose Kosam inscription brought the dynasty into prominence. The name-ending is clearly Magha on the inscriptions, and not Māgha as taken by K. P. Jayaswal, nor Megha as suggested by D. R. Sahni (*EI.* XVIII p. 159). Certainly the Purāṇas mention nine powerful and wise rulers called Meghas who ruled over Kosala, but we cannot identify them with the Maghas. Apart from the discrepancy in the name, no evidence has so far come to light which can connect the Maghas with Kosala.

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dynasty. He is in all likelihood identical with king Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasena of the Bhita seal No. 27,[1] and Mahārāja Bhīmasena of the painted inscription dated 52, discovered at Ginja, 40 miles south-west of Allahabad. Bhīmasena was therefore ruling over the territory now represented partly by a portion of Rewa and partly by the Allahabad district of U.P.[2] By referring the dates of Bhīmasena to the Śaka era,[3] we find that he was ruling about A.D. 129-130. No coins of Bhīmasena have been discovered so far. Probably he issued none. His dates fall in the period of the imperial Kushāṇas, Huvishka and Kanishka II, and he must have been their feudatory. Naturally therefore he could not have minted his own coins.

Bhīmasena was succeeded by his son Kautsīputra Poṭhaśrī. For him we have the dates 86, 87, 88, all from the unpublished Bandhogarh epigraphs. The Bhita coins.[4] with the blurred legend *Prashṭhaśriya*, in all probability belong to him. The striking of coins by Poṭhaśrī indicates that he asserted his independence and ceased to acknowledge the overlordship of the Kushāṇa emperor Vāsudeva, who appears to have been

[1] *ASIAR.* 1911-12, p. 51

[2] A. S. Altekar thinks that the discovery of the Bhita seal does not prove Bhīmasena's rule over the Allahabad region (*NHIP.* VI p. 42). But, Ginja where we have Bhīmasena's inscription, is only 40 miles from Allahabad. This inscription definitely indicates that Bhīmasena's authority extended over parts of Allahabad and evidently we can include Bhita.

[3] There is a sharp difference of opinion on the identification of the era used in the records of the Maghas. D. R. Sahni held that the dates should be referred to the Gupta era (*EI.* XVIII p. 160). K. P. Jayaswal thought the Maghas used the Vākāṭaka era of A.D. 248 (*History of India* A.D. 150-350, p. 229). N. G. Majumdar and Krishna Dev refer the dates to the Kalachuri era, whereas Sir John Marshall, Sten Konow, A. S. Altekar and Motichandra regard it as the Śaka era. On palaeographic considerations the inscriptions of Bhadramagha and Śivamagha are post-Kushāṇa and pre-Gupta. Further the mention of the season as part of the date is clearly a pre-Gupta practice. In spite of A. Ghosh's contention to the contrary (*IC.* III pp. 181f) it may still be maintained that this mode of dating is not to be found in any Gupta record. The omission of any reference to the Gupta sovereignty in the Magha inscriptions shows that they were not Gupta feudatories. The discovery of the Fatehpur hoard of the Magha coins definitely rules out the possibility of the Maghas being regarded as the governors or vassals of the Guptas, as no governor or vassal of the Guptas ever minted his own coinage. Lastly, as pointed out by Sten Konow, the transitional character of the language employed in the Kosam inscriptions reveals the tendency of progressive Sanskritisation without altogether eliminating Prākṛit. The weight of evidence is decidedly in favour of a pre-Gupta date for this dynasty. For the same reason we cannot refer these dates to an era starting from A.D. 248, for that will make all the Maghas from Poṭhaśrī onwards contemporaneous with the imperial Guptas. Therefore we must assign these dates to an epoch which gives us pre-Gupta dates for the Maghas. The only well-known era which can meet this requirement is the Śaka era. As the Maghas were originally the subordinates of the Kushāṇas it is only natural that they should have adopted the era used by their overlords. It may be urged that by referring the dates to the Śaka era, we make the independent Magha kings, Poṭhaśrī and Bhadramagha, contemporary with Vāsudeva, the imperial Kushāṇa, whose dates range from 74 to 98. But this does not constitute an obstacle. The inscriptions of Vāsudeva have been found in the Mathurā region only. He seems to have lost his hold over the far-eastern districts, which were being snatched away by the indigenous ruling houses.

[4] *ASIAR.* 1911-12, p. 66, nos. 43-71

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unable to exercise an effective control over the eastern portion of the empire and whose sovereignty, on the basis of epigraphic evidence, seems to have been confined to the Mathurā region.

Curiously enough, we have almost the same dates for Poṭhaśrī's son and successor Bhadramagha as for Poṭhaśrī himself, viz. 81, 87, 88, 89 and 90. This can be explained only by the assumption that Bhadramagha had been appointed *yuvarāja* by his father and placed in charge of the Kauśāmbī area. This will explain the assumption of the title *mahārāja* by Bhadramagha during the lifetime of his father. We have other instances of heirs apparent issuing inscriptions in their own name, for example the Pallava prince Vishṇugopavarman. The Gupta heir apparent, Govindagupta, also had the title of *mahārāja* while he was governing Vaiśālī. We may therefore conclude that while Poṭhaśrī was ruling at Bandhogarh, Bhadramagha was administering the northern part of the kingdom from Kauśāmbī. This kind of arrangement was doubtless best calculated to preserve the nascent independence of the state. After the death of Poṭhaśrī, Bhadramagha ruled over the whole kingdom. Coins of Bhadramagha occur in the Fatehpur hoard.[1]

The next ruler was most probably Śivamagha. The date in his Kosam inscription is lost, and there is no other dated record of his reign. Therefore his exact place in the order of succession is somewhat uncertain. The Bhita seal bearing the legend *mahārāja* Gautamīputra Śivamaghasya can be assigned to him.[2] His coins have been found in the Fatehpur hoard.

Śivamagha was succeeded by Vaiśravaṇa for whom we have the date 107 (A.D. 185) from his Kosam inscription.[3] He does not seem to be a direct descendant in the royal line as his father Bhadrabala is styled a *mahāsenāpati*. This Bhadrabala is evidently different from Bhadramagha, for whom we have the variants Bhadradeva and Bhaṭṭadeva, as Bhadramagha is always styled *mahārāja*.

It cannot be supposed that in an inscription of Vaiśravaṇa, his father would have been styled a *mahāsenāpati* while he was in reality a ruler. The coins of Vaiśravaṇa occur in the Fatehpur hoard. His reign came to a close some time before A.D. 208, the earliest known date of the next ruler.

Vaiśravaṇa seems to have been succeeded by Bhīmavarman for whom we have the date 130 from the Buddha stone image inscription from Kosam.[4] We get Bhīmavarman's coins from the Fatehpur hoard, and this evidence definitely connects him with the Magha dynasty. He seems

[1] Published by Motichandra, *JNSI* II pp. 95-108

[2] K. P. Jayaswal's view that Śivamagha was a Vākāṭaka viceroy is quite implausible. Śivamagha issued coinage in his own name and bore the title of *mahārāja*. It is impossible to admit that the Vākāṭakas could have permitted their viceroy to mint coins and adopt the title which they themselves used. Moreover, the Vākāṭakas are not known to have issued any coins at all. The coins of Śivamagha form a uniform series with those of the other Magha kings of Kauśāmbī.

[3] Ed. N. G. Majumdar, *EI.* XXIV p. 146

[4] Ed. A. Ghosh, *IC.* III 177ff.

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to be different from Bhīmavarman whose Kosam inscription dated 139 has been published by Fleet.[1]

Two more names of Magha rulers are supplied by coins discovered at Kauśāmbī.[2] These are Śatamagha and Vijayamagha. As we have no dates for these rulers it is difficult to determine their position in the order of succession. Probably they were the latest members of the Magha dynasty.

According to Altekar,[3] numismatic evidence favours the likelihood that a king named Nava, whose copper coins are exactly of the same type as those of the Maghas, succeeded them at Kauśāmbī. We know nothing more about Nava. Other rulers may have followed him until Kauśāmbī was annexed by Samudragupta in the first half of the fourth century A.D.

[1] *CII.* III pp. 266-7, plate xxxix c. This inscription dated 139 differs from the Kosam inscription dated 130 both in respect of characters and of style of dating. It has the fully developed Gupta forms, particularly those of ś and ṇ which distinguish it from earlier records. The mention of the summer season in the Kosam inscription dated 130 shows that it is much earlier than the Gupta period when this mode of dating had become quite obsolete. The inscription dated 139 does not contain any reference to the season, although Ghosh holds that the season was mentioned in the portion now broken away and lost (*IC.* III p. 181). However, in spite of his able reasoning it must be maintained that the definite survival of this practice in the Gupta period has yet to be proved.

[2] Published by A. S. Altekar, *JNSI.* IV pp. 101-11

[3] *NHIP.* VI p. 46

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Chapter IX

THE SATRAPS OF NORTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

The Achaemenid conquerors of Northern and North-Western India were the first to introduce into the country the satrapal system of government. The satraps were a kind of subordinate rulers with a varying degree of political importance. The term 'Satrap' is the hellenised form of the old Persian *Kshathra-pāvan* (meaning 'protector of the realm') indianised into *Kshatrapa*. The Medo-Persian emperors Cyrus and Cambyses organised the newly conquered provinces of their vast empire and appointed these officers to govern them. The Achaemenid emperor Darius I completed this organisation, changed the limits of a few of the satrapies,—there were as many as twenty in his empire,—and modified the functions of the satraps. These governors were recruited from men of very high social standing and in some cases were even members of the royal family by birth or marriage. The appointment was for indefinite periods; in some provinces, however, the office became at times practically hereditary, though in theory the emperor had the power to terminate it at will. In matters of civil administration the powers and functions of the satrap were far too extensive, and his authority was great in military matters also. As the highest judicial authority in the province, the satrap used to receive envoys from neighbouring states, and decide on lines of action to be followed regarding them, only the larger matters of policy being referred to Susa. Further he enforced law and order inside his own territories. These powerful administrators evinced, even from the time of Darius I, a tendency towards independence and it had been hard for the court in Babylon from the early days of Persian rule, to keep a perfect control over its own satraps in Asia Minor.[1] During the time of Darius's effete successors, the satrapal system of government hastened the break-up of the Achaemenid Persian empire. Alexander the Great virtually destroyed it, but even so he maintained much of the previous administrative organisation. The government by satraps, of the far-flung parts of the empire, was continued by him, though he abolished it in some provinces, e.g. in Egypt. But the measures which he introduced during the short span of his life showed that he meant to introduce reforms in the administration. He greatly restricted the powers of his satraps, in order that they might not be a menace to the newly founded Macedonian empire. His premature end, however, prevented him from putting into effect whatever schemes of centralisation he had in mind, and his successors in the East were much too

[1] E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, I p. 89

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engrossed in their mutual wars to bother about administrative reform. It was two of the satraps of the early Seleucids that were responsible for the independence of Bactria and Parthia, and it was their descendants, as shown in two of the previous chapters, who played such an important part in the history of Northern and North-Western India in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era.

THE SATRAPS OF CHUKHSA AND PUSHPAPURA

The powerful Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers undoubtedly governed their territories through subordinate and associate kings. Menander is known to have had a viceregal ruler under him governing in the Bajaur region, who described himself as an *apracharaja* (probably Sans. *apratyagrāja*, meaning 'one who has no royal adversary'). He was Viyakamitra (Sans. Vīryakamitra) who may have been an Indian, but more likely a foreigner bearing an Indian name. Though his title euphemistically describes him as having no royal rival, there is every reason to believe that he enjoyed a subordinate position, perhaps similar to that of a satrap, under the great Yavana King. The fragmentary relic-casket inscription found at Shinkot (Bajaur territory) records that this sub-prince enshrined some relics of Buddha; in course of time the relic-shrine fell into disrepair and was again renovated and the relics re-established by one Vijayamitra, also an '*apracharaja*'. Numismatic evidence proves that Vijayamitra's son Itravarma (probably a variant of Indravarma) also enjoyed the same rank, as the legend on a few of his coins can be read as *Vijayamitra-putrasa Itravarmasa apracharajasa*, '(of) the son of Vijayamitra, Itravarma, the *apracharaja*.'[1] It is evident from these epigraphic and numismatic records that the institution was maintained intact years after Menander.[2] If this Itravarma is the same as Indravarma, the father of Aspavarma, as confidently suggested by F. W. Thomas, then his son Aspa who was the uncle of Sasan, sometime associate ruler of Gondophares, does not appear to have held the office of '*apracharaja*' like his father and grandfather. Aspavarma, both as an associate ruler of Azes II and of Gondophares was known by his official title of the Strategos. His coins issued jointly with the two Śaka-Pahlava rulers describe him as their 'victorious Strategos' (*strategasa jayatasa*). The title 'Strategos autocrator' was often adopted in earlier days by the Macedonian kings to describe their overlordship of the free states of Greece, but during the Śaka-Pahlava rule in India the office of the Strategos must have signified the position of a subordinate ruler, more or less the same as that of an '*apracharaja*' or a '*Kshatrapa*'. Other powerful Indo-Greek rulers probably governed their territories through such subordinate kings, of whom no record has been discovered up till now.

[1] *NC.* 1944, p. 102; *EI.* XXIV pp. 1-8; cf. *supra* pp. 209, 221

[2] Konow thinks that Viyakamitra and Vijayamitra were one and the same person; *NIA.* II 1939-40, p. 642; cf. also *supra* p. 174

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But it was during and after the Śaka supremacy over parts of Northern India that the institution of Satraps seems to have grown most prevalent. It has been briefly shown in ch. vii that the various satraps of the Śakas were the active agents in the gradual spread of Śaka rule. One of these, Liaka Kusuluka by name, was administering the province of Chukhsa, the great plain of Chach, during the sovereignty of Mahārāja Mahanta Moga (cf. the Greek epithets *Basileōs Megalou Mauou* of the coin legends of Maues). Liaka seems to have enjoyed enough political power and importance to strike a few silver coins in his own name. These coins can be assigned on the basis of their types to the Taxila region inside the Chach plain. The coins are obol pieces, bearing on their obverse an exact copy of the diademed and helmeted bust of Eucratides, with the legend *Liako Kozoulo* partly legible. Numismatic evidence thus appears to corroborate the early dating of this satrap which has been suggested on the basis of the Taxila copper-plate inscription, and he appears to have been ruling in some corner of the great plain probably in the first half of the first century B.C. Rapson describes him as the Satrap of Chhahara and Chukhsa, unidentified districts presumably to be located in the neighbourhood of Takshaśilā; but this suggestion is based on Cunningham's reading of the Kharoshṭhī inscription mentioned above, another reading and interpretation by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and Konow possibly indicating that he was the Kshaharāta Kshatrapa of Chukhsa (chach). His son Patika who made the deposit of the relics of Buddha, mentioned in the inscription, did not hold any greater rank at that time than that of *mahādānapati* (the great gift-lord), a title especially appropriate to the enshrinement of the relics and the acts of charity associated with that ceremony. Nevertheless, he certainly succeeded his father in his satrapy and even attained the higher rank of the Mahākshatrapa (Great Satrap) later, as is evident from the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions.

These inscriptions, which will be presently discussed in detail, apparently refer to the satraps of different regions of Northern India, not all of whom were contemporaries. It is now accepted by scholars, that in the Chukhsa region the line of Liaka was followed by another line of satrapal rulers, of which the existence of one member is vouched for by numismatic as well as epigraphic data. A number of comparatively well-executed silver and copper coins, discovered long ago and now in different museums in and outside India, have a partially preserved legend in corrupt Greek on one side and a fairly legible Prākṛit legend written in Kharoshṭhī script on the other. These inscriptions describe the issuer as 'Kshatrapa Jihunia, son of Kshatrapa Maṇigula' *Mannolou. . . Satrapu Zeiōnisou —Maṇigulasa Kshatrapasa putrasa Kshatrapasa Jihuniasa*). Some of these coins are characterised by such novel reverse devices as 'King (here Satrap) standing to the left, facing a female figure with a *modius* on her head and a cornucopia in her left hand, who is crowning him with a wreath.' Cunningham thought long ago that the female figure stood for a

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city. Rapson went one step further and suggested that she was none other than the city-deity of Pushkalāvatī (modern Chārsadda in the district of Peshawar). He was also of the opinion that Zeionises, the Satrap, was succeeded in the kingdom of Pushkalāvatī, by Kujula Kara Kadphises, a probable contemporary of Wima Kadphises. But it has already been shown that Kujula Kara Kadphises was almost certainly the same as Kujula Kadphises, the predecessor of Wima, and it is now certain after the discovery of a silver vase inscription in Kharoshṭhī characters at Sirkap, in the year 1926-7 that Zeionises was ruling as the Satrap of Chach in the year 191 of an unspecified era. The record describes him as the son of Maṇigula, the brother of an unnamed *mahārāja* and the Satrap of Chukhsa (*maharajabhrata Maṇigulasa putrasa Chukhsasa Kshatrapasa cha Jihuniasa*). When Rapson wrote about Zeionises in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, this inscription was unknown; but now after its discovery it can hardly be contended that Zeionises was also the Kshatrapa over Pushkalāvatī in the far western corner of Gandhāra. That another satrap was governing this region near about that time, is proved by a dated Kharoshṭhī inscription now in the collection of the Dar-ul-Aman Museum, Kabul. The inscription records that a tank was caused to be made by one Malashua, the Chobuva of Pushpapura, in the year 83, under Tiravharṇa, the Kshatrapa of Pushpapura. It was found somewhere in the neighbourhood of Jalalabad; and Konow has suggested that the Pushpapura of the record was another variant of Poshapura of the Ara inscription, both being the earlier forms of Purushapura (modern Peshawar). The year most probably belongs to the era according to which the year 103 in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of Gondophares is dated, and that reckoning, in the opinion of most scholars, is the Mālava-Vikrama Samvat of 58-7 B.C. This would place Tiravharṇa, the Kshatrapa of Pushpapura, in A.D. 25, when the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares was the suzerain ruler in that region. Under Tiravharṇa, the subordinate ruler was Malashua, the Chobuva, the actual donor of the record. It should be observed here that the office of Chobuva probably corresponded to that of Chozbo, Chozboa, the commonest of all the local titles found in Chinese Turkestan. Konow has justifiably suggested that 'Kshatrapas and Chobuvas belonged to the administrative system which the Parthians in India took over from their Śaka predecessors'.[1] With regard to the equation Chobuva-Chozbo, it may be observed that like the division of the administrative officers of higher rank in Northern and Western India, into the Kshatrapas and the Mahākshatrapas, the office of the Chozbo was also divided into Chozbo and Mahāchozbo in Chinese Turkestan.[2]

[1] *AO.* XVI pp. 234-40. Konow observes that the 'form *Tiravharṇa* as compared with *Guduvhara* of the Takht-i-Bahi stone is the older one, *vharṇa*, i.e. probably *vharna*, corresponding to Avestan *Xvaranah*; and the Greek rendering *fernes*,'

[2] *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions* (discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan), transcribed and edited by Boyer, Rapson & Senart, pp. 1ff., 98 106, 143, etc. The forms *Mahaṭa* and *Maha̱mta chozbo* are also found in these Niya documents; cf. ibid. pp. 64-5, 219, etc.

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The dated silver vase inscription of Zeionises has given rise to one interesting problem of chronology. Zeionises's date 191, if it is referred to the Vikrama Samvat, places him near about A.D. 133; but according to the chronological scheme adopted in the preceding chapter he cannot be given such a late date. His comparatively well-executed silver coins also would assign him to a much earlier period, and a date for him some time in the first half of the first century A.D. may not be far off the mark. This seems to support the view of the scholars who hold that at least two different reckonings were current in this part of India, one later known as the Vikrama era, and the other starting some time near the middle of the second century B.C., probably associated with the greatest expansion of the Parthian power, as was originally suggested by Rapson. Tiravharṇa and Zeionises, thus, may have been contemporaries, or very near so, one ruling in the Taxila region and the other in the western corner of Gandhāra.

OTHER KSHATRAPAS OF THE EXTREME NORTH

That there were many other Kshatrapas in the different parts of the extreme north of India during the rule of the Śaka-Pahlavas and early Kushāṇas is proved by a number of extant coins and Kharoshṭhī inscriptions. Kharahostes was such a one known from a few copper coins assigned by Cunningham to the north-western Panjab. The Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends on his coins describe him as the son of Arta (*Kharahōstei Satrapei Artauou, Kshatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa*). This Satrap has been identified by most scholars with the *yuvarāja* (heir apparent) Kharaosta of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions, about whom more will be said later. A copper seal-ring discovered long ago by Bayley in the Panjab region, since lost trace of, contained a Kharoshṭhī inscription which mentions the name of one Kshatrapa Śivasena in the town of Abhisāraprastha. Stein identified Abhisāra (Abisares of the annalists of Alexander) with the hilly region between the Jhelum and the Chenab, sometimes comprising the neighbouring districts of Hazara.[1] No date can be assigned, with certainty, to this Kshatrapa with an Indian name, but he may have belonged to the early Kushāṇa age. From Zeda, a village near Und (ancient Udabhāṇḍapura) was recovered an inscribed stone which contains the name of Kshatrapa Liaka in whose honour certain gifts were made, by one Hipea Dhia during the eleventh year of the reign of Kanishka I. Konow remarks, 'The Kshatrapa Liaka must be different from the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa, Liaka Kusuluka, but may have been a descendant of his and have held sway in Chukhsa, which must then have included Zeda.'[2] The Māṇikyāla (Rawalpindi District, Panjab) stone inscription of the year 18 of Kanishka I refers to the enshrinement of some relics of Buddha by the general Lala, the increaser of the Kushāṇa race, and the donation-master of

[1] Konow, *CII.* II (i) p. 103

[2] Ibid. pp. 144-5

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the Kshatrapa Vespasi. Vespasi was then ruling as Kshatrapa under Kanishka I. A bronze relic-casket unearthed from the same *stūpa* at Māṇikyāla contains an inscription which records the gift of an unnamed Kshatrapa of Kapiśa, who was the son of the Kshatrapa Graṇavhryaka. This furnishes us with further proof that the office of the satrap was in many cases hereditary, and there is little doubt, that Graṇavhryaka as well as his son were holding a subordinate position in this region under the great Kushāṇa emperor.

THE SATRAPS OF MATHURĀ: THE PRIORITY OF THE RAJUVULA GROUP

The satrapal system of government had been well established long before in the Mathurā region in the interior of India. Most of the Kshatrapas and the Mahākshatrapas of Mathurā were undoubtedly Śaka by race, but they were soon to adopt Indian manners and customs; some of them seem also to have borne Indian names. The coins issued by these rulers, as well as inscriptions in Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī bearing some of their names, are our principal data for the partial reconstruction of their histroy. The Mathurā region was apparently under the rule of a long line of local Hindu potentates from the last days of the Maurya empire, most of whose names ended in either *mitra* or *datta*; they are known only from the large number of copper coins issued by them. Their favourite coin-type was 'standing Lakshmi' and 'three elephants', though a few other devices are not unknown. The later members of this line use the royal title with their names (cf. the legends: *Rājña Balabhūtisa*, *Rājña Rāmadatasa*, *Rājña Kāmdatasa* etc.); but they were soon to be supplanted, perhaps about the middle of the first century B.C., by a line of satrapal rulers. Allan thinks that the last two of these rulers were Mahākshatrapa Rajuvula and his son and successor Śoḍāsa, other rulers like Kshatrapa Śivadatta, Kshatrapa Śivaghosha, Kshatrapa Hagāmāsha and Kshatrapas Hagāna and Hagāmāsha (jointly) being the earlier satraps of Mathurā. Rapson also is of this opinion, for he observes that 'Rañjubula appears to have been the successor of satraps who are known only from their coins, Hagāmāsha and Hagāna ruling conjointly with Hagāmāsha.'[1] But a careful consideration of the coin-types and the absence of any mention of Hagāmāsha and Hagāna in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions would justify us in assigning them a place after Rajuvula and his son Śoḍāsa. The earliest coins of Rajuvula are of base silver and characterised by the royal bust and a somewhat corrupt Greek legend (*Basileis Basileō Sōtēros Razu*) on the obverse, and Pallas hurling thunderbolt with the partially legible Kharoshṭhī legend *apratihatachakrasa kshatrapasa Rajuvulasa* on the reverse. The next are his lead issues having the lion device with traces of illegible Greek legends on the obverse, and a standing Heracles with the partially legible Kharoshṭhī inscription *mahakhatapasa*

[1] *CHI.* I p. 527

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aprati-chakrasa Rajulasa on the reverse. These seem to have been succeeded by another class of his lead coins having 'standing Lakshmī' with the Brāhmī legend *mahākhatapasa Rajuvulasa* on the obverse, and 'Abhisheka Lakshmī' on the reverse. His son Śoḍāsa uses his father's last coin-type, in his lead and copper money, the legends, always in Brāhmī script, only varying in the different specimens. The latter show that Śoḍāsa was at first a Kshatrapa, and afterwards a Mahākshatrapa (*mahākhatapasa putasa Khatapasa Śoḍāsasa, Rajuvulaputasa Khatapasa Śoḍāsasa* and *mahākhatapasa Śoḍāsasa*.) The copper coins of the other group of Mathurā satraps, Śivadatta, Śivaghosha, Hagāmāsha and both Hagāmāsha and Hagāna, on the other hand, invariably bear legends in Brālmī script, and this fact alone would indicate their later position. They use the 'standing Lakshmī and Horse' device on all their coins, and it is presumable from the paucity and somewhat indifferent execution of their coin-types that they ruled for a comparatively short period after Śoḍāsa. Either Śivadatta and Śivaghosha were Indians bearing the foreign title, or, as is more probable, foreigners using Indian names.[1] The gradual indianisation of the names would also indicate a date for the Kshatrapas Śivadatta and Śivaghosha, later even than Hagāmāsha and Hagāna.

MATHURĀ LION CAPITAL INSCRIPTIONS

A remarkable piece of sculpture, part of the capital of a votive column, that must have originally stood by the gateway of a Buddhist *stūpa*, has given us some useful information about the complicated history of the Mathurā Kshatrapas. It was discovered in 1869 by the great Indologist of the nineteenth century, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, who found it built into the steps of a local shrine of Śītalā, the goddess of small-pox. The capital consists of two lions shown as joined together back to back, standing on a pedestal of a square block of red sandstone. The bodies of the lions, and the top, back and bottom of the square block are covered with inscriptions in comparatively early Kharoshṭhī script, which were studied by various scholars including the learned discoverer himself. The inscriptions record the enshrinement of some relics of Buddha and other necessary endowments by the chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa Rajula. She is associated in her pious acts with her various relations whose names are given, and all this is done in honour of the Mahākshatrapa Kusuluka Patika, the Kshatrapa Mevaki Miyika, the Kshatrapa Khardaa and others, in fact the whole of Śakastāna. There is little doubt that many persons of rank who are named here, belonged to the far-distant corners of the Śaka empire, and Śakastāna (modern Seistan, Sijistan in eastern Iran) was

[1] For a full description of the coins of the Mathurā Satraps, cf. Cunningham, *CAI.* pp. 85-7, pl. viii; V. A. Smith, *CCIM.* I pp. 190-1, 195-7; J. Allan, *BMCAI.* pp. cxi-cxvi, 183-91. Cunningham seems to place Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa before the others, for he mentions Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa first, and then Hagāmāsha and his contemporary (perhaps brother) Hagāna; in his time the coins of Śivaghosha and Śivadatta were unknown.

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the region from which the Śakas spread themselves over the greater part of Northern India. Mahākshatrapa Kusuluka Patika was undoubtedly the *mahādānapati* Patika, son of the Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka, of the Taxila copper-plate already referred to on several occasions. Patika seems to have been at this period the Mahākshatrapa in the Taxila region (old Chukhsa), possibly having Mevaki Miyika as his subordinate. He must also have been held in high esteem, being perhaps of a venerable old age, in the contemporary Śaka world in India, or else his name would not have been given the first place in the record of the pious endowments made by the chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa of Mathurā. One other interesting name which occurs twice in the epigraph is that of *yuvarāja* Kharaosta. Rajula's son Śuḍāsa is also twice mentioned there as Kshatrapa. Rajula and Śuḍāsa in this context are no other than Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa of the coins, and *yuvarāja* Kharaosta has almost unanimously been identified with Arta's son Kshatrapa Kharaosta known from his coins.

The first five lines of the inscriptions (A lines 1-5) have been interpreted by Konow in a sense different from that usually adopted by Indologists. According to the older view the principal donor was Nada Di (or Si)aka, the chief queen of Mahākshatrapa Rajula, the daughter of Ayasi Kamudha (or Kamusa) and mother of *yuvarāja* Kharaosta. If the *yuvarāja* Kharaosta is identical with the Kshatrapa Kharaosta of the coins, as is almost unanimously agreed by scholars, it follows that Arta, the father of Kharaosta, was the first husband of Rajula's chief queen who married Rajula, after Arta's death. According to Konow, however, the name of the principal donor, Rajula's chief queen, was Ayasi Kamuia (Kaṁbujaka belonging to the Kāṁbuja tribe) who was the daughter of *yuvarāja* Kharaosta, also a Kāṁbujaka and the mother of Nada Di(Si)aka.[1] It is difficult to be sure about the correct interpretation now, but one fact deducible from these lines is that it was the chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa who was responsible for the endowments, and we must presume that she was a Buddhist. These religious endowments (*dharma-dāna*) were made by the queen in the 'cave monastery' (*guhā-vihāra*) as the records tell us. The *guhā vihāra* was seen in the seventh century A.D. by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuan Tsang, who gives an interesting description of it. Śuḍāsa (Śoḍāsa) is described as enjoying the position of Kshatrapa, at that time under his father, the Great Satrap Rajula. The inscriptions refer to the Buddhist Āchāryas, Buddhadeva and Budhila, the last of whom hailed from Nagara (identified by Cunningham with Begram in Afghanistan) far to the west of the Indus. The Buddhist sects of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas are mentioned in them, the former being assigned a more important position.

These epigraphs do not bear any date, and any inference about the time of the principal personalities mentioned in them must be indirect, and

[1] Konow, op. cit., pp. 34-6; for the older view, cf. *JRAS.* 1894, pp. 541 ff.; *EI.* IX pp. 135 ff. H. K. Deb has recently studied these inscriptions and offered his own views on the problem in *JRASB.* X 1944, pp. 122-37

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derived from other available data. The Brāhmī inscription on a votive tablet (*āyāgapaṭa*) found at Mathurā recording some endowments by one Āmohinī, a Jaina devotee, gives us a possible clue. The tablet bears the name of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa and a date which has been read differently by scholars, either as 42 or 72. Whichever is the correct reading, the view generally accepted is that the year belongs to the Vikrama Samvat. If it is 72, which is the opinion of most scholars, Śoḍāsa would then be ruling as the Mahākshatrapa at Mathurā *c.* A.D. 15. This, however, would imply a wide gap between the time of Kshatrapa Liaka Kusuluka and the Mahākshatrapaship of his son Mahādānapati Patika of the Taxila copper-plate, whose date 78 has been referred to an era beginning from about the middle of the second century B.C. The period of Mahādānapati Patika would then fall roughly in the last quarter of the first century B.C., for the Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions, which mention him as holding the position of the Great Satrap, refer to Śuḍāsa as a Kshatrapa. This would place the inscriptions also in the last quarter of the first century B.C., which is not an unlikely date. Liaka Kusuluka would then have to be assigned a comparatively long rule, first as Kshatrapa and then probably as Mahākshatrapa, from near about the middle of the second quarter of the first century B.C. to the beginning of its last quarter. This was perhaps one of the reasons which led Rapson to support Bühler's alternative reading of the date in the Āmohinī votive tablet as 42, which would abridge by 30 years the interval between the Kshatrapaship of Liaka Kusuluka and the Mahākashatrapaship of his son Patika. It may be said on behalf of Rapson that the sign which has been read by many epigraphists as 70 in the Āmohinī tablet, is very similar to the one read as 40 in the Junnar inscription of Ayama, the minister of Nahapāna, by many of the same epigraphists. Konow, however, consistently reads this sign as 70. Like many other Śaka-Pahlava and Kushāṇa problems of a similar character this chronological puzzle is not yet fully solved.[1]

Rajuvula seems to have enjoyed a long reign, ruling over a far wider area than the Mathurā region. The coins bear witness to this, for they are found all over the country from the Panjab to the Gangetic Doab. The variety of types has already been touched upon, the commonest being 'the drachmas of light weight and very base metal copied from the coins of Strato I and II,' the bust on their obverse resembling a typical Śaka portrait found on the coins of Heraus or Miaus. It is certain that Rajuvula came to Mathurā from the north-west ; he may have conquered it from the last of the local Hindu kings, Balabhūti, Rāmadatta or Kāmadatta, and probably he was already invested with the satrapal office in the regions to the north, under the later Śakas. It is the latest group of his coins which bears on the obverse the device of the local kings of Mathurā, viz. the standing Lakshmī,[2] the tree and other symbols, which is the rarest among his issues. This fact has led Allan to suggest that Rajuvula occupied

[1] See also H. C. Raychaudhuri, *PHAI.*[4] pp. 371-3

[2] Not the god Krishṇa, as was previously supposed; *CHI.* I p. 526

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Māthurā late in his reign.[1] We need not follow him in this conclusion. Allan himself observed that Rajula's (Rajuvula's) coins of class I (royal bust and Pallas type with Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends) were found with the coins of Strato at Mathurā and in the eastern Panjab, which suggests that during the early years of his occupation of Mathurā, he continued to issue the Indo-Greek type of money, so that it was only late in his reign that he imitated the local coins. This practice, once begun, became the norm of his successors, and Śoḍāsa, Hagāmāsha and others followed it, though the last few in the line such as Hagāmāsha, Hagāna, Śivadatta and Śivaghosha changed the Abhisheka-Lakshmī reverse type of the last class of Rajuvula's and of all Śoḍāsa's money.

The rule of Śoḍāsa must have been confined to Mathurā and the surrounding regions, for his coins were found along with those of his father at Mathurā, Padham and Sankisa, all in this belt of the U. P. His Kshatrapa successors, as has been suggested above, must have ruled in Mathurā only for a comparatively short time, until, perhaps after a brief interregnum this region was conquered by the Kushāṇas. That the Kushāṇa suzerains continued the satrapal system of government in this region is proved by the Sārnāth inscriptions dated in the third regnal year of the great Kanishka. The first of these, carved on the front of the plain pedestal of a Buddhist image (described as Bodhisattva in the inscription), records that the image, a gift of Friar Bala, was erected under the orders of the Great Satrap Kharapallāna jointly with Kshatrapa Vanashpara; the other, incised on the sides of the staff of the stone umbrella which once sheltered the image, mentions the same two rulers, Kshatrapa Vanashpara's name being put first, followed by the name of Kharapallāna without his official title. It is probable that Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna was the father of Kshatrapa Vanashpara, and from their connection with Bhikshu Bala of Mathurā, it can be presumed that Mathurā was the seat of their government. Vogel has surmised that Kharapallāna's son Vanashpara, 'who in the umbrella inscription is mentioned before Kharapallāna, resided at Benares and ruled the eastern portion of the province governed by his father.'[2] No coins have as yet been found bearing the names of these two satrapal rulers; perhaps they will never be, for during the zenith of the Kushāṇa power these satraps may not have been allowed by their suzerain the prerogative of issuing coins in their own name. Nothing is known of the subsequent history of the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mathurā. A fragmentary Brāhmī inscription on a rounded piece of red sandstone found at Ganeshrā, some three miles west of Mathurā, contains the name of one Kshaharāta Ghaṭāka who is otherwise unknown to us. There is no date, but the palaeography of the record places it in the reign of Kanishka. Ghaṭāka like Kharapallāna and Vanashpara was a foreigner, but he belonged to the Kshaharāta tribe. Whether he also enjoyed the office of a Kshatrapa is by no means certain, though Vogel has suggested 'that the word immediately preceding

[1] Allan, op. cit., p. cxv

[2] *EI.* VIII p. 174

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harātasa was *Kshatrapasa*' in the inscription ; but the usual order of the two epithets, one tribal and the other official, is '*Kshaharātasa Kshatrapasa*' and not *Kshatrapasa Kshaharātasa*.[1]

THE KSHATRAPAS OF WESTERN INDIA

Certain regions of Western and Central India long remained under the sway of the Kshatrapas and the Mahākshatrapas in the early centuries of the Christian era. The satrapal rule seems to have been introduced in these parts during the Śaka-Pahlava suzerainty, though no names of individual satraps of the period are preserved to us. It was, however, not until the Kushāṇa overlordship that this system of government was well established here. Two principal groups of satraps can be distinguished among the large number of names recovered mainly from inscriptions and coins associated with them. The earlier group consists of two persons only. Bhūmaka and Nahapāna belonging to the Kshaharāta race, as is proved from their coin-legends and inscriptions, while the later group comprises a large number of satraps most of whom were lineal descendants of Chashṭana, the son of one Ghsamotika. Their foreign origin is indicated by the non-Indian names of the earlier members, though Indian names were soon adopted. That their original home was in the north is proved by the use of Kharoshṭhī, the alphabet of the extreme north-west and north of India, in the coin-legends of the first few of these rulers. Kharoshṭhī, however, soon fell into disuse, and no successor of Chashṭana used it on his coins. Rapson argues that the family of the Kshaharātas and that of Chashṭana may have belonged to different races, the former probably being of Pahlava, and the latter of Śaka origin. Thomas has shown that the name Nahapāna is Persian, while the name of Ghsamotika, Chashṭana's father, is Scythic.[2] The stages in the gradual indianisation of the names of Chashṭana's successors are clearly marked by such names as Rudradāman and Dāmasena, which contain both Iranian and Indian elements. Rudrasiṁha, Rudrasena, Vijayasena, Viśvasiṁha and Siṁhasena are typically Indian names, though the Iranian particle *dāman* is still found in such later compounds as Bhartṛidāman and Svāmi Rudradāman (II), the names of the Mahākshatrapas, 16th and 17th in order from Nahapāna. The prefix *svāmi* is the Indian equivalent of the Śaka title *wang* or *muruṇḍa* found in Chinese texts and Indian inscriptions respectively, the latter being the Indian translation of a Chinese word. The foreign origin of these satrapal rulers, however, was never forgotten by the indigenous writers of India, and in some inscriptions and texts of the Gupta period and afterwards, they are described as Śakas. The unnamed era which is so often used in their coins and inscriptions came to be known as the '*śakābdā*', for 'it

[1] For Vogel's view, cf. *JRAS.* 1912, pp. 121-2

[2] *JRAS.* 1906, p. 211. Rapson observes that Nahapāna's son-in-law, Ushavadāta (Rishabhadatta), was probably a Śaka with a Hinduised name; *BM CAWK.* p. civ. *n*, i

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became best known in Northern India as the era which was used for so long a period by these Śaka kings (*Śaka-nṛipa-Kāla*)' (Rapson).

THE KSHAHARĀTA DYNASTY: BHŪMAKA AND NAHAPĀNA

The first satrap of the Kshaharāta family in Western India appears to have been one Bhūmaka known only from a few of his extant copper coins. Bhagwanlal Indraji observed that they were usually found in the coastal regions of Gujarat and Kāthiāwār and also sometimes in Malwa. An arrow, discus and thunderbolt appear on their obverse side, and a lion capital flanked by a wheel (*dharma-chakra*) on their reverse, the partially legible Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī legends on the two sides being *Kshaharātasa Kshatrapa Bhūmaka* ('coin of Kshaharāta Kshtrapa Bhūmaka'). The obverse device of Bhūmaka's coins figures invariably on the reverse of all known silver and copper coins of Nahapāna, and it reminds one of the 'discus, bow and arrow' reverse of some copper coins jointly issued by Spalirises and Azes (p. 203). The '*Dharmachakra* and Lion Capital' device of his coins, however, may associate Bhūmaka with Mathurā, where the inscribed Lion Capital is an interesting memento of the Śaka occupation of that region. It is likely that during the Kushāṇa overlordship of Northern and Western India, Bhūmaka was entrusted with the task of administering the westernmost conquests of the Kushāṇas. On the other hand he may have been already ruling there as the satrap of the Pahlavas when the Kushāṇas made themselves masters of this region. He issued coins as a Kshatrapa, never using the title of *rājā* or *mahākshatrapa*, the first of which was adopted by Nahapāna on his coins. Rapson has rightly observed that 'considerations of the type and fabric of the coins, and of the nature of the coin-legends, leave no room for doubting that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna, but there is no evidence to show the relationship between them.'[1] Sylvain Lévi has suggested that 'Bhūmaka' is the Indian form of the Śaka '*Ysamotika*; *Ysama* being the Śaka word for 'earth'. If Ysamotika (Ghsamotika), the father of Chashṭana, and Bhūmaka be identical (as would follow according to this view), Bhūmaka's place would more plausibly be found between Nahapāna and Chashṭana; but this on other grounds is unlikely. Konow accepts Lévi's suggestion but does not explain this point satisfactorily. He surmised that Nahapāna might have been Chashṭana's uncle ruling before him with the title of *rājan* Kshatrapa as Bhūmaka's successor up to the year 45 (A.D. 123), and after Chashṭana, as Mahākshatrapa, in the year 76 (A.D. 154 i.e., four years after Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh record), reading 76 instead of 46 in the Junnar inscription of Nahapāna's minister Ayama. Another suggestion of Konow is that the Mahākshatrapa Nahapāna of the year 76 was a second Nahapāna who might have been Mahākshatrapa after Rudradāman. On Konow's view there is no dynastic distinction between the Kshaharāta satraps

[1] *BMCAWK*, Intro. p. cviii

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Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, on the one hand, and the satraps of the line of Chashṭana on the other, the word Kshaharāta being an official title and not the name of a family or a clan as is usually held.[1]

Bhūmaka's successor Nahapāna is known not only from his many silver and his few copper coins, but also from several inscriptions recording the pious endowments and benefactions of his son-in-law Ushavadāta, and one of his ministers Ayama. A possible reference to him is found by some scholars in the name of Mambarus (emended Nambanos) mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. Though Nahapāna is not an obscure figure in the annals of ancient India, a difference of opinion exists among scholars about his chronological position. A few of the inscriptions bearing his name contain dates ranging between 41 and 46 of an unspecified era. His coins do not bear any date, but a large number of his extant silver coins show clearly that they were restruck by the Śātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi with the latter's own devices, and this alone might be proof that the two were contemporaries. A large hoard of silver coins bearing the name, titles and devices of Nahapāna was accidentally discovered long ago at a village called Jogalthembhi in the Nāsik District of the Bombay State, of which as many as two-thirds (numbering 9270 or more) showed distinct traces of restriking. Numismatic evidence thus demonstrates that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi defeated the Kshaharāta ruler at some time in his reign and annexed a part of the satrapal dominions. This conclusion seems to be corroborated by the epigraphic data, for the Nāsik inscription of Gotamī Balaśri, the mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, engraved in the 19th regnal year of her grandson, Vāsiṭhiputa Puḷumāyi, records that the great Śātavāhana monarch not only destroyed the Śakas, the Yavanas and the Pahlavas but also uprooted the 'Khakharātas' (*Śaka-Yavana-Pahlava-nisūdanasa . . . . Khakharātavasaniravaśeshakarasa*). Another Nāsik cave inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi himself, bearing the regnal date 18, confirms the Śātavāhana's acquisition of territory from the Khakharātas, for it records the grant of nearly 150 acres of land in a village previously in the possession of Ushavadāta (evidently the same as the Śaka son-in-law of Nahapāna) to the Tekiraśi ascetics. Rapson observes that 'it indicates the recent transfer of the government in the Nāsik district from the Kshaharātas to the Andhras.' It proves that the Śātavāhana ruler and Ushavadāta were contemporaries, and the contemporaneity of the latter's father-in-law Nahapāna with the Andhra king can also be inferred on the basis of this evidence. Now the dates in inscriptions containing Nahapāna's name, are referred by many scholars to the Śaka era, and the last known date of Nahapāna in one of them recording the

[1] For Lévi's suggestion, cf. *JA*. XII, 1933, pp. 37-8, 45. Rapson has shown sound reasons for finding in the decimal sign of the date in the Junnar cave inscription, roughly resembling a Maltese Cross and somewhat different from the usual sign for 40, a variant of 40; Konow would prefer to recognise in it the sign for 70 and read the date as 76.

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benefactions of his minister Ayama is the year 46.[1] He could not have been ruling long after that date, for the Andhau inscriptions of the year 52 refer to the joint rule of Chashṭana and his grandson Rudradāman in the region of Cutch. Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, thus appears to have conquered Nahapāna in or about 46 (A.D. 124, if we refer the date to the Śaka era) which year probably corresponded to the 18th regnal year of Gautamīputra. Rapson thus arrived at the following equation: Gautamīputra's year 18=A.D. 124, or A.D. 124 + x, this x or unknown period being necessarily of a very short duration.

This line of argument adopted for the most part by Rapson, has been challenged by several scholars who would place some interval between the Kshaharāta ruler and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. Their main objection to Rapson's view is based on the evidence supplied by the Andhau inscriptions. These inscriptions were discovered long after Rapson had propounded his conclusions on the date of Nahapāna and the contemporary Śātavāhana king, and the critics of Rapson mostly took their stand on the inordinately short interval (about six years only, taking 46 as positively the last date of Nahapāna recorded in the Śaka era) between Nahapāna and the Western Kshatrapa rulers Chashṭana and Rudradāman. They argue that if the known dates of Nahapāna refer to the Śaka era, as is usually the case with the dates recorded for Chashṭana and his descendants, then the following events would have to be crowded into the fateful six years from 46 to 52. These were, (1) the end of Nahapāna's reign, (2) the final destruction of the Kshaharātas, (3) the accession of Chashṭana as Kshatrapa, his reign as Kshatrapa, his accession and rule as a Mahākshatrapa, (4) the accession and reign of Chashṭana's son Jayadāman as Kshatrapa, and perhaps also his rule as Great Satrap, and (5) Rudradāman's accession and the beginning of his reign. We are not bound, however, to regard these events as successive, and some of them can easily be presumed to have been concurrent. The acceptance of the year 46 as the last date of Nahapāna is highly probable, and Chashṭana might have been entrusted immediately by the central power with the task of retrieving the fallen fortunes of the foreigners. Unlike Nahapāna's, his rule as Kshatrapa could have been very short so that he stepped into the office of Mahākshatrapa soon after his accession. During his rule as Mahākshatrapa, he might have been associated first with his son Jayadāman and then with his grandson Rudradāman. We have no dated coins of Chashṭana, and the year 52 is the only known date for him. The Andhau records which contain this date refer to the joint rule of Chashṭana and Rudradāman, the former presumably as Mahākshatrapa and

[1] Konow now reads it as 76. Konow's reading would further complicate the chronology of Nahapāna; it has led him to suggest that 'there were for some time two Mahākshatrapas', Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman and Mahākshatrapa Nahapāna, and the latter was the uncle of Chashṭana, Rudradāman's grandfather. This would necessitate the assumption that Rudradāman was ruling contemporaneously with the uncle of his grandfather which is absurd.

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the latter as Kshatrapa. Andhau (a place in Cutch) was certainly in the possession of these two in the year 52, but this does not prove that Chashṭana and his associate had made themselves masters of the bulk of the lost dominions of the Kshaharātas at so early a date. This was only possible for Rudradāman at a later period, as we learn from his Junāgaḍh inscription of the year 72 (A.D. 150); and it was between the years 52 and 72 (A.D. 130-150) that these reconquests were made. Jayadāman, sometime Kshatrapa associate of his father must have predeceased Chashṭana, a fact to be inferred not only from the Andhau inscriptions, but also from the consideration that the coins issued by him were all of copper, none containing his bust. Had he intervened as Mahākshatrapa between his father and his son, we should have expected to find that he issued silver coins, and that too, with his bust and the higher title. The Guṇḍā and Jasdhan inscriptions of the later Mahākshatrapas, Rudrasiṁha I and Rudrasena I describe him simply as a Kshatrapa, though Chashṭana and Rudradāman are both described as Mahākshatrapa and Bhadramukha. Again, the title *rājā* which occurs on Jayadāman's coins (*Rājño Kshatrapasa Svāmi Jayadāmasa*) is denied him in the Andhau inscriptions which do not fail to associate it with the names of his father and his son (*rājña Chashṭanasa Ysāmotikaputrasa rājña Rudradāmasa Jayadāmaputrasa*). If Rudradāman did not inherit the title Mahākshatrapa from his father (because the latter never ruled in that capacity), this is likely to be one of the reasons why he is described in the Junāgaḍh inscription as 'having obtained Mahākshatrapaship by himself' (*svayamadhigatamahākshatrapanāmā*). On this line of reasoning we may obviate most of the difficulties raised by critics against the view that the dates in the inscriptions which mention the name of Nahapāna are to be referred to the Śaka era. These critics would refer the dates in the Nahapāna records either to the Vikrama era or to Nahapāna's regnal years, Nahapāna having enjoyed a long rule; or alternatively they take refuge in the supposition that there was more than one Nahapāna, and that the large number of silver coins bearing this name are to be divided between the first Nahapāna and his supposed descendants owning the same name.[1]

It was suggested by K. Gopalachari not long ago that on Rapson's view an interval of more than three years between Nahapāna and Chashṭana cannot be postulated and 'even taking for granted that Nahapāna was defeated in the year 46 itself (A.D. 124-25), we are led to the paradoxical conclusion that a year after the rooting out of the Khakharāta race and the destruction of the Śakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas, Chashṭana was

[1] For Rapson's view, cf. *BMCAWK.* pp. xxvi-xxvii. For D. R. Bhandarkar's view, cf. *IA.* 1918, pp. 76-8; Bhandarkar maintained that Nahapāna was a viceroy not only of Kadphises II, but also of Kadphises I. For the criticism of Rapson's and Bhandarkar's views, cf. R. D. Banerjee, *JRAS.* 1917, pp. 273-89; *JRAS.* 1925, pp. 1-19; G Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 20-5; K. A. N. Sastri, *JRAS.* 1926, pp. 643-65. For Raychaudhuri's views in support of Rapson, cf. *PHAI.*[4] pp. 405-9

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on the scene avenging the Śaka defeat.' But there is no inherent improbability in an immediate attempt by the foreign rulers to reassert their power, and it may be assumed that they began the reconquest of their dominions from the west. In the case of Chashṭana and Rudradāman it was presumably an expansion of their power from the west to the east, and by A.D. 140 they might have conquered up to the western parts of Malwa where Ujjain was situated. Ptolemy (*c.* A.D. 140) refers to Tiastenes, king of Ozene, as a contemporary of Siro-Ptolemaios whose capital was Baithana (Paithan, ancient Pratishṭhāna, on the Godāvarī). These two have been identified with Chashṭana and Siri Puḷumāyi, the son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. It is likely that the northern parts of the Śātavāhana conquests were gradually lost by Puḷumāyi to Chashṭana and Rudradāman and that by A D 150, the date of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman, most, if not all, of the northern conquests of the Śātavāhanas had been recovered by the Western Kshatrapas. A critical study of the place-names recorded in the inscriptions of Ushavadāta (Nāsik), Gotamī Balaśrī (Nāsik) and Rudradāman (Junāgaḍh) would show at once that Rudradāman could certainly not have recovered the entire dominions of Nahapāna; for the *āhāra* of Govardhana which was in the possession of Nahapāna, as is clear from the Nāsik inscription of his son-in-law, never came into the hands of Rudradāman. Moreover, Aparānta (Northern Konkan) which was reconquered by Rudradāman seems to have been lost again shortly afterwards, for Gautamīputra Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi, on the evidence of his Sopara coins, can be presumed to have made himself master of that region. One more point to be noted is that Gotamī Balaśrī's enumeration of her son's conquests was made in the 19th regnal year of her grandson Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, and is not proof in itself that all these conquests were still in Vāsishṭhīputra's full possession. It is likely enough that Gautamīputra had already been dead for some time, and that his mother was recounting the glorious achievements of her departed son. There is certainly no reason to suppose that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi was still alive at that time and was ruling conjointly with his son Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, as has been supposed by R. G. Bhandarkar and D. R. Bhandarkar.

Nahapāna by all appearances enjoyed quite a long reign which probably commenced some time in the last quarter of the first century A.D. and continued up to A.D. 124, though it could not have extended much beyond that year.[1] The coins and most of the inscriptions show that he enjoyed the titles *Rāja* and *Kshatrapa* for the major part of his royal career, adopting the higher title of Mahākshatrapa only in his last years . The prosperity of his reign is proved by the large number of silver coins issued by him and the apparently wide extent of his kingdom.[2] The inscriptions

[1] See, however, ch. x below.

[2] The coins are characterised by the variegated nature of the royal bust. The Editor of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal suggested that the heads were imitations of the heads of some Roman emperors on their coins from 30 B.C.to A.D. 150 (*JRAS.* 1908, p. 551).

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of his son-in-law and general, Ushavadāta, record the latter's benefactions in places which were presumably included in Nahapāna's realm. Not only did Southern Gujarat, Northern Konkan from Broach to Sopara, and the Nāsik and Poona districts form parts of his dominion; but it must have stretched much farther north. Surāshṭra (Kāthiāwār), Kukura a region in the south of Rajputana) Ākara (East Malwa) and Avanti (Western Malwa) and even Pushkara in Ajmer in Central Rajputana were also incorporated in his kingdom. Many of these places were wrested from him afterwards by the great Śātavāhana ruler, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi. It is probable that at the zenith of his power, just before his defeat, portions of Southern Mahārāshṭra (originally in the possession of the Śātavāhanas) had to be reconquered by Gautamīputra. The author of the *Periplus* expressly says that Ariake (really Aparatike, the Greek equivalent of Aparānta, i.e., Northern Konkan) was included in Nambanus's realm and that 'the Greek ships entering the Śātavāhana port of Kalyān were diverted to Barygaza.'[1] The writer also tells us the name of the capital of Nambanus (Nahapāna). It was one of the two cities named Minnagara, one situated in the delta of the Indus in Sind, and the other an inland Minnagara, evidently the capital of Nambanus, situated according to Ptolemy two degrees east and two degrees north of Barygaza. It has been variously identified by scholars; Bhandarkar's suggestion that it is modern Mandasor (ancient Daśapura) is probable, though later Jaina tradition, as has been shown by Jayaswal, describes Bharukachchha as the metropolis of the Kshaharāta king.[2] D. R. Bhandarkar says that the other three cities of the north-western Deccan, Sorpāraga (modern Sopara), Govardhana (near Nāsik) and Bharukachchha (modern Broach, classical Barygaza) must have been each the headquarters of a district in Nahapāna's empire. Other headquarters of divisions in his empire may have been Junnar, Ujjain and Chikhalapadra of the *āhāra* (division) of Kapur; the last is probably modern Chikhali, the principal town of a *taluk* in the Surat District. Traditions of the immense wealth of Nahapāna were current in the seventh century A.D., for Jinadāsagaṇi, while commenting on a *gāthā* of the Jaina work *Āvaśyakasūtraniryukti* said to have been composed by Bhadrabāhu (between 58 B.C. and A.D. 150), says that 'Nahavāhana (in the original *gāthā* the form is Nahavāna, which is evidently correct) ruling at Bharukachchha possessed immense treasure; he was a contemporary of Śālavāhana who ruled at Paiṭhāna (ancient Pratishṭhāna, modern Paiṭhan on the Godāvarī) and possessed an immense army.' The Jaina commentator also refers to the frequent attacks made by Śātavāhana on Nahavāna's capital, Bharukachchha, which Śātavāhana conquered in the end.[3]

[1] K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 50

[2] *IA.* 1918, p. 78. Fleet identifies Minnagara with the present township of Dohad in the Panch Mahals, *JRAS.* 1912, p. 788; Jayaswal suggests Broach, ancient Bhrigukachchha, as the more likely site of the capital of Nahapāna

[3] *JBORS.* XVI, 1930, p. 288

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SATRAPS OF UJJAYINI
CHASHṬANA AND HIS IMMEDIATE SUCCESSORS

Much has already been said about Chashṭana, his son Jayadāman and his grandson Rudradāman, while discussing the chronology of Nahapāna. It seems that immediately after the defeat, and probably the death, of Nahapāna, Chashṭana, the son of Ysamotika, was authorised by the central power to recover the lost satrapal possessions. He may have been associated in this task from the very first with Jayadāman and Rudradāman. His son predeceased him while holding the office of Kshatrapa under his father; but his grandson's association with him, most probably as Kshatrapa, up to the year A.D. 130 and for some time after is proved by the Andhau inscriptions and other data. Chashṭana probably won early success in his struggle with the Śātavāhanas, if we may judge by his adoption of the three-arched symbol with the crescent on top (supposed to stand for a *chaitya* or a mountain), which was one of the characteristic coin devices of the Andhras. This initial success probably came to him when he was still a Kshatrapa, for the symbol first makes its appearance on the variety of silver coins which he issued in that capacity. The same symbol appears not only on all the silver coins which were issued by him as a Mahākshatrapa, but also on the silver money of the subsequent generations of the Western Kshatrapas ; it stands invariably on the reverse, in addition to the star and crescent. The obverse of Chashṭana's coins bears his bust which may be a portrait ; the headgear resembles that shown on the coins of Nahapāna. Chashṭana alone among the members of his line uses the three scripts, Greek, Kharoshṭhī and Brāhmī in his coin legends, though the first two very soon lost their importance. Kharoshṭhī is used merely to transcribe the name of the satrap, while the Greek or Graeco-Roman legend is corrupt and fragmentary. Kharoshṭhī soon disappeared completely from the coin legends of his successors, while the lingering traces of the Graeco-Roman legends, before long, took the appearance of ornamental scrolls around the margin. These numismatic features are further proof of the gradual indianisation of the foreign rulers.

Chashṭana established a royal and at the same time satrapal line which continued without interruption up to the beginning of the fourth century A.D. (*c.* 304). The legend on the coins of each of his successors records the name and official title (Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa) of the father of the issuer, and this feature alone enables us to fix the succession with some precision. Each successor of Chashṭana up to this date (A.D. 304), as Rapson remarks, 'was the son of a prince who had ruled before him either as Mahākshatrapa or Kshatrapa.' Chashṭana and his descendants ruled over parts of Western India for about 175 years, at the end of which period there occurred a temporary eclipse of the satrapal power. As regards the duration of Chashṭana's rule, nothing can be said with certainty, but the end must be placed somewhere between A.D. 140 and 150. That

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he was reigning *c.* A.D. 140 is proved by the reference to Tiastenes and his capital Ozene in Ptolemy's *Geography*.

Jayadāman predeceased his father, having ruled for a little while under him in the capacity of a Kshatrapa. He issued no silver coins, and this itself is a proof of the ephemeral character of his satrapal dignity. His career must have closed before A.D. 130, by which date we see his son Rudradāman associated most probably as a Kshatrapa with his grandfather Chashṭana. Chashṭana and Rudradāman seem to have ruled conjointly for some time; recovering many of the territories conquered by the Śātavāhanas, until this contest became the sole responsibility of the Great Satrap Rudradāman. He was not unequal to it, for, as we know from his Junāgaḍh inscription of the Ś. E. 72 (A.D. 150), he twice defeated Śātakarṇi, Lord of the Deccan (*Dakshiṇāpathapati*) but did not destroy him completely for the reason of the 'not remote' relationship existing between them. There is some doubt about the identity of this vanquished rival and relation of Rudradāman. Rapson identifies him with Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi, and further says that the Vāśishṭhīputra Śrī Śātakarni recorded in one of the Kaṇheri inscriptions (where his queen is described as the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra and as descended from the family of the Kārddamaka kings), was also identical with this Śātavāhana monarch. On this view, Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi would be the son-in-law of Rudradāman and at the same time his enemy. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, suggests that Rudradāman's rival was no other than Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi himself, one of whose sons, Vāśishṭhīputra Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi, was the son-in-law of the Great Satrap Rudra mentioned in the Kāṇheri records; this would explain why the relationship is called 'not remote' (*saṁbandhāviduratā*). K. Gopalachari, on the other hand, identifies the Śātakarṇi of the Junāgaḍh inscription with one of the successors of Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi mentioned in the Purāṇic lists, namely Śivamaka (Śivaskanda) Śātakarṇi, probably a brother or a nephew of Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi.[1] The question of the identity of Rudradāman's son-in-law, as well as that of his rival cannot be said to have been satisfactorily answered as yet; but with regard to Rapson's suggestion that Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi was the son-in-law of the Great Satrap, it may be pointed out, with K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'that it is improbable that Puḷumāyi, who according to Ptolemy was a contemporary of Chashṭana, married the latter's great-grand-daughter.' The Śātakarṇi of the Junāgaḍh record need not be the same as the Vāśishṭhīputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi of the Kaṇheri inscription; he was more probably a son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, perhaps much younger than his more important brother Vāśishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi.

The Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman records the substantial repair of the dam of the Sudarśana lake which had burst during a violent storm. The lake was originally constructed under the orders of the

[1] For Rapson's view cf. *BMCAWK.* p. xxxviii; for Bhandarkar's opinion, cf. *IA.* 1918, pp. 154-5; for K. Gopalachari's observations, cf. *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 54

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Vaiśya Pushyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Chandragupta. It was afterwards furnished with conduits, for better facility of irrigation, by the Yavanarāja Tushāspha, the governor of the province during the time of Aśoka. During Rudradāman's rule it was heavily damaged by a storm and thought to be beyond repair by some of his counsellors. Nevertheless, under his orders the repairs were very successfully carried out 'by the minister Suviśākha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who ... had been appointed by the king in this government to rule the whole of Ānarta and Surāshṭra.' The place-names occurring in this inscription, in spite of some difficulties of identification, show that Rudradāman's rule 'extended over (1 and 2) Eastern and Western Malwa, (3) a district on the upper Narmadā south of Malwa and on the other side of the Vindhya range, probably the region round ancient Māhishmatī, modern Māndhātā, (4 and 5) the country around the Gulf of Cambay and Kāthiāwār, (6) Northern Gujarat, (7) a portion of Marwar in Rajputana, (8) Cutch, (9 and 10) Sind and some adjacent portion of Western Rajputana (S. W. Marwar), (11) Northern Konkan, and (12) *Nishāda* (uncertain).'[1] This list shows that most of the provinces ruled over by the Kshaharāta Nahapāna had been recovered by Rudradāman. It is also likely that many of the subordinate rulers once ruling under Nahapāna and dispossessed of their respective territories by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi were reinstated by Rudradāman; for he is described in the record as 'the restorer of kings who had been deprived of their kingdoms' (*bhrashṭa-rājapratishṭhāpaka*). He also conquered the Yaudheyas who are described in the inscriptions as 'loath to submit, rendered proud as they were by having manifested their title of heroes among all Kshatriyas'; he evidently regarded his conquest of this martial tribe of ancient India as a great feat of valour. He is described as 'having won for himself the title of the *Mahākshatrapa*' (*svayamadhigatamahākshatrapanāmā*). This and the other fact mentioned in the inscription that 'he was resorted to by all castes and chosen as their lord to protect them (*sarvva-varṇair-abhigamya rakshaṇ-ārthaṁ-patitve vṛitena*) might indicate, as H. C. Raychaudhuri has suggested, 'that the power of his house had been shaken by some enemy (possibly Gautamīputra), and he had to restore the supreme satrapal dignity by his own prowess.'[2] Another reason for describing his superior title as self-won might have been that he did not inherit it from his father.

He coined extensively in silver, and the legends on these coins invariably denote him as Mahākshatrapa, no coins issued by him in the satrapal capacity being known. He had two sons, Dāmaghsada and Rudrasiṁha, and one daughter who was married to a Śātavāhana prince. The

[1] Rapson, op. cit., p. cxix. The line 11 of the inscription gives us all the names: 1 & 2. *Pūrvv-āpar-Ākarāvanti;* 3. *Anūpanīvrid;* 4 & 5. *Ānarta-Surāshṭra;* 6. *Sva(bh)ra;* 7. *(Ma)ru;* 8. *(Kac)cha;* 9 & 10. *(S)i(n)dhu-S(au)v(ī)ra-Kukura;* 11. *Aparāṁta;* 12. *Nishāda* Kielhorn, *EI.* VIII p. 44

[2] *PHAI.*[4] p. 424

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royal busts on his coins, if they are portraits, show a man of vivacious and cheerful disposition, marked with a strong stamp of individuality and vigour. The Junāgaḍh inscription attributes to him a beautiful body characterised by the most excellent marks and signs (*paramalakshaṇa-vyañjanair upeta-kāntamūrti*). It also informs us that the Mahākshatrapa had earned great fame by the study of the various sciences, grammar, polity, music, logic etc. He was not an exacting ruler, and the vast amount of money spent in works of public utility such as the repair of the Sudarśana embankment was drawn from his own treasury 'without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by exacting taxes (*kara*), forced labour (*vishṭi*), benevolences (*praṇaya*) and the like.' This enlightened ruler who was chosen by men of all castes as their protector, was assisted by an able band of ministers of two orders—*matisachivas* (counsellors) and *karmasachivas* (executive officers)—in the work of administration. Rudradāman was thus one of the most outstanding personalities of ancient India. Like Nahapāna, he seems to have had a long rule, for there is reason to believe that he lived for a good many years after A.D. 150.

RUDRADĀMAN'S SUCCESSORS

Dāmaghsada appears to have been associated with his father during the latter period of his rule, and served as a Kshatrapa for some time before he succeeded him as Mahākshatrapa. A good many silver coins issued by him in the subordinate capacity have been found; these are usually divided into three varieties on the basis of their legends. The legends show distinct attempts at sanskritising the Prākṛit language in which they were written, and the outlandish name of the issuer is partially indianised into Dāmajada-śrī. His place in the Western Kshatrapa genealogy is known only from his silver coins, for like his sons Jīvadāman and Satyadāman, he finds no place in the genealogical tables recited in the inscriptions of his brother Rudrasiṁha I and of his nephew Rudrasena I. This omission may have no special significance; these tables often put down only the direct descent from father to son. But Rapson thinks that the name of Dāmaghsada as well as those of his two sons were purposely omitted in the Guṇḍā and Jasdhan inscriptions of the years 103 and 127, recorded by Rudrasiṁha I and his grandson Rudrasena I respectively. He supposes that there was a war of succession for the Mahākshatrapaship, after Dāmaghsada's death, between his son Jīvadāman and his brother Rudrasiṁha I. We shall see presently that there are no sure grounds for this supposition. Very little is known about this Great Satrap; but it is probable that his rule as Mahākshatrapa extended to as late a period as the year 103 (A.D. 181), when his brother Rudrasiṁha I was a Kshatrapa.

RUDRASIṀHA I AS KSHATRAPA AND MAHĀKSHATRAPA
THE ĀBHĪRA MAHĀKSHATRAPA ĪŚVARADATTA
JĪVADĀMAN AS MAHĀKSHATRAPA

Rapson suggests that Dāmaghsada was succeeded as Mahākshatrapa,

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by his son Jīvadāman who ruled in that capacity for a little while and was soon deprived of this office by his uncle Rudrasiṁha I. It is known that the latter was Kshatrapa in the years 102 and 103 (A.D. 180-181) (cf. his silver coins dated 102 and the Guṇḍā inscription dated 103). Two other groups of his dated silver coins show that he was ruling as Mahākshatrapa from 103 (presumably the latter part) to 110 Ś.E. (A.D. 181-88) for the first time, and for the second time from 113 to 118 or 119 (A.D. 191-196 or 197). During the period extending from a part of 110 to 112 (A.D. 188-190), he held the rank of Kshatrapa for the second time. We have clear numismatic data to show that his nephew Jīvadāman was Mahākshatrapa during Ś.E. 119-120 (A.D. 197-198). The only evidence of Jīvadāman being Mahākshatrapa before his uncle's first tenure of this office is furnished, according to Rapson, by a single silver coin of Jīvadāman, which contains a date behind the royal head where the hundred figure is distinct, and which seems stylistically earlier in point of date than Jīvadāman's second group of coins. On this numismatic datum alone Rapson surmised that there was a struggle for succession between Jīvadāman and Rudrasiṁha I after Dāmaghsada's death in which fortune favoured the rivals intermittently. According to Rapson's view, Rudrasiṁha became Mahākshatrapa for the first time after he had deprived his nephew of the office. It was his nephew again who presumably reduced him to the rank of lower dignity during the years 110 to 112, himself assuming the superior office. Then Rudrasiṁha managed to oust his rival and make himself Mahākshatrapa for the second time in the year 113, retaining the title until 118 or the early part of 119.

This hypothesis thus principally rests upon a single coin of Jīvadāman issued in the capacity of Mahākshatrapa and bearing a date in which the hundred figure alone is legible. Rapson places this coin very near the issues of his father on account of its partially Sanskrit legend; but the same feature is also to be found on variety *b* of the coins which Rudrasiṁha I issued as Mahākshatrapa for the second time. Thus it is not at all certain that this coin of Jīvadāman was issued before 103, the date when Rudrasiṁha I became Mahākshatrapa for the first time. The only ground for that suggestion is that the bust on it resembles that of a youthful person and differs somewhat from the bust on the other coins issued by Jīvadāman as Mahākshatrapa during the years 119 and 120. It is a long gap between 102 or 103 and 119, but not a single coin issued by Jīvadāman as Mahākshatrapa dated in the years 111 and 112 has as yet been discovered. If Jīvadāman had been responsible for thrusting his uncle to the position of lower dignity during those two years, he must have issued coins in the capacity of a Mahākshatrapa during that period. We have no evidence that Jīvadāman ruled as a Kshatrapa during his uncle's two tenures of the higher office. These and other considerations must make us sceptical of Rapson's theory. D. R. Bhandarkar long ago suggested that the lowering of Rudrasiṁha's position during these two years was due to the temporary usurpation of the higher office by the Ābhīra

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Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta who ruled exactly for two years. That the Ābhīras were enjoying some political power and importance in the time of Rudrasiṁha I is proved by the Guṇḍā inscription, which records a donation made at the village of Rasopadra by the general Rudrabhūti, son of the Ābhīra general Bāhaka. Bāhaka might have been serving as a general during the time of Dāmaghsada and his son Rudrabhūti was also employed in the same rank. It is very likely that Īśvaradatta was another important person in the court, and was scheming and ambitious; that he managed to manipulate affairs in such a way as to keep his master away from the throne for at least two years, who, however, later managed to recover it. This view is made more likely by the absence of any suitable gap occurring after Rudrasiṁha I where the two years' rule of the Ābhīra usurper can be made to fit in. Rapson placed Īśvaradatta between the Mahākshatrapaship of Dāmasena whose last known date is 158, and that of Yaśodāman, his son, whose only date in his Mahākshatrapa coins known in Rapson's time was 161. Thus Rapson assigned the two years 159 and 160 to Īśvaradatta. But among the hoard of Kshatrapa coins found by D. R. Bhandarkar at Sarvania (Banswara State, Rajputana), there was a coin of Mahākshatrapa Yaśodāman dated in the year 160. Bhandarkar has shown good reasons, palaeographical and stylistic, for grouping Īśvaradatta's coins with those of Rudrasiṁha I. Īśvaradatta has been described by every scholar as an Ābhīra. The existence of another Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, in the Nāsik region at about the same or a slightly later period, is established by an inscription in cave x at Nāsik, and this is another proof of the great predominance of the Ābhīras at this epoch.[1]

The custom by which, on the death of a Mahākshatrapa the deceased's brother succeeded to the office, became quite common for a while after the reign of Rudrasena I. This is plain from a study of the genealogical table of several of the Western Satraps. The custom may well have been adopted as early as the time of Rudrasiṁha I. Rudrasiṁha I's only brother was Dāmaghsada who had already held the office; so after the death of Rudrasiṁha, his nephew Jīvadāman ascended the throne in 119 (A.D. 197). No Kshatrapa coins of Jīvadāman have as yet been discovered; probably he never ruled as Kshatrapa. He had a brother, most likely older than himself, Satyadāman by name, who may have served as a Kshatrapa under their father Dāmaghsada. If so, the early date of Satyadāman's Satrapy is rendered likely by the fact that the legend on his unique silver coin is in almost perfect Sanskrit (*rājño mahākshatrapasya Dāmajadaśriyaputrasya rājño kshatrapasya Satyadāmna*), like the legends on several of the coins issued by his father, when Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa. His tenure of office seems to have been very short; possibly he predeceased his father. Jīvadāman may have had no son of his own, and his cousin Rudrasena I, son of Rudrasiṁha I, succeeded him with the

[1] *ASIAR.* 1913-14, pp. 227-45, Bhandarkar, 'Kshatrapa Coins from Sarvania'.

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rank of Mahākshatrapa.[1] Rudrasena served as Kshatrapa in the year 121 (A.D. 199) and possibly also during the early part of 122, from which date up to the year 144 (A.D. 222) he enjoyed the superior office. In an inscription dated in the year 122, found beside a tank at Mulwasar (Mūlavāsara), a village in the Baroda territory of Okhamandal, Rudrasena is given the epithets *rāja mahākshatrapa svāmi*. Thus, he had become Mahākshatrapa, as early as 122 (A.D. 200), though the earliest dated coins issued by him as Mahākshatrapa belong to the year 125 (A.D. 203). The other inscription mentioning the name of this Great Satrap found at Jasdan in the north of Kāthiāwār bears a date either 126 or 127. It exhibits the longest genealogical table known of the Western Kshatrapas, though mentioning only the names of the Mahākshatrapas in direct descent. It is interesting that the title Bhadramukha ('gracious') is applied in it to all Rudrasena's ancestors except Jayadāman who never attained the rank of Great Satrap, having predeceased his father.

Rudrasena's reign was spread over a period of 22 years (A.D. 200-22). He issued silver coins as a Kshatrapa, in the early part of his career, possibly under his cousin the Mahākshatrapa Jīvadāman, in the year 121, but from the year 122 to 144, his coins describe him as Mahākshatrapa. Some potin coins found in Malwa, bearing the dates 131 and 135 but without any name, appear to have been his issues. The provenances of the inscriptions and of his coins seem to show that Malwa, Gujarat, Kāthiāwār and parts of Western Rajputana owed allegiance to him; but as regards Northern Konkan, there is numismatic evidence to show that it was wrested from the grip of the Great Satraps, probably during Dāmaghsada's time, by the great Śātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi, several of whose silver coins found at Sopara are plainly an imitation of the style of the Western Satraps. It has already been shown that the Nāsik region (Northern Mahārāshṭra), once in the occupation of the royal Satrap, the Kshaharāta Nahapāna, was conquered by the Śātavāhana monarch Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and could not be recovered either by Chashṭana or by Rudradāman. At the beginning of the third century A.D., or slightly earlier, when the Śātavāhana power was fast declining, it was held by an Ābhīra king, Īśvarasena, son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta. The previous Śaka occupation had nevertheless left a strong Śaka impress, as we see from the inscription (in cave No. x at Nāsik) where the name of the Ābhīra king occurs and the donor is described as 'the female lay-worshipper Vishṇudattā, daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman, wife of the *Gaṇapaka* Rebhila and mother of the *Gaṇapaka* Viśvavarman.'[2]

[1] A. S. Altekar presents the chronology of this period of the Western Kshatrapa rule in a different manner. According to him, Jivadāman succeeded his father Dāmaghsada as Mahākshatrapa *c.* A.D. 175 immediately after the latter's death. Altekar supports Rapson's hypothesis of a civil war between Jivadāman and his ambitious uncle Rudrasiṁha I, but endorses D. R. Bhandarkar's view, that the degradation of Rudrasiṁha I in the years 110 and 111 (A.D. 178-179) was due to the Ābhīra usurper Iśvaradatta; cf. *NHIP.* VI pp. 47-9

[2] *ASWI.* IV p. 104; Lüders, *List* 1137. Bühler takes Gaṇapaka in the sense of a 'protector or leader of a gaṇa

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Rudrasena appears to have ruled over his vast realm from Ujjayinī in Western Malwa (Avanti), which was also the royal seat of Chashṭana. The political influence of the Western Satraps was still very high in his time and matrimonial alliances with them were sought by chiefs and rulers far and near. A red clay sealing, the impress of an oval seal (1 1/8″×1″), unearthed at Basarh (ancient Vaiśālī) by D. B. Spooner, has a Brāhmī inscription which means '(the seal) of the great queen Prabhudāmā, sister of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasena, and daughter of the king, the Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasiṁha' (*rājño mahākshatrapasya svāmi Rudrasiṁhasya duhitū rājño mahākshatrapasya svāmi Rudrasenasya bhaginyā mahādevyā Prabhuḍāmāyāḥ*).[1] It is not known whose Mahādevī (chief queen) this Prabhudāmā, sister of Rudrasena I and daughter of Rudrasiṁha I, was, for her husband's name is omitted in the seal. A. S. Altekar says, 'It is not unlikely that he was either a hitherto unknown Hindu ruler of Eastern India, who had married a Scythian princess, or a Hinduised Kushān chief, ruling over a small principality in Magadha, which had survived the collapse of the Kushān empire.'[2] Whoever he was, in political importance he certainly compared unfavourably with Rudrasena and Rudrasiṁha, for his chief queen preferred to recite her paternal connection and not her husband's name. An inscription of the sixth regnal year of the Ikshvāku monarch Vīrapurushadatta (*c.* 3rd century A.D.) records the gift of a stone pillar in the *mahāchaitya* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa by Mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā who is described as *Uj(e)nikā mahārā(ja)bālikā* (*a royal princess* from Ujjayinī). Virapurushadatta had five queens, and the donor of the record was one of them; she appears to have been related either to Rudrasena I or Rudrasena II, both of whom flourished in the third century A.D.[3]

SUCCESSORS OF RUDRASENA I
SAṄGHADĀMAN AND DĀMASENA

The mode of succession, a brother stepping into the office on the death of the ruling Mahākshatrapa, which seems to have been tentatively adopted after the death of Dāmaghsada, became the established practice for a while with the Western Sātraps from Rudrasena's time. He had two sons, Pṛithivīsena and Dāmajadaśrī by name, but neither of them succeeded to his office. It was his brother Saṅghadāman who became the next Mahākshatrapa. Saṅghadāman enjoyed this office for two years only or even less, for his silver coins are all dated in the years (Ś.E.) 144 or 145. He could not have held the office after the expiry of a few months of the latter year, for coins of the next Mahākshatrapa Dāmasena, another brother of Rudrasena I, bearing the date 145 have been discovered. Altekar

which consists of three *gulmas* or battalions, and may be taken as an equivalent of colonel or brigadier-general.'

[1] *ASIAR.* 1913-14, p. 136
[2] *NHIP.* VI p. 51 & *n.*
[3] *EI.* XX p. 4; D. C. Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 23

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supposes that Saṅghadāman may have met a premature death while fighting against the Mālavas of the Ajmer-Udaipur region. His hypothesis rests on the Yūpa inscriptions found at Nandsa in Udaipur territory, Rajputana, which record the performance of an important sacrifice by the Mālava chief Soma to celebrate the liberation of his country. An inscription of the same chief, dated in A.D. 226, refers to his many exploits and though his enemies are not mentioned there by name, Altekar thinks that these could have been no other than the Western Kshatrapas. It is doubtful whether Saṅghadāman himself was the enemy of this Mālava chief whose vanquished enemies might have been some other adversaries nearer to the Udaipur region.[1] Pṛithivīsena, probably the elder son of Rudrasena I, enjoyed the subordinate office for a little while either during the last year of his father or the first year of his uncle Saṅghadāman, and not under Dāmasena as Altekar supposes. His coins are extremely rare and bear the date 144 only. Dāmasena, who succeeded his brother Saṅghadāman as Mahākshatrapa in the year 145, held the office for a longer period, the dates on his coins falling between 145 and 158. Dāmajada II, presumably the second son of Dāmasena's eldest brother Rudrasena I, was a Kshatrapa during the first part of Dāmasena's rule as Mahākshatrapa; his silver coins dated in the years 154 and 155 are known. During Dāmasena's last few years as Mahākshatrapa the lower office was held by the eldest of his sons, Vīradāman, who issued silver coins in that capacity during the years 156 to 160. But he was not to succeed Dāmasena to the higher office. This passed instead to Yaśodāman, the next son of Dāmasena. We may presume that Dāmasena continued to rule as Mahākshatrapa until the beginning of the year 160, when two of his sons Vīradāman and Yaśodāman I, held successively the office of Kshatrapa. But no coins issued during these two years by Dāmasena as a Mahākshatrapa have yet been discovered.

DĀMASENA'S SUCCESSORS

Dāmasena had four sons, Vīradāman, Yaśodāman I, Vijayasena and Dāmajadaśrī III. Of these Vīradāman was the eldest, but he did not reach the higher office. Probably he died prematurely. His next brother Yaśodāman succeeded to the lower office in the year 160, as some silver coins of that date issued by him when Kshatrapa (presumably under his father Dāmasena) sufficiently prove. Yaśodāman became Mahākshatrapa in the same year, probably on the death of his father; for the Sarvania hoard of coins already referred to includes two silver coins dated 160 (A.D. 238) a date not previously read on any other of his Mahākshatrapa coins. This discovery was one of the several reasons which led D. R. Bhandarkar to

[1] Altekar, op. cit., p. 52. D. R. Bhandarkar refers to a coin of Saṅghadāman as Mahākshatrapa with the date 149 in the collection of the Watson Museum, Rajkot (*ASIAR.* 1913-14, p. 232). But there must be some mistake in the reading of the date here, for Dāmasena was holding the office at that time.

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5. FOREIGN KINGDOMS: SAKAS, KUSHAṆAS, NORTHERN AND WESTERN SATRAPS

facing p. 288)

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question Rapson's placing of the Ābhīra intruder, the Mahākshatrapa Iśvaradatta who ruled exactly for two years, and who has been very reasonably assigned to a period about half a century before Yaśodāman I. Yaśodāman I had a very short rule, roughly about two years (part of 160 and the earlier part of 161) during which his next brother Vijayasena was the Kshatrapa. Yaśodāman I must have ceased to be a Mahākshatrapa in the year 161. None of the silver coins which he issued as Mahākshatrapa, so far known, bears a date later than 161, and it is certain that one of his brothers, Vijayasena, held the higher rank in the year 161. Vijayasena (as may be inferred from the Sarvania hoard) continued as Mahākshatrapa until the year 172 (A.D. 250), and each of his eleven years of rule in that capacity is represented by his silver coins. Rapson says that 'the series of Vijayasena's coins is the most satisfactory in this dynasty, alike as regards dates, style and distinctness in the coin-legends.' A critical study of his coins led Rapson to detect the first symptoms of a decline in their technique about the year 167 or 168. A process of continuous degradation followed until the end of the dynasty 'varied occasionally by short-lived attempts to restore a higher standard.'

The coinage of a dynasty was in ancient times a sure index to its political power, and we may fairly surmise that from after the time of Vijayasena the prosperity of the Western Satraps, already somewhat crippled, gradually declined. Vijayasena's coins have been found in large numbers throughout Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār and in a part of south-western Rajputana (Banswara) as well. The Sarvania hoard contained more than a hundred coins of this ruler, generally in good preservation, and a few of them prove that he rose from the rank of Kshatrapa to that of Mahākshatrapa in the year 161.

Vijayasena was succeeded in the latter part of 172 or else early in 173 by his brother Dāmajadaśrī III (the youngest of Dāmasena's sons) who ruled for only five years. His latest certain date, furnished by the Sarvania hoard is the year 177, and his rule must have ended in that year. He was succeeded by his nephew Rudrasena II, the son of Vīradāman, Dāmasena's eldest son. Rudrasena II's accession must have taken place in year 177, for D. R. Bhandarkar found a coin of his dated in that year during his excavations at Besnagar. Rudrasena II ruled for 21 or 22 years, from 177 to 198 or 199 (A.D. 225-276 or 277). He issued numerous coins but their style and execution are indifferent. The Sarvania hoard alone contained as many as 392, but a large number of these are undated or illegibly dated.

It may be noted here that throughout the reign (as Mahākshatrapas) of Vijayasena and Dāmajadaśrī, and for a part of that of Rudrasena II, there were no Kshatrapas. We have found no coins issued by any chief holding the lesser office during these years. Towards the end of Rudrasena's rule as Mahākshatrapa, the rank of Kshatrapa was revived. Viśvasiṁha, the elder of his sons, was Kshatrapa from the year 197 to the year 200. Thus no Kshatrapa was associated with the ruling Mahākshatrapa

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for a period of about 35 years (161-196). No reason can be assigned for this administrative change in the history of the Western Kshatrapas. Another interesting fact is that the potin coins which were issued by the Mahākshatrapas from the time of Jīvadāman onwards, some bearing the name of the issuer and others not, finally ceased to be struck after Dāmasena. Rapson has shown that this currency of the Western Kshatrapas is attributable to Malwa, and its final disappearance at about that time may indicate that that part of Malwa, where these coins were current, fell from the control of the Mahākshatrapas who succeeded Dāmasena, or that this currency was suspended by the more widely-used silver coinage of the dynasty. Rapson favours the latter explanation though the former is not unlikely either. There is no doubt that the power of the Mahākshatrapas was already on the wane and that they were being gradually dispossessed of their outlying possessions by many local chiefs. Altekar suggests that Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākāṭaka kingdom who ruled for about 20 years from *c.* A.D. 255 to 275, may have annexed a part of Eastern Malwa.

LAST YEARS OF THE MAIN HOUSE OF CHASHTANA

Viśvasiṁha, the son of Rudrasena II, was Kshatrapa under his father from the year 197 to the year 199. According to Rapson, he held the lower office till 200 or probably 201 (S.E.). Rapson could not read the date on any of the coins struck by Viśvasiṁha as Mahākshatrapa. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, read 200 on one such coin now in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. This shows that Viśvasiṁha could not have been a Kshatrapa for long after 199, for he was in possession of the higher office in 200. His rule as Mahākshatrapa was short-lived. The Sarvania hoard contains a few coins issued by his brother and successor Bhartṛidāman with the date 204. Thus, it seems that Viśvasiṁha ruled as a Mahākshatrapa only for three or four years.[1] Large numbers of coins were issued by him both as a Kshatrapa and as a Mahākshatrapa, but the majority of them were badly struck. Bhartṛidāman held at first the lower office under Viśvasiṁha, during the years 200 to 204 (A.D. 278-282). He then succeeded his brother in the year 204 (A.D. 282) and ruled as Mahākshatrapa till 217 (A.D. 295). This is his last known year, though it is not unlikely that he ruled for a few years longer. It is certain that his son and successor Viśvasena never attained the rank of Mahākshatrapa. The coins of Viśvasena show that he ruled as Kshatrapa from 215 to 226 (A.D. 293-304). Thus in the early part of his reign (215-17) he was the junior partner of his father. It is not known why he failed to

[1] G. V. Acharya reads the date 211 on a coin of Viśvasiṁha as Mahākshatrapa in the hoard of 520 coins in the Junāgaḍh State treasury. This would indicate that Viśvasiṁha ruled in that capacity till 211 (A.D. 289). But it would go against the evidence gleaned from the Sarvania hoard by D. R. Bhandarkar. Acharya may not have correctly read the date on the Junāgaḍh coin; *Num. Supplement* XLVII (*JRASB.* 1937, pp. 97-8)

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assume the higher title after his father's death. There is no doubt, however, that he was the last member of the main line of Chashṭana, for as will be seen in the next volume, the person who succeeded him in the last year of his rule came from a line that had no direct connection with that of Chashṭana, the retriever of the satrapal fortunes. That great dynasty had ruled in Western India and parts of Central India and the north-western Deccan for nearly two centuries with varying success. It undoubtedly weakened during its latter years; nor does the fact that large numbers of the coins of Bhartṛidāman and Viśvasena have been found justify the assumption that the last two members of Chashṭana's line 'succeeded in retrieving the fortunes of their family to a large extent' (Altekar). The last member failed even to rise above the rank of Kshatrapa.

The decline of the satrapal power at this time may be attributed in part to the great expansion of the Sassanian power towards the East. Varhran II, the Sassanian emperor from A.D. 276 to 293, though hard pressed in the West by the Roman emperors, Marcus Aurelius, Carus and Diocletian, was able to put down the rebellion of his brother Hormizd (Ormies) in the East. He conquered Śakastān and possibly also parts of the dominions of the Śaka Kshatrapas. The Paikuli inscriptions are in perfect agreement with the Armenian chronicler Agathias who reveals to us that the Śaka Kshatrapas from remote parts of India and the prince of Avanti too, were at first the retainers of Varhran III, son of Varhran II, and hostile to his uncle Narseh. When Narseh vanquished his nephew in 293, 'all kinds of satraps (*śatrap gonak gonak*), a long list of Śaka Kshatrapas besides some princes of higher rank, came to congratulate the new King of Kings.' In the last group of princes were included the satraps of Western India. One of them called Mitrasena reminds us of Viśvasena, the son of Bhartṛidāman. The way in which the Paikuli inscriptions refer to the Śaka satraps leaves little doubt that the satrapal power at that time was much divided. It is true, however, that in the last passage of the inscription all these Śaka Kshatrapas and chiefs are enumerated as independent princes. From this Herzfeld infers that Sassanian sovereignty over the Indian parts of Śakastān was lost in A.D. 293 during the war between Varhran III and Narseh, and these small principalities gained their independence about this time.[1] Numismatic evidence, however, shows that it was only after A.D. 295 or even later that the office of Mahākshatrapa was kept in abeyance for several decades. Bhartṛidāman was Mahākshatrapa at the time of Narseh's victory over his nephew, and it was only his son who did not rise to that office. Thus it appears that whatever independence Viśvasena and his successors enjoyed in the first part of the fourth century A.D. was of a circumscribed character. Narseh's recognition of an independent status in the satraps was perhaps a politic concession made with the aim of gaining their moral support in his struggle with his nephew.

[1] E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, pp. 41 ff.

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Genealogical Table of the Kshaharātas, and of the Western Kshatrapas up to the end of Chashṭana's line.

Kshaharāta line:—

Bhūmaka
⋮
I Nahapāna (dates from inscriptions: 41 and 46, probably in Śaka era)
Dakshamitrā + Ṛishavadatta (son of Dinika)

Western Kshatrapa line:—

Ghsamotika
II Chashṭana (yr. 52 from the Andhau inscriptions)
Jayadāman
III Rudradāman (yr. 52 from the Andhau inscriptions
„ 72 „ „ Junāgaḍh „)

IV Dāmaghsada (Dāmajadaśrī I)
Satyadāman Ksh. (yr. 100 —uncertain)
VII Jīvadāman Mksh. (year lxx uncertain — years 119-20)

V Rudrasiṁha I
Ksh. 1st time—yrs. 102-3
Mksh. „ „ „ 103-10
Ksh. 2nd „ „ 110-2
Mksh. „ „ „ 113-8 or 9

Daughter (married to a Sātavāhana ruler)

VI. Īśvaradatta (Regnal yrs. 1 and 2. These two years probably fall between Śaka years 110 and 112).

VIII Rudrasena I
Ksh. (yrs. 121, 122?)
Mksh. (yrs. 122-44)
Pṛithivīsena Ksh. (yr. 144)
Dāmajadaśrī II Ksh. (yrs. 154-5)

IX Saṅghadāman Mksh. (yrs. 144-5)

X Dāmasena Mksh. (yrs. 145-58)

Vīradāman Ksh. (yrs. 156-60)

XI Yaśodāman I
Ksh. (yr. 160)
Mksh. (yrs. 160-1)

XII Vijayasena
Ksh. (yr. 160)
Mksh. (yrs. 161-72)

XIII Dāmajadaśrī III Mksh. (yrs. 172 ?, 173-7)

XIV Rudrasena II
Mksh. (yrs. 178 ?-96)

XV Viśvasiṁha
Ksh. (yr. 197-200)
Mksh. (200-?)

XVI Bhartṛidāman
Ksh. (yrs. 200-4)
Mksh. (yrs. 204-17)
Viśvasena
Ksh. (yrs. 215-26)

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CHAPTER X

THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE

INTRODUCTION

OF the attempts in Ancient India to crown cultural unity with political unity, the vast and well-organized Mauryan empire is the earliest and the most impressive. The Śātavāhana empire, the next great attempt, wears contradictory aspects. In more senses than one it is the heir to the Mauryan empire in the Deccan. But it is also part of the general Jaina and Hindu reaction to the Buddhist State of Aśoka. The Chetas of Kaliṅga were Jainas, and the Śuṅgas or Baimbikas who held sway in the heart of the Mauryan empire, were Brahmins. Unlike these two dynasties, however, the Śātavāhanas established their power about half a century before the final disappearance of the Mauryan empire. Theirs is also the oldest and largest South Indian empire. In sharp and pleasing contrast to the kaleidoscopic changes of dynasties in the North (the Mauryas, the Śuṅgas, the Kāṇvas and the Kushāṇas), the Śātavāhana empire endured for 460 years in unbroken continuity, both in the dynastic line and administrative traditions. No doubt it experienced great changes of fortune; a long period of steady expansion was followed by a stormy one of foreign invasions which cast the empire into the lowest pit of tribulation; soon it emerged brilliantly victorious, only to meet the inevitable end three quarters of a century later.

The few peepholes we have into the period give us a picture of its unique achievements in all branches of activity. The empire extended into Northern India; if the Purāṇic statement can be believed, it included Magadha, stretched farther south than its predecessors, and extended from sea to sea. It welded into an enduring state the diverse tribes of Southern and Northern India the Mālavas, the Bhojas, the Peṭenikas, the Raṭhikas, the Āndhras, the Pārindas and Drāviḍas and, though less in extent, was more compact than the Mauryan. Its epic contest with the Kshatrapas, the Lords Marchers under the Kushāṇas, a contest which lasted with intermissions for about a century, finally checked the advance of a foreign power from the North into the South. Thanks to the peace of the Śātavāhanas, art and architecture rose to great heights in the western rock-cut caves and the structural *stūpa* complexes on the east coast. Trade and industry received a great stimulus and burst the boundaries of town and village. Prākṛit literature attracted a measure of kingly attention. Under the protecting wings of a Hindu dynasty, Buddhism flourished as never before or after. The climax was reached in the maritime and colonial activities of the people which read like romance. In short, the

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spirit of the Śātavāhana period was not static, but dynamic. We should not conceive it as a motionless picture in a Morris tapestry but as a series of shifting scenes, some brilliant, some terrible, some common, and all full of life and passion. No wonder the faint memories of these great achievements were in later times enshrined in tradition and legend (Brahmanical Buddhistic, and Jaina) and led to the rechristening of the Śaka era as the Śālivahana era.[1]

SOURCES

The sources for the period are scanty. Epigraphs are limited in number and details. Seven inscriptions from Eastern Deccan, and nineteen from Western Deccan (most of them short non-official records), for a long and imposing line of thirty kings who held sway over the greater part of the peninsula for well over four and a half centuries, are a disappointing number. Even these, recording for the most part Buddhistic donations, answer only a few of the many questions that rise in our minds. A great part of the Śātavāhana dominions (modern Hyderabad) remains practically unexplored. Recently the archaeological department of the Hyderabad State has conducted excavations at Paithān, Māski and Kondāpūr. But no startling discovery seems to have been made.[2] The data of epigraphy may be eked out with the aid of numismatics, which has probably more to contribute to Śātavāhana history than to that of any other South Indian dynasty. Numerous coins have been picked up in Western Deccan and sackfuls in Madhya Pradesh and Eastern Deccan; many of these are much defaced or are duplicated. Here and there new coins of the kings of the main line as also those of branch lines and feudatories have come to light—Siri-Śātavāhana, Apilaka and Vijaya Sātakaṇi. Skilled numismatists like Cunningham, Bhagwanlal Indraji, H. R. Scott, F. W. Thomas and Rapson have extracted all the information that the coins have to yield. The literary sources are, if anything, disappointing. The chronological and genealogical framework in the Purāṇas was perhaps originally accurate, but in the long process of transmission by means of manuscripts of perishable materials which necessitated frequent renewals, they have become much corrupted. They are therefore not quite trustworthy, unless supported by epigraphic and numismatic testimony. Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛihatkathā*, said to have been written at the court of a Śātavāhana king, is not available except in minute fragments in a later work and in late versions, whose relation to the original is estimated differently by different writers. *Līlāvaī*, which purports to treat of the military exploits

[1] Śālivahana is a later and corrupt form of Sātavāhana or Śātavāhana.

[2] The excavations at Paithān have brought to light, among other things, beads of precious stones, ivory objects, conch bangles and terra-cotta beads and figurines. The most interesting discovery is a lump of 10 square (⅜") Śātavāhana copper coins. Their obverse device, tree within railing, resembles closely that on the square coins of Sātakaṇi II (Rapson, *BMC-AWK.* pp. 3-4)

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of Hāla's reign, obviously contains few facts of a trustworthy nature. Worse still, the twilight of early Śātavāhana history is succeeded by a long historical night which envelops kings Nos. 9 to 16 and 18 to 22, in the Purāṇic lists. The historian has still to call lively imagination to his aid to solve the Chinese puzzle of which so many pieces are missing. Only the recovery of more pieces can place the results of his labours on sure foundations.

CHRONOLOGY (235 B.C.-A.D. 225).

The chronological scheme for the Śātavāhana dynasty rests upon the twin foundations of the Purāṇic regnai periods and the identification of the 'Sātakarṇi' of the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman dated Śaka 72 (A.D. 150). The Śātavāhana inscriptions are dated only in regnal years, though eras were not wanting at least for the later kings. The Purāṇic regnal periods and the total for the whole dynasty are vitiated by internal discrepancies, and do not always square with epigraphic testimony; and Śātakarṇi is a title borne with or without the personal name by many a king of the line. For reasons set forth below, the 'Sātakarṇi' of the Girnār inscription must be identified with king No. 26 (Siva-Siri-Puḷumāyi) and not king No. 24 (Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāyi), as Rapson thought. The total period for the dynasty being 460 years, its end falls about A.D. 225, if we take it that the double defeat of Sātakarṇi mentioned in the Girnār inscription took place at the beginning of Siva-Siri-Puḷumāyi's seven-year reign. The starting point of the dynasty would then be about 235 B.C., soon after Aśoka's death.[1]

[1] The Purāṇic discrepancies in chronology have given rise to conflicting theories. The duration of the dynasty is 460 years according to the *Matsya*, 456 according to the *Brahmāṇḍa*, 411 according to *Vāyu*, and 300 according to *Vishṇu*. R. G. Bhandarkar attributes this difference to some Purāṇas treating concurrent reigns from different capitals as successive. According to Smith the discrepancy arises from some Purāṇas treating the duration of the Śātavāhana dynasty from its beginning and others reckoning it from the close of the Kāṇva rule. The extirpation of the Kāṇva dynasty by a later Śātavāhana king has been attributed to the first Śātavāhana ruler (*ZDMG.* 1902, pp. 656-8). According to Raychaudhuri the inclusion of branch lines, the existence of which is attested by names like Kuntala Sātakaṇi, is responsible for the huge total. He says: 'That there were several families of Śātakarṇis, distinct from the main line cannot be denied . . . If the main line of Śātavāhana kings consisted of about only nineteen princes, and if the duration of their rule (therefore) be three centuries, there is no difficulty in accepting the Purāṇic statement that Simuka flourished in the time of the later Kāṇvas, that is to say, in the first century B.C. . . .' He adds, 'Scholars who place the Nānāghāt record in the first half of the second century and the epigraphs of the time of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi in the second century A.D. will have to account for the paucity of Śātavāhana records during a period of about 300 years.' (*PHAI.*[4] pp. 337 *n.* 2, 339 & 340)

The discrepancy arises only from the omission of certain names of the main line in *Vāyu* and *Vishṇu*, and V. Smith has shown that 'so far as concerns the Āndhra dynasty the statements contained in the *Matsya Purāṇa* are remarkably in accordance with the facts known from other sources both as regards the names of kings and the duration of their reigns.' (*ZDMG.* 1902)

Relying upon a supposed date in

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ORIGINS

There has been much controversy over the original home of the Śātavāhanas and the meaning of their dynastic name and the title Śātakarṇi. The kings called Śātavāhanas and Sātakaṇis in inscriptions and on coins are styled by the Purāṇas as Āndhras, *Āndhrajātīyāḥ* and *Āndhra-bhṛityāḥ*. Scholars therefore identified the Śātavāhana-Sātakaṇis with the Āndhras. The earliest references to the Āndhras enabled them to fix the home of this people in the country, the heart of which comprised roughly the present Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts.[1] Rapson, Smith and Bhandarkar found no difficulty in building on these postulates the theory of an eastern origin, namely in the Āndhradeśa. While Smith located the capital at Śrī-Kākuḷam, Bhandarkar preferred Dhañña kaṭaka. The objections to this theory were first formulated by Sukthankar.[2]

Epigraphic, numismatic and literary evidences unmistakably point to a western origin, the region around Pratishṭhāna (mod. Paithan, in the Aurangabad district of Hyderabad State). A *rilievo* figure of the founder of the dynasty and an inscription of his daughter-in-law come from Nānāghāt, a pass in the Western Ghats only a hundred miles, as the crow flies, from Paithan. From Nāsik we have two inscriptions one mentioning the second king and the other the great grand-daughter of the third king.[3] The Amarāvatī *stūpa* inscriptions extending over five centuries from the third century B.C., do not mention a single early Śātavāhana king while inscriptions of the second century A.D. mention two later Śātavāhanas.[4] A record of the penultimate king of the dynasty is found in Kaliṅga.[5] The

the Maurya era in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela and looking upon Khāravela as the third member of the Cheta dynasty of Kaliṅga like Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty, Rapson would place the beginning of the dynasty somewhere between 220 and 211 B.C. (*BMCAWK.* XVII & XVIII)

[1] Āndhra is both a tribal and a territorial name. Āndhras as a people are mentioned as early as the fifth century B.C. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of them as the exiled and degenerate sons of Viśvāmitra. The elder Pliny refers to the Andarae as a powerful race which possessed numerous villages and 30 towns defended by walls and towers. They supplied the king with an army of 100,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. The Jātakas speak of Āndhakas (Cowell and Thomas, V, pp. 10,138) and Āndhra country (I, no, 80, p. 203). The inscriptions of Aśoka mention the Āndhras along with the Pariṁdas as border peoples. The Purāṇas Speak of *Āndhrajātīyas*. Epigraphical reference to the Āndhra country first occurs in the Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman (3rd century A.D.). Here Dhañña kaṭaka is spoken of as the headquarters of the Pallava province of Aṁdhāpatha (Āndhrapatha). The *Āndhradeśa* of our period was limited in the north by Kaliṅga and in the east by the sea; in the south it did not extend far beyond the northern part of the Nellore district (the Pallava Karmarāshṭra), in the west it extended far into the interior. In the Śrīraṅgaṁ plates dated A.D. 1358, it is said that the Telinga country (the *Āndhradeśa*) is bounded in the north by Kanyākubja, on the west by Mahārāshṭra, on the east by Kaliṅga and on the south by Pāṇḍyaka (*EI.* XIV p. 90-5). This description is certainly reminiscent of the old empire of the Śātavāhanas.

[2] *ABORI.* 1918-19, pp. 21 ff.

[3] *EI.* VIII nos. 8, 22.

[4] *EI.* X, Lüders *List* nos. 1248, 1279

[5] Ibid. 1341. (Kodavolu).

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close association of the early Śātavāhanas with the Mahārathis, a class of officers who are mentioned only in the western cave inscriptions and coins, is corroborative evidence. The Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions, only a few decades later than Aśoka's, mention a non-Śātavāhana ruler like Khubiraka. Even the mention of the Mahendra and Chakora mountains as the eastern boundary of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi's empire can only prove that Kaliṅga and the Āndhradeśa were included in the dominions of king no. 23 in the Purāṇic lists. The inscription of Khāravela speaks of his destruction of Pithuḍa (Ptolemy's Pityndra), which has to be looked for in the Āndhra country. If the early Śātavāhanas had been ruling over this region, such an attack would have evoked great hostilities. Khāravela also speaks of an expedition to the west, disregarding Sātakaṁṇi.[1] It may be argued that as later inscriptions refer to Kaliṅga as the eastern region, the 'west' of Khāravela's inscription might well have been the Āndhradeśa.[2] But Musikanagara which the army captured cannot be located in the Āndhradeśa. And if the reading 'Asikanagara' be accepted in the place of Musikanagara, it must certainly be looked for in Central or Western Deccan near Aśmaka and Muḷaka. Above all, the 'Sātakaṁṇi' of Khāravela's inscription is the sixth or a later king.

Numismatics tells the same story. Two coins which, on palaeographical grounds, must be ascribed to king no. 3 in the Purāṇic lists and eight coins not far removed from these in date, have been picked up in Western India. A well-executed and well-preserved rectangular piece belonging to a king earlier than Āpīlaka (king no. 8) was bought in Aurangabad, the headquarters of the district in which Paithan is situated. *Stūpas* in the Āndhradeśa built or enlarged in the second century A.D. have yielded numerous coins of Puḷumāyi II and his successors, while the *stūpas* of the earlier period (third century B.C. to first century B.C.) have not yielded contemporary Śātavāhana coins. The title *Dakhiṇāpaṭhapati* (*Dakshiṇāpathapati*) borne by the third king presents no serious obstacle.[3] As late as the time of the *Periplus* (first century A.D.) Dakshiṇāpatha meant only Western Deccan. The personal names of the early Śātavāhanas are frequently met with in the western cave inscriptions, while some of these names occur in Eastern Deccan only in the second century A.D. Jaina literature makes Pratishṭhāna (modern Paithan) the Śātavāhana capital from the beginning. Bhandarkar's theory of two capitals, one in Western Deccan at Paithan and the other in Eastern Deccan at Dharaṇikōṭa, rests upon a conjectural emendation of a compound in a Nāsik inscription and a wrong equation.[4]

[1] *Dutiye cha vase achitayitā Sātakaṁṇiṁ pachima-disaṁ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṁ daṁḍaṁ pathāpāyati kaṁha-beṁṇā-gatāya cha senāya vitāsitaṁ Musikanāgaraṁ* (or *Asikanagaraṁ*) *EI.* XX 79. l. 4; *IHQ.* XIV, 1938, 463.

[2] Polamūru plates of Mādhavavarman I, *The Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta, XI p. 40

[3] Nānāghāt inscriptions, *ASWI.* V pp. 60 and 80 and Lüders, *List*, no. 1112.

[4] R. G. Bhandarkar (*JBBRAS.* XXXIII; *IA.* 1918; *BG.* I (ii) 151) takes the compound *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* in a Nāsik inscription of Puḷumāyi II (3 in *EI.* VIII no. 8) as *Dhanakaṭasāminehi*. He also takes it for granted that the donation recorded in this inscription

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The view held by Burgess and followed by Smith, that Śrī-Kākulam in the Āndhradeśa was the capital, is based upon a Telugu work of the twelfth century A.D.[1] Lastly the old theory would involve a rapid expansion of the empire from the plains to the table-land during the first two reigns. With a powerful and jealous neighbour in Kaliṅga, a rapid and vast westward expansion would at this time have been well-nigh impossible. In short, all available evidence points to some place in the west, most likely Paithan, as the original seat of Śātavāhana power.

The chief problem then is one of correlating the Purāṇic with the epigraphic and numismatic testimony. Sukthankar and Raychaudhuri cut the Gordian knot by challenging the Āndhra affinities of the Śātavāhanas. The latter has made the ingenious suggestion that the Purāṇas, which were redacted at a time when the Śātavāhanas were ruling over the Andhradeśa mistakenly called them Āndhras.[2] Sukthankar treats the Purāṇic Andhrabhṛitya as a *tatpurusha* compound (servants of the Āndhras) and locates their home in the Bellary district on the strength of a single regional name.[3] But the words *Āndhrajātīyaḥ* and *Kāṇvāyanāṁs tato bhṛityāṁ Suśarmāṇaḥ prasahya taṁ* make the compound a *karmadhāraya* (Āndhras who were servants). The evidences are then not conflicting but complementary. Āndhra is the tribal name, Śātavāhana the dynastic name, and Sātakaṇi (Śātakarṇi) the surname. The omission of tribal names in inscriptions and on coins is not uncommon in Indian history. There is thus no reason to doubt the statement of the Purāṇas, that the Śātavāhanas sprang from the Āndhra country.

is identical with that recorded in Balasiri's Nāsik inscription. Obsessed by the unproven and improbable theory of the conjoint rule of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi from *Dhañña-kaṭaka* and of Puḷumāyi II from Paithan he looks upon *Dhanakaṭasāmi* (Lord of Dhanakaṭa (ka) as a title of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi. To crown it all he reads '*Benākaṭakasāmi*' of the Nāsik inscription of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi (*EI.* VIII no. 8, no. 4) as Dhanakaṭakasāmi, and identifies Dhanakaṭa with Dhañña-kaṭaka (either modern Dharaṇikot in the Guntur district–or a place near it). In his valuable paper on the Nāsik inscriptions, Senart has pointed out the objection to the identification of Dhanakaṭa with Dhañña-kaṭaka. D. R. Bhandarkar rejoins: 'What is read as Dhanakaṭa can also be read as Dhaṁnakaṭaka (Dhannakaṭa) and as in the Nāsik inscriptions *n* is used instead of *ñ* (compare e.g., *ānapayati* of some Nāsik inscriptions), Dhaṁnakaṭaka can very well be taken to be equivalent to Dhañña-kaṭaka'. To draw a parallel between the change of *na* in a Prākṛit word into a *ña* in its Sanskrit equivalent (*ajñāpayati*) and the change of *na* into *ña* in different forms of Prakṛit is misleading. Moreover, the literary Pāli form, which occurs in the Nāsik inscription also is '*āṇapayati*' and not '*ānapayati*'. The instance cited by Bhandarkar is one of the change of *ṇa* into *ña*. There is not one clear instance of *na* used for *ña* in the Prākṛit of our period. In the Mayidavolu inscription of the Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*EI.* VI p. 84) we have *aṇa* (*anna*) the literary Pāli form of which is '*anna*'. But the inscription belongs to a much later period and a different area.

[1] A passage in the *Triliṅgānu śāsanaṁ* translated and quoted by Campbell in his *Telugu Grammar* (Intro. p. ii)

[2] *PHAI.*[4] p. 343. But even the last three rulers of the line ruled not only Āndhradeśa but also parts of Western Deccan.

[3] 'Sātavāhani-hara' of the Juṅgliguṇḍu inscription of Puḷumāyi IV (*EI.* XIV p. 155)

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The presence of the 'servant Āndhras' in Western Deccan can only be explained by a dynastic drift so common in ancient India. Aśoka's edicts and the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman furnish links in the chain of evidence, and suggest that the Mauryan dominion in Southern India was the medium through which the drift took place. Aśoka's edicts prove beyond doubt that the Āndhra country was included in his empire, though from the way in which the Āndhras are mentioned they would seem to have enjoyed a fair degree of local autonomy. Aśoka's inscriptions place the Yavanas in north-western India; and yet we learn from the Girnār inscription that Yavana Tushāspha was ruler of Surāshṭra under Aśoka. In the days of their vassaldom under the Mauryas, scions of the Āndhra royal or noble families may have passed into the service of the Mauryan kings, moved up to Western Deccan and got the Purāṇic appellation of *Āndhrabhṛitya*. When the Mauryan empire passed from the hands of the watchful and vigorous Aśoka into those of his weak successors, the shrewd and fortunate *Āndhrabhṛityas* felt that their hour had come. The scene of their political activity was however not the land of their birth the Āndhradeśa which was far away, but the land of their adoption (Western Deccan).[1]

The meanings of the names 'Śātavāhana' and 'Sātakaṇi' (Sans. Sātakarṇi) are as much the subjects of controversy as the origins of Śātavāhana power. The explanations of the dynastic name 'Śātavāhana' by ancient and modern writers are for the most part legendary and fanciful. To Somadeva, 'Sātavāhana' means 'one who rode a *yaksha* by name Sāta;' to Jinaprabhasūri, 'one by whom were given (*sātāni*) conveyances (*vāhanāni*)';[2] Aḍiyārkkunāllār, the commentator of *Śilappadikāram*, equates 'Śātavāhana' with '*Śāttan*' = a village deity.[3] Przyluski would derive it from the Muṇḍa words '*sādam*' = horse, and '*hapan*' = son.[4] To him Sātavāhana denotes 'son of the performer of an *aśvamedha*.' Barnett and Jayaswal would connect the word with the Satiyaputa of Aśoka's inscriptions.

For one thing the spelling is 'Sātavāhana' as given by Somadeva, Bāṇa and Hemachandra, and not 'Śātavāhana', as it appears in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and in many modern works (Rapson's and Raychaudhuri's). The form beginning with the dental *sa* alone yields a simple and probable meaning. 'Sātavāhana' (*sattavāhana* in literary Prākṛit) is a Prākṛit form of '*Saptavāhana*'. In the *Kāsīkhaṇḍa* (*Skanda Purāṇa*) '*saptavāhana*'

[1] Recently S. A. Joglekar has questioned the connection of the Āndhra-Sātavāhanas with the Āndhradeśa. He points out that the Purāṇas refer to the Sātavāhanas as belonging to the Āndhrajāti and not the Āndhradeśa. He concludes: 'I believe the Āndhras were so called not because they belonged to the territory now known as the *Āndhradeśa* but because they belonged to the Āndhra valley in Poona Dt.' (*ABORI.* XXVII pp. 237-8) But the name 'Āndhra valley' like 'Sātāhani-hāra' may be merely reminiscent of the Āndhra rule over Western Deccan.

[2] *Kathasaritsāgara* (translation) I p. 37; *JBBRAS.* X p. 132.

[3] The *Śilappadikāram* refers to *puraṁbaṇaiyān vāḷkóṭṭam* and *pāśaṇḍa śāttam* (IX, *ll.* 12 & 15). The commentator explains *puraṁbaṇaiyān* by Māśāttan and Sātavāhanan.

[4] *JRAS.* 1929, p. 273

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means the Sun, for he is borne in a chariot drawn by seven horses, symbolizing the seven days of the week. 'Sātavāhana' as a dynastic name may well denote a king of the solar line.

'Saptavāhana' is also one of the 1,000 names of Vishṇu, who is closely associated with the Sun in the *Mahābhārata*—'*sahasrārchis saptajihvā saptaidhās saptavāhanaḥ*'. The commentator adds *sapta aśvāḥ vāhanānyasya saptavāhanaḥ*; *yadi vā saptanāma eko' śvo vāhanasyeti vā eko' śvo vahati sapta nāmā iti śruteḥ*.' The later forms of 'Sātavāhana' in literature are 'Śālivahana', 'Sātāhana', Sālāhana' and 'Hāla.'

Sātakaṇi is a surname borne by the Śātavāhanas and the feudatories and officials under them. The Śātavāhanas bore it with or without personal names and metronymics. The Girnār inscription of Rudradāman, a Kaṇheri inscription, and the Tālagunda inscription of Śāntivarman, establish beyond doubt that the name is to be spelt with the dental *sa* and not with the palatal *śa*.[1] Even so the meaning is still obscure. Przyluski's derivation of the word from the Muṇḍa '*kon*=son, and '*sādām*'=of the horse, is too far-fetched and speculative. The spelling excludes the meaning given in the *Śilappadikāram* (*nūṟṟuvar kannar* = hundred-eared).[2] Far-fetched also is S. A. Joglekar's explanation, 'seven arrows' or 'seven rays of the Sun', though in the *Rig Veda* there is a reference to the seven rays of the Sun.[3] In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* of the *Yajur Veda*, 'Saptakarṇa' is the name of a devotee of the Sun.[4] But even this information carries us no farther. All that can be said is that it is very likely that 'Sātakarṇi' is, in some way now unascertainable, connected with 'Sātavāhana', because it is a general name among the Śātavāhanas, and because they are referred to as Śātakarṇis in the inscriptipns of other dynasties.

The interpretation of 'Sātavāhana' adopted in these pages, if correct, would set at rest the controversy regarding the caste of the Śātavāhanas. Raychaudhuri looks upon them as Brahmins. The *Dvātriṁśatputtalikā* represents Śālivāhana as of mixed Brāhmaṇa and Nāga origin. In the Nāsik inscription of Balasirī, Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi is styled *ekabaṁhaṇa* and *khatiya-dapa-māna-madana*. But these reasons are by no means conclusive. R. G. Bhandarkar translates *ekabaṁhaṇa* as 'the only protector of the Brahmins[5]' The epithet *ekabrāhmaṇyasya*, applied to Pallava Vīravarman in the Pīkira grant and to Vishṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman in the Polamūru grant, supports this interpretation. Gotamīputa's mother styles herself a *rājarshi's* wife. 'Khatiya' may well refer to Kshatriya princes deposed by Gotamīputa after his reconquest of Śātavāhana dominions from the Western Kshatrapas.

[1] a) *Dakshiṇāpathapates-Sātakarṇer dvir api* . . . the Giranār inscription of Rudradāman *EI.* VIII p. 44, *l.* 12
b) *Vāishṭhīputrasya Sātakarṇisya*, Kaṇheri inscription of the daughter of Mahākshatrapa Rudra (dāman) *ASWI.* v.p. 78. pl. 1)
c) . . . *presubhis-Sātakarnyādibhis* . . . : Talagunda inscription of Śāntivarman (*EI.* VIII p. 33, *l.* 14)

[2] Canto XXVI Kālkōṭkādai.

[3] *Vedic Index*, Macdonell and Keith, s. v. Sūrya.

[4] I, 7

[5] *BG.* I (ii) p. 173

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EARLY ŚĀTAVĀHANAS—ERA OF EXPANSION AND PROSPERITY c. B.C. 235-A.D. 50.

Simuka—*c.* 235-213 B.C. : The long roll of Śātavāhana kings opens with *rājan* or *rāya* Simuka (Śrīmukha) Śātavāhana. Of him the Purāṇas say, 'the Āndhra Simuka with his fellow tribesmen, the servants of Suśarman, will assail the Kāṇvāyanas and him (Suśarman), and destroy the remains of the Śuṅgas' power and will obtain this earth.'[1] A proper chronological scheme would make Āndhra Simuka the immediate successor of Aśoka (and not of the Kāṇvas), and therefore an erstwhile servant of the Mauryas.[2] In his *coup d'état* against the Mauryan empire, Simuka enlisted the support of the other 'servant Āndhras' as also that of the powerful Raṭhikas and Bhojas of the west. In the end he assumed the regal title (*rāya*) and rewarded the leading Raṭhikas with the feudatory title of *mahāraṭhi*, and entered into matrimonial alliance with them. Some centuries later, in a similar situation, the early Pallavas are known to have entered into a dynastic alliance with the Chutus of Kuntala and secured ascendancy in the south. The Purāṇas are agreed that Simuka ruled for twenty-three years. According to Jaina legends he built Jaina and Buddhist temples, in order perhaps to win the support of these powerful communities in the west. In the closing years of his reign he is said to have turned wicked, perhaps in the sense of favouring Buddhists more than Jainas, and to have been dethroned and killed. His figure was included in a group of sculptured *rilievo* portraits, of which only the labels and the feet have survived, and even these not in all cases.

Kaṇha—*c.* 212-195. B.C. : Simuka was succeeded by his younger brother Kaṇha (Sans. Krishna). Evidently Simuka's son and the future Sātakaṇi I was too young to weather the storms of the new-born kingdom. During his reign of 18 years, Kaṇha continued his brother's policy of conquest. The empire was extended to the west at least as far as Nāsik. Evidence of the survival of Mauryan forms in the Śātavāhana administration is furnished by an inscription of the reign which mentions a *mahāmātra* in charge of the Buddhist monks at Nāsik.

Sātakaṇi I—*c.* 194-185 B.C. : The greatest of the early Śātavāhanas was Siri-Sātakaṇi (Śrī-Śātakarṇi), the first to bear this favourite Śātavāhana name, as also the invariable Śātavāhana honorific prefix 'siri'. According to the Purāṇas he was the son of Kaṇha. But the omission of Kaṇha in the Nānāghāt *rilievo* group, taken along with the inclusion of Simuka in it, leaves no doubt that Simuka was the father of Sātakaṇi I.

[1] '*Kāṇvāyanāṁs tato bhrityāḥ Suśarmāṇaḥ prasahya taṁ, Śuṇgānāṁ chaiva yach chhesham Kshapitvā tu balīyasah, Siśuko 'ndhraḥ sa-jātīyaḥ prāpsyatīmāṁ vasundharāṁ, Trayo-vimśat samā rājā Simukas tu bhavishyati*', Pargiter, *DKA.* pp. 38 & 71

[2] After a detailed examination of the Nānāghāt record of Nāyanikā, queen of the third king, Bühler came to the conclusion that, according to the epigraphical evidence, this document may be placed a little and not much later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts. R. P. Chanda's objections to this view do not seem to be well taken (*MASI.* 1).

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A study of the *rilievo* labels, alongside the sacrificial inscription at Nānāghāt, throws welcome light on Sātakaṇi I's reign.[1] His queen (*devī*) was Nāyanikā (Nāganikā), the daughter of Mahāraṭhi Tranakayiro; of their five sons (*kumāras*) Bhāya —, Vedisiri[2], Satisiri, Hakusiri and Sātavāhana, only two, Vedisiri and Satisiri survived the father. Sātakaṇi I attained imperial status by conquering, from the Mauryas, Western Malwa and the territory immediately to the south of it—Anūpa (the Narmadā valley) and Vidarbha (Berar). The Purāṇic assertion that the Āndhras ruled over Magadha perhaps indicates this disintegration of the Mauryan empire. Sātakaṇi I was greatly helped in his task by the political confusion in Northern India consequent upon Greek incursions. To celebrate his resounding victories and valuable conquests the king performed two *aśvamedhas* and one *rājasūya* and thus established for himself the position of a *samrāṭ*; he also assumed the sonorous titles of *Dakhiṇāpathapati* (*Dakshiṇāpathapati*) and *apratihatachakra*, and performed numerous other sacrifices like *agnyādheya*, *anvāraṁbhaṇīya*, *gavāmayana*, *aṅgirasātirātra*, *aptoryāma*, *aṅgirasāmayana*, *gargātirātra*, *chhandoga-pavamān-ātirātra*, *trayodaśarātra*, *daśarātra* and others. These sacrifices mark a sharp revival of the Vedic religion in the Deccan after a long spell of Buddhist ascendancy. The *dakshiṇās* given included, among other things, 42,700 cows, 10 elephants, 1,000 horses, 17 silver pots, one horse-chariot, and 68,000 *kārshāpaṇas*. The very large issue of coins was the result not only of numerous military campaigns, but also of a great material prosperity ushered in by an era of conquests. Bühler's theory that the sacrifices were performed by Nāyanikā to celebrate posthumously her husband's victories, is

[1] Owing to the lacunae in the Nānāghāt sacrificial inscription neither the name of Sātakaṇi I, nor the names of his queen and her father are to be found. The names of two *kumāras* found in the inscription cannot be identified with the three names in the extant *rilievo* inscriptions; Bühler and Rapson, however, identify Kumāra Satisirimat of the sacrificial record with Kumāra Hakusiri of the *rilievo* labels, and so come to the conclusion that the sacrificial record is that of Nāyanikā, mother of Hakusiri. But it is not possible to accept the first identification. In the Dravidian Prākṛit of the Śātavahana epigraphs *ha* sometimes takes the place of *sa*, and *ru* of *ri*. But nowhere is *ku* or *ka* used for *ti* or *ta*. Moreover, one would expect Hakuhiru rather than Hakusiri. After the representation of Kumāra Bhāya, two statues and their inscriptions have disappeared; it would seem that Vedisiri and Satisiri of the sacrificial inscription were represented in the lost *rilievo* figures.

Once the identification of Hakusiri with Satisiri is abandoned, the task of finding out the absent name in the sacrificfial record becomes all the more difficult. But there is no doubt that the author of the record is a queen-mother. Between the passages in which she calls herself mother of Kumāra Vedisiri and queen of a king Siri comes in a mention of a Mahāraṭhi; even if the restoration (*bālā*)*ya* before Mahāraṭhi is objected to, the context leaves no doubt that the Mahāraṭhi is her father. From the *rilievo* group we can infer that Mahāraṭhi Tranakayiro is the father of Nāyanikā, queen of Siri-Sātakaṇi I. So the king whose epithets, but not name, are found in the sacrificial inscription, is Siri-Sātakaṇi. The queen-mother is Nāyanikā. The Mahāraṭhi is Tranakayiro.

[2] The name has been read as Khada-Siri (Sircar, *SI.* p. 187). But the reading is wrong as the letter read as *Kha*, has the rounded bottom of *va*; it is also quite unlike *kha* in '*Dakhiṇapathapatino*' (*l.* 2); '*dikha*' (*l.* 5), '*dakhiṇa*' (*l.*6) and '*dakhiṇāyo*' (*l.*7); above all the *i* sign over *da* is very clear in *l.* 4.

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negatived by the *śāstraic* injunction against a woman performing sacrifices. The great number of sacrifices performed, the numerous epithets applied to Sātakaṇi I and the words '*rāyasa* -- (*ya*)*ñehi viṭham*' make it more probable that both Sātakaṇi I and his queen performed the sacrifices.

On palaeographical grounds two coins from Western Deccan are to be ascribed to Sātakaṇi I. They are a large lead coin and a small potin coin connected by the common type—elephant and the symbolical representation of a river with fish. The legend is '*Raño Siri-Sātasa*' (*Sātakaṇisa*). Rapson remarks: 'The very striking similarity between the characters of the coin legend... and the inscri. *Devi-Nāyanikāya Raño cha Siri-Sātakanino* over the *rilievo* figures of the king and queen in the Nānāghāt cave can scarcely be explained except by supposing that they belong to the same period and refer to the same king.'[1]

The synchronism of Khāravela with Sātakaṇi I is not as certain as Rapson supposed it to be.[2] Khāravela's date cannot be determined more precisely than within the limits of half a century 190-140 B. C. and only a few years separate Sātakaṇi I from Sātakaṇi II.

The brilliant reign of Sātakaṇi I was short. Perhaps he fell in battle. During the minority of his two surviving sons (Vedisiri and Satisiri), the queen-mother governed the kingdom with the help of her father Mahāraṭhi Tranakayiro, and had the long Nānāghāt record cut in a cave which served as a rest-house for caravan traders from Paithan to Kalyan. The sculptured *rilievo* figures of Simuka, Sātakaṇi I, Nāyanikā, the five princes and Mahāraṭhi Tranakayiro, had probably been cut in the previous reign.

Vedisiri would seem to have died in minority as not a single Purāṇa mentions him. If *kumāra* Satisiri is the Śaktikumāra of the Jaina legends, he would seem to have been the successor. But with great unanimity the Purāṇas place Pūrṇotsaṅga after Sātakaṇi I. If the spelling Pūrṇotsantu of *Vāyu* is correct and 'saṅtu' is a mis-sanskritization of 'Ṣati', Pūrṇotsantu and Satisiri may be identical.

Whoever may have been the fourth king, his reign witnessed great events in Northern India. Pushyamitra delivered the *coup de grâce* to the tottering Mauryan empire, and started the Śuṅga dynasty on its imperial career. Skandastaṁbhi mentioned as the fifth king in some versions of the *Matsya Purāṇa* is perhaps an imaginary name.

Sātakaṇi II—*c.* 166-111 B. C.: If the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas can be relied upon, Sātakaṇi II had the longest reign in the annals of the Śātavāhana dynasty. He is in all probability the Sātakaṁṇi of the Hāthīguṁphā and Bhilsā inscriptions.[3] The latter records a donation made by Vāsiṭhiputa Ānanda, foreman of the artisans under Siri-Sātakaṇi.

[1] *BMCAWK.* p. xciii

[2] According to K.P. Jayaswal, Khāravela belongs to the early years of the second century B.C. According to Raychaudhuri, he belongs to the first century B.C. *EI.* xx 75; *PHAI*[4]. pp. 338, 348

[3] Bhilsā *va* with the short neck and rounded body, the ornate *i* sign and the angular *ta* with the vertical at the centre, stamp the Bhilsā inscription as later than the Nānāghāt inscription, say perhaps of the period between 75 and 20 B.C. (*MASI.* no. 1 pp. 5,21)

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Certain copper and potin coins of Eastern Malwa fabric picked up in Western Deccan bear partially the legends *Raño Satakaṁṇisa*; they carry the devices of the springing lion or that of an elephant with upraised trunk.[1] On palaeographical grounds these coins can be ascribed to Sātakaṇi II. If indeed they belong to his reign, Eastern Malwa would seem to have been wrested some time during this reign from a successor of Pushyamitra. A late and distorted echo of this Śātavāhana-Suṅga conflict is preserved in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* where Vidarbha (Berar), a part of the Śātavāhana empire, is referred to as a newly established kingdom.[2]

According to the Purāṇas, Sātakaṇi II's successor was Laṁbodara. In all probability he is the striker of the two Siri-Sātavāhana coins. They are square pieces of cast copper. On the obverse is an elephant with upraised trunk and the well-preserved legend *Siri-Sādavāha* (*nasa*); on the reverse is the usual Ujjain symbol.[3] Laṁbodara's son and successor Āpīlaka is something more than a mere Purāṇic name. A copper coin of his, recently discovered in Madhya Pradesh, attests the extension of Śātavāhana power in the north-east in or before his reign. It is a large piece, blank on the reverse; on the obverse is a well-executed elephant with a goad before it. What is above the elephant may be a *nandipada*. The legend is *raño Siva Siris* = *Āpīlakasa*.[4] The Puraṇās are agreed that Āpīlaka ruled for 12 years.

From Āpīlaka to Hāla (eighth and seventeenth respectively in the Purāṇic lists) there stretches a long period of darkness relieved only by a single point of light. But it is probable that fresh evidence, like the Āpīlaka coin, may not only confirm the order in the Purāṇic lists, but also open a vista into the period. The exception referred to is Kuntala Śātakarṇi. In his *Kāmasūtra*, Vātsyāyana relates cryptically that Kuntala Śātakarṇi struck his chief queen Malayavatī with fingers held like a pair of scissors. The commentator adds that the king did so while engaged in amorous sport, and that his act brought about the queen's death; the name Kuntala Śātakarṇi is explained as Śātakarṇi born in the province of Kuntala (*Kuntala vishaye jātatvāt tat samākhyah*).[5] It may be that he was born there while his father was governor of Kuntala. The *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*

[1] Square pieces with double line border, fish, and *svastika* symbol.

[2] *Achirādhishṭhita* I, 8 (*Mālavikā.*)

[3] The two pieces are in the coin-collection of S. A. Joglekar of Poona and were bought in Aurangabad.

[4] K. N. Dikshit remarks: 'On numismatic grounds the place of this ruler is more with the later kings of this dynasty than with the earlier ones as indicated in the Purāṇas.' (*YB.* of *ASB.* I 1935, p. 28). But the blank reverse of the coin certainly attests its early age. The early forms of *sa* and *ra* which are only slightly developed forms of those of the Siri-Sāta coins, and the primitive *i* sign (a short curve), stamp the coin as an early one in the series. No doubt the elephant is better executed than those on the later coins. The lion on Siri-Sātakaṇi II's coins is also better executed than that on the coins of Sakasena, a much later king.

[5] *Kartaryā Kuntalaḥ Śātakarṇiḥ Śātavāhano mahādevīṁ Malayavatīm (jaghāna).* The commentator adds, '*sa hi mahādevīm Malayavatī machiraprativihitamāndyāṁ-ajāta balāmapi madanotsave grihītaveshāṁ drishṭvā jātarāgastamabhigachchhan-rāgākshiptachetāḥ śirasi kartaryātibala-prayuktayā jaghāna*'—(II 7 Sītkṛitaprakaraṇam).

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of Rājaśekhara reveals that Kuntala Śātavāhana ordered the use of Prākṛit, to the exclusion of every other language, by the ladies of his inner apartments.

Hāla—c. A.D. 20-24: If the greatest among the early Śātavāhanas in war was Sātakaṇi I, the greatest in peace was Hāla, the poet-king. His short reign of five years falls in the beginning of the Christian era. He is mentioned in the Purāṇas, the *Saptaśatī*, *Lilāvaī*, *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi* and *Deśīnāmamālā*. Hemachandra considers Hāla as a variation of Sātavāhana. It is equally probable that it is a variation of Sātakaṇi.[1]

The reign introduces us to an epoch of lively literary activity. The use of Prākṛit in Aśokan inscriptions and its continuance under the Śātavāhanas as the official language raised Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit from the level of a patois to that of a literary idiom.[2] This brilliant flowering was the result of three centuries of victory, conquest, and commercial prosperity. A splendid court attracted poets and kept them within its glittering orbit. The joy of the period found expression in light and profane literature. The most important work is *Sattasāī* or *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. It is an anthology of 700 erotic verses in Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit and in the Āryā metre. The language is well adapted to singing, and the stanzas produce the effect of something light and airy. The collection presents a great diversity. Some verses are frivolous, others witty, and yet others are sad and sentimental. Some breathe high philosophy, while others describe love episodes of all sorts.

It is said that the king himself compiled these verses. He evidently worked on the basis of an earlier anthology by a certain Kavivatsala, and unified and embellished it considerably. It seems to have undergone numerous changes at the hands of subsequent editors. But there is no doubt that its kernel dates from the first century A.D. The work also points to the previous existence of a considerable body of lyrical literature in Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit. Bāṇa evidently refers to this work when he says that Sātavāhana made an immortal and refined treasure (*kośa*) of song adorned with fine expressions of character like jewels. Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* states that Sātavāhana of Pratishṭhāna devoted himself to collecting the compositions of all great poets and wise men; he bought four *gāthās* for 40 million pieces of gold. The *Saptaśatī* had a great influence not only on Prākṛit but also on Sanskrit authors.

Very probably Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛihatkathā* (Great Romance) belongs to the same period. An inscription of the ninth century A.D. tells us only that Guṇāḍhya was a friend of the Prākṛit language, while tradition of the eleventh century makes him a minister of a Śātavāhana king. The great work which set the model for later collections of literary stories is unfortunately lost. We have only minute fragments, a few verses, inserted

[1] On coins 'Sātakaṇi is abbreviated into 'Sāta' or 'Sada'; and 'Hāla' is a variation of 'Sāta'.

[2] It is however to be noted that the Nānāghāt record is not in pure Prākṛit as has often been imagined. It is in mixed dialect, e.g., '*prajāpatino*' (*l.* 1), *apratihatachakrasa* (*l.* 2), *bhāriyā* (*l.* 4) and *charitabrahmachariyāya* (*l.* 5)

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in the Prākṛit Grammar of Hemachandra. It is said to have been written in the Paiśāchī language. Keith refers the dialect of the work to the Vindhya region, while Grierson connects it with Kashmir. According to some, the geography of the work coupled with the mention of Greek craftsmen and artists, suggests North-Western India. But as early as the first century B.C. we meet with a crowd of Yavanas in Western Deccan.

Three works which are said to owe their origin to the *Bṛihatkathā* are the *Bṛihatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha* of Budhasvāmin, *Bṛihatkathā mañjarī* of Kshemendra, and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva. The first-mentioned compilation (eighth century A.D.) is an abridgement in verse of the Nepalese recension of the *Bṛihatkathā*. The Kashmir version was made use of by Kshemendra and Somadeva (eleventh century A.D.). A measure of the importance of Guṇāḍhya's work is revealed by the reverence with which writers like Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa speak of him.

The short reign of Hāla is marked by military events too. They form the theme of a Prākṛit work entitled *Līlāvaī*. Hāla's commander-in-chief Vijayānaṁda served the king in a successful campaign in Ceylon, and on his way back encamped at Sapta Godāvarī Bhīmaṁ, which is identified with the modern Drākshārāma. There he learnt all about Līlāvatī, daughter of the king of Ceylon by his Gandharva wife; and the princess lived near Drākshārāma. On his return to the capital, the general narrated the whole story to the king. Hāla then proceeded to the place, killed the demon Bhīshāṇaṇa, and married Līlāvatī. The substratum of history in all this legendary matter would seem to be certain military campaigns undertaken in Eastern Deccan, a part of which had probably already come under Śātavāhana sway; but some scholars doubt even this.

Three centuries of imperial expansion and consolidation were crowned by achievements not only in the literary but also in the economic field. It was an epoch of great industrial and commercial activity. There was developed an amazing city life. Old towns were expanded and glorified and new towns sprang up. Great merchants out-topped many a feudatory, and spent a part of their wealth in costly Buddhist donations. Inscriptions reveal to us various classes of workers: *dhaṁñikas* (corn dealers), *mālākāras* (florists), *kolīkas* (weavers), *tilapishakas* (oil-pressers), *odyantrikas* (fabricators of hydraulic engines), *kāsākāras* (braziers), *tesakāras* (polishers), *kamāras* (iron-workers), *lohavāṇiyas* (ironmongers), *avesaṇis* (artisans), *lekhakas* (writers), *chammakāras* (leather-workers), *gadhikas* (perfumers), *suvaṇakāras* (goldsmiths), *maṇikāras* (jewellers), *mīṭhikas* (stone-polishers), *selavaḍhakis* (stone-masons), and *vaḍhakis* (carpenters). Some or perhaps most of these crafts and trades were organized in guilds. Each guild had an alderman called *seṭhin*, and had its office in the *nigamasabhā* (town-hall). Most of the craftsmen were as well-to-do as those of Europe in the Middle Ages. It is to their artistio taste nad munificence that we owe some of the costliest Buddhist monuments of the period.

The great inland market-towns were Pratishṭhāna (Paithan), Tagara

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(Tēr), Junnar, Karahākaṭaka (Karadh), Nāsik, Govardhana (near Nāsik), and Vejayantī (Banavāsi). The market-towns in Eastern Deccan, of which the most important was Dhaññakaṭaka (modern Dharanikota), seem to have been fewer in number than in Western Deccan.

Of maritime trade with the West we get a direct, accurate, and full account from such foreign sources as Pliny, Strabo and the author of the *Periplus*; and these notices are corroborated by inscriptions from Nāsik, Kaṇheri, Kārlā, Kuḍā, Bhājā, and Beḍsā, The active trade with the West was as much due to the prosperity of the Hellenistic world (330-160 B. C.) and of the Roman empire, as to the peace and progress of the Deccan. The factors which quickened commerce and industry in the Hellenistic world were the dispersion of the enormous wealth of the Persian monarchy by Alexander, the urbanizing policy of his successors, the rise of Alexandria and her direct contact with India through the Nile-Red Sea-canal which had been opened in 190 B. C. Thanks to the Roman preference for the sea route and the discovery of the monsoon by Hippalus (A.D. 45), trade between the Roman empire and India increased twenty-fold. The discovery of the monsoon not only shortened the voyage, but by enabling ships to cut across the open sea, greatly reduced the danger from the pirates who infested the coastal waters. This enormous growth of trade drained the Roman empire of its gold; after which, and partly as a direct consequence, the trade came to a stop.

The west coast of the peninsula was studded with many ports. The northernmost port was Bharukachchha (the Barygaza of the *Periplus*, and modern Broach) which commanded the widest markets in northern and western India. There were 'brought down to Barygaza . . . by wagons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethana (Paithan) carnelian in great quantity, and from Tagara (Tēr) much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth.' From Ujjain came agate, carnelian, Indian muslins and all things needed for the welfare of the country about Barygaza. From Kashmir, the Hindu Kush and Kabul came costus, bdellium and spikenard. The imports into Broach were 'wine (Italian preferred, but also Laodicean and Arabian); copper, tin, and lead; coral and topaz; thin clothing and inferior sorts of all kinds; bright-coloured girdles a cubit wide; storax, sweet clover, flint glass, realgar, antimony, gold and silver coins (Roman *aureus* and *denarius*) on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country; and ointment, but not very costly and not much. And for the king there are brought into those places very costly vessels of silver, singing boys, beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves and the choicest ointments.'

Below Barygaza stood the ancient port of Sopāraka (modern Sopara, eight miles north of Bombay). The early Buddhist tale of Pūrṇamaitra speaks of it as a great seaport and the residence of a wealthy merchant by name Pūrṇa, who had made several successful voyages in the Great Ocean (the Erythrean Sea). The Buddha is said to have visited the town,

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and many western cave inscriptions refer to the visit. The greatest Śātavāhana port in Western Deccan and the natural terminus of the Ter-Paithan route was Kalyan on the eastern shore of the Bombay harbour (the Kaliaṇa of inscriptions and the Calliena of the *Periplus*). The fortunes of this port were bound up with those of the Śātavāhana and Kshatrapa dynasties. One of the early Sātakaṇis made it a great port and cleared the waters of pirates. But in the period of Kshatrapa occupation, it was almost closed and its trade diverted to Barygaza by a longer and more tedious route running through Nāsik. The other ports were Semylla (modern Chaul about 25 miles south of Bombay), Mandagora (perhaps Bānkot, now a fishing village of no importance), Palaepatmae (modern Dabhol), Melizigara (Malayagiri, modern Rajapur near which the Kuḍā caves are situated), Byzantium (corruption for Vizadrog or Vijayadurga), Togarum (Devgarh), and Aurannoboas (Mālvan). The southernmost ports in the Śātavāhana empire were the islands of Sesecrienae (Vengurla rocks), the Aegidii (Goa), Chersonesus (Karwar, an active port as late as the sixteenth century exporting fine muslins, pepper, cardamoms, cassia and coarse blue *dungari* cloth) and White Island (Pigeon Island).

It is curious that of the large volume of Śātavāhana coins which this trade, during four centuries, must have called into being there are now only faint traces. We have not a single Śātavāhana coin of the period from the first century B. C. to the end of the first century A.D.

KSHATRAPA INVASION—A SET-BACK c. A.D. 35-90

The course of history does not run smooth for long. The steady growth of the Śātavāhana empire during three centuries and the rapidly mounting prosperity which reached its culmination in literary and maritime activities came to an end with the reign of Mandalaka or Purīndrasena in the second quarter of the first century A.D. There followed half a century of great crisis in Śātavāhana history. It looked as though the whole empire would be overwhelmed and ruined by the invasions of foreigners, the Western Kshatrapas. This was also the period of Kushāṇa advance in Northern India. The Western Kshatrapas of the Kshaharāta line (*vaṁśa*), certainly foreigners from the north and probably Pahlavas (Parthians), first established themselves in Western Rajaputana, Gujarat and Kāthiāwār. They then tore away Eastern and Western Malwa from the Śātavāhana empire; and advancing south they overwhelmed Northern Konkan (Aparānta), Northern Mahārāshṭra which was the heart of the Śātavāhana empire, and even Southern Mahārāshṭra as far as Banavāsi (Vaijayantī). Long before these invasions, the Yavanas had entered Surāshṭra and Aparānta; and in the first century B. C. we come across a crowd of Buddhist Yavanas, thoroughly indianized, in the inscriptions at Kārlā (Poona district). Very probably these Yavanas did something more than welcome the Kshatrapa invaders, or else Gotamīputa, the retriever of Śātavāhana fortunes, would have had no reason to direct his attacks against the Yavanas also.

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The Kshaharāta inroads were probably the result of the advance of the Kushān power in Northern India. This advance drove the Śaka princes of the north in search of new lands either on their own account or on behalf of the Kushāns. According to the *Periplus* the Śaka invasions were the result of quarrels among the Parthian princes in Indo-Scythia (the lands from the Indus delta to Kāthiāwār). Commercial, cultural and racial antipathy, deepened and prolonged the Śātavāhana-Kshatrapa struggle. The earliest known member of the Kshaharāta dynasty was Bhūmaka, known to us from coins only; and they are found on the coastal regions of Gujarat and Kāthiāwār, and sometimes in Malwa. His successor, immediate or after an interval, was Nahapāna, known from numerous coins and a few inscriptions. On coins he bears the title *rājan*, and in inscriptions Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa. His inscriptions in Nāsik, Kārlā and Junnar (Northern Mahārāshṭra), his numerous coins, and his son-in-law's charities at many places in Northern and Southern India, prove a great extension of the Kshaharāta empire at the expense of the Śātavāhana. The *Periplus* faintly echoes this struggle in the statements that the kingdom of Mambanes (Nahapāna) began with Ariake (Aparānta), and that Greek ships sailing for the port of Kalyān were diverted to Barygaza. According to the same work the capital of Nahapāna was Minnagara (Min means Scythian) in Ariake. Jayaswal refers to a Jaina work which mentions Bharukachchha as the capital of Nahapāna.

Nahapāna's inscriptions bear the dates 41, 42, and 46. Whether these are the regnal years of Nahapāna or have to be referred to the Vikrama or Śaka era has been a point of controversy.[1] The synchronism of

[1] Cunningham and Nilakanta Sastri refer the dates to the Vikrama era; Rapson refers them to the Śaka era and R. D. Banerji to the regnal years of Nahapāna. Bhagwanlal Indraji supposed that the representations of Nahapāna's head on his silver coins were portraits, and that a long reign can be inferred from the extraordinary diversity the portraits exhibit. Rapson remarks: '... now that a vast number of specimens are available for comparison it is clear that no such conclusion can safely be drawn from these representations of the king's head... They cannot possibly have been portraits, in the true sense of the word, of any single individual. And it is evident that, however this diversity may be explained, any indication of the difference of age they may afford cannot be trusted to determine the length of Nahapāna's reign' (*BMC-AWK.*cx.).

Banerji has pointed out that the *Paṭṭāvāḷi Gāthās* and Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa* assign a period of 40 and 42 years respectively to Naravāhana (Nahapāna). But these are late tradition.

The Andhau inscriptions of Chashṭana (Mahākshatrapa) and Rudradāman (Kshatrapa) Śaka 52 (A.D. 130) shatter Rapson's theory. Chashṭana was Kshatrapa for some time, and then Mahākshatrapa with his son Jayadāman and later on with his grandson Rudradāman as Kshatrapas under him. So Chashṭana's reconquest of the Kshatrapa dominions could not have taken place before Śaka 49 (A.D. 127). Even taking for granted that Nahapāna was defeated in the last known year of his reign 46 and according to Rapson (A.D. 124), we are led to the paradoxical conclusions that two years after the much boasted rooting out of the Kshaharāta race and of the destruction of Śakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas by Gotamīputa, Chashṭana was on the scene avenging the Kshatrapa defeat; and the exploits of Gotamīputa are described in glowing terms twenty-four years after his death. There is nothing in the inscriptions of Puḷumāyi II's reign, at least up to his 19th regnal year (A.D.

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Nahapāna with Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, whose reign falls between A.D. 72 and 95 according to the scheme of chronology adopted here, makes a discussion of the dates in Nahapāna's inscriptions not as necessary as it might otherwise have been. If Gotamīputa had defeated a successor of Nahapāna, we should certainly have found in the Jogelthembi hoard of 13,250 coins some coins, of Nahapāna's successors, for no Western Kshatrapa failed to strike coins and all the 9,000 coins re-struck by Gotamīputa belong to Nahapāna. There is more point in re-striking the coins of a vanquished ruler than those of his predecessor. A Nāsik inscription of Gotamīputa records the grant of a field which 'till some time before the grant' (*ajakālakiyaṁ*) belonged to Ushavadāta (Ṛishabhadatta), the son-in-law of Nahapāna. The Kārlā inscription of Gotamīputa is cut just below that of Ushavadāta. Commentaries on a *gāthā* in a Jaina work (as we shall see) speak of Nahapāna's defeat and death at the hands of a Śātavāhana. The striking similarity between the script of the Nāsik and Kārlā inscriptions of Gotamīputa and Ushavadāta, as well as its quick and distinctive development from Gotamīputa to Puḷumāyi II, and from Puḷumāyi II to Siri-Yaña, shatters the theory of an interval between Gotamīputa and Nahapāna. In fine, the dates in Nahapāna's inscriptions cannot be referred to the Vikrama or Śaka era. They represent most probably the regnal years of Nahapāna.

The Śaka advance into the Śātavāhana dominions seems to have begun at least five years before the final defeat and death of Nahapāna. The Kshatrapa armies ably led by his son-in-law, the Śaka Ushavadāta, overwhelmed Malwa, the Narmadā valley, Northern Konkan, the western part of modern Berar, and Northern and Southern Mahārāshṭra. The invaders effected a permanent lodgement in these countries, and almost obliterated Śātavāhana power in Western Deccan. But it is not certain whether the capital (Paithan) was lost or not. The Śātavāhana kings who suffered would seem to have been Sundara Sātakaṇi, Chakora Sātakaṇi and Śiva Sāti; and of these, the first two had very short reigns (one year, and six months respectively). The conquerors brought in new ideas and institutions—silver coinage, a free use of Sanskrit in Prākṛit inscriptions, a

115), to show that the Śātavāhana empire had suffered diminution. According to Raychaudhuri (*PHAI.*[4] p. 407) the Andhau inscriptions do not require a revision of Rapson's theory. In his opinion there is nothing to show that Chashṭana's family came to power after the destruction of the Kshaharātas. It may have been ruling in Cutch and some adjacent territories as the Andhau inscriptions suggest, while the Kshaharātas were ruling in Malwa and parts of Mahārāshṭra. The absence of any title for Ghsamotika, father of Chashṭana, makes the latter the first ruler of the dynasty. As Puḷumāyi II does not seem to have lost any part of his dominions before his nineteenth year (the year of the Nāsik inscription of Balasirī), even supposing that Nahapāna was defeated in 46 (the eighteenth year of Gotamīputa's twenty-four year reign), Chashṭana's advance could not have taken place before 46+6+19 =Śaka 71; and Rudradāman was then on the scene as Mahākshatrapa. Above all the *Periplus* (1st century A.D.) mentions Nahapāna, but not Chashṭana; and Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) who mentions Chashṭana does not mention Nahapāna. See ch. ix where the later date for Nahapāna is upheld.

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practice altogether absent in the inscriptions of the Śātavāhanas; and a more vigorous patronage of Buddhists and Brahmins, a patronage inspired as much by political as by religious motives.

Soon after his great and resounding triumphs, and perhaps in consequence of them, Nahapāna assumed the title of Mahākshatrapa, and made Ushavadāta the ruler of the newly won territory. The latter, though a Śaka, bore a Hindu name and was a staunch adherent of Purāṇic Hinduism. What is more interesting, of his eight inscriptions seven are full, not of his military exploits, but of his religious benefactions. He made gifts of money and cows on the river Bārṇāsā, possibly modern Banas, a tributary of the Chambal; gave 16 villages to gods and Brahmins, fed 100,000 Brahmins all the year round, built rest-houses at Bharukachchha, Daśapura (Mandasor in Western Malwa), Govardhana, and Sorpāraga (Sopāra), and established free ferries by boats on the Ibā, Pārādā, Damaṇā (near Dāman), Tāpī (Tapti), Karabēnā, and Dāhanukā (the creek south of Dahanu in the Thana collectorate). He also bathed in the Pokhara tank (Pushkar, seven miles west of Ajmer) and gave cows to Brahmins. To the Charakas, members of a school of the *Black Yajur Veda*, he gave 32,000 stems of coconut trees. Statesmanship impelled the orthodox Ushavadāta to patronize the Buddhists also. To the monks on the Triraśmi hills (Nāsik) he donated a large cave, cisterns, lands and perpetual endowments of 72,000 *kārshāpaṇas*. To the monks at Valūraka (Kārlā) he gave a village. These are clearly efforts at consolidating Kshatrapa power in the newly conquered territories. But of administrative consolidation, the division of the country into districts each under an officer, there is no clear evidence.

Money, which has always been a great power in human affairs, became plentiful during this epoch. Ushavadāta's large endowments of money, the Jogelthembi hoard, and the Jaina tradition that Nahapāna was known for his wealth, prove this fact. For his wide dominions, stretching from Ajmer to Vaijayantī, Nahapāna struck numerous silver coins. 'They are apparently imitated as regards size, weight, and fabric, from the hemidrachms of the Graeco-Indian kings.' They set the standard followed by the later Western Kshatrapas, and some of the later Śātavāhanas for nearly 300 years, and afterwards by the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas. The silver required was imported either in the form of ingots or Roman coins. The remark in the *Periplus* that there was a profit when Roman coins were exchanged for Indian money perhaps refers to this great and sudden rise in the demand for bullion.

The chronology adopted here makes Nahapāna a feudatory of the Kushāṇas. D. R. Bhandarkar arrives at the same conclusion on the strength of the mention of *svarṇa* (according to him the Kushān gold coin) and *Kushāṇamūla* (value of Kushāṇas, coins named after the great Kushāṇas) in Ushavadāta's inscription at Nāsik.[1] The last known year

[1] *Carmichael Lec.* 1921, pp. 199-200 'Kuśāṇa' cannot however be considered a form of Kushāṇa. In line 2 *kuśāṇamūla* and *chīvarika* are mentioned

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of Nahapāna (46) may have been the last year of his reign as well as of his dynasty.

ŚĀTAVĀHANA RECOVERY. c. A.D. 90-150

Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi—c. A.D. 72-95 : After half a century of great tribulation and obscure existence under the foreign heel, the Śātavāhana power made a sharp and total recovery in the reign of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi (Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi), the greatest of the Śātavāhanas. His exploits, which inaugurated a happy century, and but for which Śātavāhana history might have worn a very different aspect, form the theme of the Nāsik *praśasti* of his mother *devī* Balasirī; it was incised twenty years after the hero's death, 'the funeral oration of a disconsolate mother.' The occasion for the inscription was the donation to the monks of the Bhadāyanīya sect of a cave begun by Gotamīputa and completed by his mother.

The first sixteen years of Gotamīputa's reign would seem to have been spent in great preparations for an all-out attack on the well-entrenched Kshaharāta power. We see the king campaigning in Māmālahāra (Poona district) in the seventeenth year and in Southern Mahārāshṭra the next year.[1] The conquest of territories in the north would seem to have taken place later. Ushavadāta and Nahapāna were defeated and killed, and the Kshaharāta dynasty was rooted out. The Śaka, Yavana and Pahlava settlers in Western Deccan were either put to the sword or driven out. The feudatories of the Kshaharātas and other petty princes were subdued.[2] A *gāthā* in the *Niryukti*, a commentary on the *Āvaśyakasūtra*, contains a legend which preserves the memory of these occurrences. Nahapāna's capital was Bharukachchha. The commentaries on the *gāthā* say that Nahapāna had amassed great wealth and his adversary, Śātavāhana of Paithan, had mustered a powerful army. The latter was unable to capture Bharukachchha even after a siege of two years. He then resorted to a stratagem and induced Nahapāna, through one of his ministers, to spend all his money on charities; when Nahapāna's treasury became depleted, Śātavāhana attacked the capital and easily captured it. The Kshatrapa fell fighting; his empire was wiped off the map, a triumph beyond the utmost dreams of Śātavāhana ambition.

After his great victories, Gotamīputa recovered not only the Śātavāhana provinces of Ākara (Eastern Malwa), Avantī (Western Malwa), Anūpa (the Narmadā valley), Vidarbha (Berar), Asika, Asaka and Muḷaka (Northern Mahārāshṭra), and Aparānta (Northern Konkan); he also annexed the Kshatrapa provinces of Kukura (Western Rajaputana), and Suraṭha

together as the purpose for the investment of money. Senart translates *kuśāṇamūla* as 'cloth money' and D. C. Sircar as 'money for minor necessities.' Nāsik No. 4 (*EI.* VIII p. 71), speaks of the Vejayantī army.

[2] *Khakharāta vasa niravasesakarasa; Saka Pahlava-Yavana nisūdanasa Khatiyadapa-māna-madanasa ; anekasamaravajita-satu saghasa.*

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(Surāshṭra); and though they are not mentioned in the Nāsik *praśasti*, the Kshatrapa provinces of Ānarta, Śvabhra and Maru lying between Kukura, Suraṭha and Avantī were apparently also annexed. Gotamīputa is also called lord of Vijha (Eastern Vindhya), Achhavata (Ṛikshavat or the Satpura hills or the Vindhyas running south of the Narmadā through Berar nearly into Western Bengal), Pārichāta (the Pāriyātra or the western portion of the Vindhya range and the Aravalli range running north through Ajmer), Sahya, Kaṇhagiri (Kanḥeri in Aparānta), Macha, Siriṭana, Malaya (southern portion of the Western Ghats), Mahida (Mahendra, the Eastern Ghats between the Mahānadī and Godāvarī), Seṭagiri and Chakora (southern portion of the Eastern Ghats). The mention of Chakora and Mahendra proves the inclusion of Kaliṅga and Āndhradeśa in Gotamīputa's empire.

In his solicitude for the welfare of the flourishing Buddhist community, the Śātavāhana conqueror outdid his Kshatrapa adversaries. To the monks of the Valūraka caves he renewed Ushavadāta's grant of the village of Karajaka. To the Tekirasi (Nāsik) monks, he donated lands and a cave equal to that of Ushavadāta. But while the Śaka had made donations to monks of all sects (*chatudisa bhikhusagha*), Gotamīputa favoured the Mahāsāṁghikas at Kārlā, and Bhadāyaniyas at Nāsik. His patronage of the followers of the Vedic religion is revealed by the epithet '*ekabaṁhaṇa*' applied to him in the Nāsik *praśasti*.

Gotamīputa signalised his epoch-making victories not only by renewing the donations of Ushavadāta, but also by building the town of Ḅenākaṭaka in the Govardhana district (Nāsik), and re-striking the coins of Mahākshatrapa Nahapāna. He also assumed the pompous titles of *rāja-rāja* and *mahārāja*, and took over the Kshaharāta prefix 'svāmi'. It is symptomatic of the changed times that no sacrifices were performed to celebrate these victories. In the record of Balasirī the victor is described in conventional phrases like 'one who had won numerous battles; whose victorious banner was unvanquished; whose capital was unassailable to his foes; who was in prowess equal to Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna and Bhīmasena; not inferior in lustre to Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti and Ambarīsha; who, vanquishing his enemies in a way as constant as inexhaustible, unthinkable and marvellous in battles fought by the Wind, Garuda, the Siddhas, the Yakshas, the Rākshasas, the Chāraṇas, the Moon, the Sun, the Asterisms and the Planets, appeared to be himself plunging into the sky from the shoulder of his choice elephant.' Not so conventional would seem to be the words 'his chargers had drunk the waters of the three oceans' (*tisamuda-toya-pīta-vāhana*), for Bāṇa refers to a later Śātavāhana, probably Yaña, as *trisamudrādhipati* and the Śātavāhana empire extended from sea to sea ever since Gotamīputa's time, if not earlier.

If Gotamīputa was great in war, he was greater still in peace. His brilliance as a soldier was supported by gifts of statesmanship and a resolute sense of public duty. He had been instructed in all the branches

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of learning then thought to be necessary for the formation of the princely mind. The administration was based upon the twin foundations of Śāstraic injunctions and humanism. The poor, weak, and suffering came in for special kingly attention. A fine balance was struck between the triple fountain-heads of human activity. *Varṇāśramadharma* was maintained ; but the rapid formation of sub-castes on a vocational basis was not checked. Taxes were not levied except in conformity with justice. As fast as the country was conquered it was divided into *āhāras*, each under an *amacha*. Towards the close of the reign either illness or military preoccupations made the king associate his mother with himself in the administration of the country.

Gotamīputa is the first known Śātavāhana king to bear a metronymic, so common among his successors. The Śātavāhana metronymics are derived from three Vedic *gotras* only (Vāsishṭha, Māṭhara and Gautama). This limitation would seem to have been the result of a system of cross-cousin marriages. The Ikshvāku records at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Jagayyapeta unmistakably show that marriage was one of the channels through which metronymics were transmitted. Early inscriptions from Malwa have yielded a crop of metronymics derived from Vedic *gotras*, clan names, and localities. So it is permissible to infer that marriage with noble families in Malwa brought metronymics into the Śātavāhana family. The epithet '*ekabaṁhaṇa*' applied to Gotamīputa may also contain a veiled reference to the Brahmanical origin of his mother. If so metronymics would seem to have entered the Kshatriya Śātavāhana family through a *pratiloma* marriage.[1]

Rapson's view that Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi bore the title of Viḷivāyakura in the district of Kolhāpur is untenable.[2] It is a name borne by a line of feudatory princes of Southern Mahārāshṭra. And the *gotra* metronymics they bore were acquired by marriage with Śātavāhana

[1] While on their coins in Western and Eastern Deccan many of the later kings use their metronymics, not one of them does so on his coins minted for his northern provinces (the southern part of modern Madhya Pradesh).

[2] A number of copper and lead coins from the Brahmapuri mound at Kolhāpur excavated by Dr. H. D. Sankalia in 1945 have revealed the names of three princes. On the evidence of re-struck coins their order would be as follows :-

Vāsiṭhiputa Viḷivayakura
Māḍhariputa Sivalakura
Gotamiputa Viḷivayakura.

Ptolemy mentions Baleokuros (Viḷivayakura) as a contemporary of Puḷumāyi II. Rapson remarks that Ptolemy might be excused for not knowing that Puḷumāyi and Viḷivayakura were one and the same person and quotes a rather far-fetched analogy. He says: 'A foreigner might be excused for not knowing that in our own country, the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Chester and the Duke of Cornwall were the same person,' (*BMCAWK*. p. xl., *n*.1). Rapson's identification upsets the order in the Purāṇic lists and leaves unexplained the absence on the Kolhāpur coins of the Ujjain symbol employed by all the later Śātavāhanas on their coins. Moreover, as Rapson himself points out, nowhere do the Śātavāhanas employ the Kolhāpur coin device (the bow and arrow) which is nearer to the arrow and thunderbolt of Nahapāna's coins. Przyluski (*JRAS*. 1929) explains 'Viḷivāyakura' as 'horse-town'. To him 'Viḷivaya' is a form of Vālavā=horse, and 'Kura' is a non-Aryan word meaning 'town'.

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princesses. Equally unsound is the theory of the Bhandarkars that Gotamīputa and his son Puḷumāyi II ruled conjointly.[1] Gotamīputa's reign would not seem to have extended much beyond his last known year.

Puḷumāyi II—c. A. D. 96-119 : Gotamīputa the Great, bequeathed his empire to his son Vasiṭhīputa Sāmi-Siri-Puḷumāyi. His reign marks the zenith of Śātavāhana monarchy. The name Puḷumāyi also spelt as Puḷumāvi and Puḷumāī, would, like those of Viḷivāyakura, Aḍavi, Ruḷu and Ehuvuḷa, seem to be of Dravidian origin. The new ruler, not only kept his father's empire undiminished but even augmented it. His 'ship with double mast' coins picked up on the Coromandel Coast between Madras and Cuddalore prove an extension of the empire in the south.[2] They also prove the attention paid by the Śātavāhanas to naval power, maritime trade and overseas colonisation. It is perhaps to commemorate his conquests that Puḷumāyi II founded the town of Navana(ga)ra, and assumed the title of *Navana(ga)rasāmī*. In addition to the old title of *Dakshiṇāpatheśvara*, he bore also the title of Mahārāja. He is mentioned in the largest number of Śātavāhana inscriptions and is the first to be mentioned in an inscription from Eastern Deccan. Two Nāsik inscriptions of the second and sixth years of his reign are fragmentary. A Kārlā inscription of the seventh year records the donation of a village by the Mahāraṭhi Vāsiṭhiputa Somadeva of the Okhaḷakiyas to the monks of the Valūraka caves. The Nāsik inscription of Balasirī was incised in the nineteenth year. That of year 22 is a royal order to Sivakhadila, the governor of Govadhana, to the effect that the village of Sudasaṇa given in the nineteenth year, for the embellishment of the Queen's Cave (*Devileṇa*) shall be exchanged for the village of Sāmalipada. The great number,

[1] The theory of conjoint rule has been built on very shaky foundations. According to D. R. Bhandarkar such a theory alone can save us from a chronological absurdity. He refers the Andhau inscriptions of Śaka 52 (A.D. 130) to the reign of Rudradāman, successor of Chashṭana. According to him Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi's reign falls between A.D. 106 and 130, for he defeated Nahapāna in his eighteenth regnal year and Śaka 46 of Nahapāna's inscription. No theory other than that of conjoint rule by Gotamīputa and his son Puḷumāyi II can reconcile these conclusions with Ptolemy's statements that Puḷumāyi II was a contemporary of Chashṭana. But Bhandarkar himself has, later on, referred the Andhau inscriptions to the conjoint rule of Chashṭana and Rudradāman (*IA.* XLVII p. 154, *n.* 26) Another argument is that cave no. 3 at Nāsik is granted in the twenty-fourth year of Gotamīputa and the nineteenth year of Puḷumāyi. But the Nāsik inscription of Puḷumāyi is a non-official grant. Then the question arises, how can one cave be granted by two persons, at two different times, in two different ways? Very probably Gotamīputa could not complete the cave ; and it was left to his mother to complete and embellish it 25 years later. As she then had no part in the government of the country, her grant is non-official. If Gotamīputa and Puḷumāyi had ruled conjointly, we would have found at least one inscription mentioning them together. And Nāsik No. 5 (*EI.* VIII 8) mentions the queen-mother and Gotamīputa as ruling conjointly. Professor N. Sastri has pointed out (*JRAS.* 1926, 'Later Śātavāhanas and Śakas') that Nahapāna's coins re-struck by Gotamīputa are sufficient to shatter Bhandarkar's theory.

[2] Rapson, *BMCAWK.* 22-3

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wide distribution, and pleasing variety of Puḷumāyi's coins, which set the standard for his successors, indicate military campaigns and a great economic prosperity consequent upon a revival and extension of Śātavāhana power. And during his reign, the *stūpa* at Amarāvatī, which is as old as the third century B. C., was enlarged and encased in richly sculptured marble slabs and surrounded by a railing.

The fame of Puḷumāyi, as well as the likeness of the name to that of Ptolemy (Ptolemaios) when corrupted in the mouths of the Egyptians, induced Ptolemy the Geographer to refer to *Baithana-Basileion* (*Siro*) *Ptolemaios* or *Polemaios*, (Paithan, the capital of Siri-Puḷumāyi). Another statement of the same writer reveals the contemporaneity of Puḷumāyi with Chashṭana (*Ozêne Basileion Tiastanes*).

The official records of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi and Puḷumāyi, taken along with a few private Buddhist records, throw welcome light on the polity of the vast empire. Unfortunately there is no literary source to corroborate or supplement this information. Unlike the secular and militarist government of Chandragupta Maurya and the Buddhist state under Aśoka, the Śātavāhana administration was very simple, and conformed to the injunctions laid down in the *Dharma Śāstras*. Though the later Śātavāhanas bore metronymics and do not mention their fathers, monarchy was throughout hereditary in the male line; and metronymics were only an institution for the regulation of marriages. It is remarkable that though polygamy seems to have been the rule, there is no evidence of disputed successions, fratricidal wars, or partitions of the empire. Though they were the authors of great victories and vast conquests, the Śātavāhanas, like their Mauryan predecessors, were content for the most part with the modest title of *rājan*. They laid no claim to Divine Right. They had absolute power in theory, but it was checked in practice by custom and the *Śāstras*. The king was the commander in war, led his armies in person to the battle-field, and often threw himself into the thickest of the fray. All princes were styled *kumāras*. The Cheta practice of styling the crown-prince *yuvarāja* and associating him in the administration of the country is absent among the Śātavāhanas. But the Mauryan practice of appointing princes as viceroys was followed. During the minority of the crown prince, either the queen-mother or the brother of the late king governed the country.

In an age of simple and undifferentiated administrative machinery, feudatories of different grades played an important part. The highest class consisted of petty princes bearing the kingly title *rājā* and striking coins in their own names. Such princes existed in the Kolhāpur and North Kanara regions. Next in rank to petty princes came the *mahāraṭhis* and *mahābhojas*. On the analogy of *senāpati* and *mahāsenāpati* these titles are certainly to be derived from Raṭhika and Bhoja which also appear as ethnic names; and they would seem to have been created in order to reward the Raṭhikas and Bhojas for the help they rendered to the Śātavāhanas in their wars. Both titles were from the beginning

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hereditary and restricted to a few families and localities (Thana and Kolaba districts of Bombay State and North Mysore). The wives of the officers concerned assumed the corresponding feminine title. But the status of a *mahābhoja* was apparently higher than that of *mahāraṭhi*, for whilst *mahāraṭhi* inscriptions are dated in Śātavāhana regnal years, not a single *mahābhoja* inscription is so dated; and one Kuḍā inscription comes very near to being dated in the years of a *mahābhoja* (*mahābhoje Maṁḍave Kochīpute velīdāte*). While the title of *mahāraṭhi* is coeval with the Śātavāhana dynasty (third century B. C.), that of *mahābhoja* would seem to have come into existence in the first half of the first century A.D., in the wake of an extension of Śātavāhana power in which the Bhojas would seem to have played an important part.

The *mahābhojas* were feudatories of Śātavāhanas, as that part of Western Deccan where *mahābhoja* inscriptions are found (Kuḍā) was included in the Śātavāhana empire. Moreover they were related by blood to the feudatory *mahāraṭhis* and were feudatories of the Chuṭus, the successors of the Śātavāhanas in the southern parts of Bombay State and the northern parts of Mysore. What is more certain is that the *mahāraṭhis* were feudatories of the Śātavāhanas. They date their inscriptions in Śātavāhana regnal years. Whilst ordinary governors of provinces make grants of land and villages to religious bodies under the explicit and detailed commands of the sovereign, the *mahāraṭhis* grant in their own names villages with the fiscal immunities attached to them. Either from the beginning or during the days of Śātavāhana decline, the *mahāraṭhis* of the Chitaldrug region enjoyed the additional privilege of issuing coins in their own names. The Nānāghāt and Kaṇheri inscriptions show that the *mahāraṭhis* had marriage relations with the ruling family, much in the same way as the *mahātalavaras* had with the Ikshvāku dynasty in Eastern Deccan *c.*A.D. 235-287). Rapson remarks : 'That they were . . . closely connected with the Āndhra kings by family or by caste seems to be shown, as Pandit Bhagwanlal observed, by the use of metronymics which they have in common with them.' But the metronymics of the period under review are not peculiar to a caste or family. They are borne by Brahmins, artisans, and even Buddhists, monks as well as laymen. And unlike the Śātavāhanas, some *mahāraṭhis* bear metronymics not derived from Vedic *gotras* and give their fathers' names in their inscriptions. It is a really striking fact that, unlike the feudatory inscriptions of later times, the *mahāraṭhi* and *mahābhoja* inscriptions should be as short as the votive inscriptions of ordinary persons. We miss in them the laudatory epithets applied to the feudatories of the succeeding age.

Two more feudatory titles were created towards the close of the Śātavāhana period. They were those of *mahāsenāpati* and *mahātalavara*. Their origin is to be sought in the difficulties of governance inherent in a rapid expansion of the empire in all directions. The first known epigraphic record to mention the office of *mahāsenāpati* is the Nāsik inscription of the twenty-second year of Puḷumāyi II's reign. In the records of his

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successors it is mentioned twice. The *mahāsenāpati* under Puḷumāyi II holds a civil function, namely the charge of the records (*lekha*) department. Under the last of the Śātavāhanas (Puḷumāyi IV), a *mahāsenāpati* was governor of a *janapada*, a division consisting of several districts (*āhāras*). The Allūru inscription (Nandigama taluk Krishna district) mentioning a *mahātalavara* belongs, on paleographical grounds, to the Śātavāhana period. *Talavara* would seem to have been an old official title in the Āndhradeśa; and the Śātavāhanas apparently created out of it a feudatory title much as they had done in Western Deccan. Regarding the meaning of *mahātalavara*, Vogel says: 'The second member of the compound is not a Sanskrit word but seems to be a term borrowed from some Dravidian language. . . . We must leave this question to the decision of the student of South Indian languages. Can the word have any connection with the Tamil *talaiyāri* (a village watchman)?' The title of *mahāsenāpati* borne by *mahātalavaras* excludes the derivation from *talavāy* (commander) which is, however, a very late term. The Kanarese *taḷavara* (a watchman) very nearly corresponds to our *talavara*; the Tamil *talaiyāri* also means watchman. Possibly all these terms are related.

Barring the districts controlled by feudatories, the empire was divided into *janapadas* and *āhāras*. A *janapada* which under Aśoka was a part of a division under the *rajjūka*, consists in this period of a number of *āhāras*. An *āhāra* corresponds to the Pallava '*rāshṭra*', Śālaṅkāyana '*vishaya*' and modern 'district'. Each *āhāra* derived its name from its headquarters. The division below that of *āhāra* was *gāma*. *Amachas* who were in charge of *āhāras* were non-hereditary governors subject to periodical transfers; and both the division and the office were inherited from Mauryan times. The officer in charge of a *gāma* was *gāmika*. The other functionaries known to us are *mahatarakas* (Great Chamberlains), *mahā-āryakas*, *bhaṇḍāgārikas* (store-keepers), *heranikas* (treasurers), *mahāmātras*, *nibaṁdhakāras* (officers in charge of registration of documents, the *akshapaṭalikas* of later times), *dūtakas* who carried royal orders, and *pratihāras*.

The government lived from hand to mouth. In a police state with a simple administrative machinery the taxes were neither heavy nor many. The sources of income were : proceeds from the royal domain, the salt monopoly, ordinary and extraordinary taxes on land, and income from court-fees and fines. Many taxes, including the assignments to soldiers and officials, would seem to have been paid in kind.

The period from Puḷumāyi II to the reign of Siri-Yaña witnessed commercial intercourse with, and the colonisation of, the Far East. It was also the most glorious epoch of Buddhism in the Deccan. On the question of the age and causes of the colonising movement as also about what parts of India participated in it, there is less general agreement than one would wish. It is, however, safe to assert that the entire coastal tract from Kāvēripaṭṭinam to Tāmralipti took part in this movement, while South India had the preponderating share. All scholars are agreed that the lively

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maritime commerce between India and the Far East in articles of luxury preceded the Hindu colonisation of Sumatra, Java, Indo-China and Malaya. While Ferrand would refer both the movements to the last two centuries B.C., Coedès prefers the second century A.D. We are sure that maritime trade existed in the first century of the Christian era, and that colonies had been established by the following century. Pliny the Elder and the author of the *Periplus* know of Chryse, the land of gold i.e. Farther India. And the latter refers to very large ships called *colandia* which made the voyages to Chryse and the Ganges. According to the Chinese annals we have as early as the second century A. D. a Hindu ruler in Java. By the time of Ptolemy (second century A. D.) the trade with the Far East had assumed great proportions. He mentions Jabadiou, 'the Island of Barley' and the names and locations of many places in Malaya and Indo-China as also many ports in Eastern Deccan and the Chola country. The great ports in Eastern Deccan were Kantakossyla (Kaṇṭakasela of epigraphic records), Koddūra (modern Gudur in the Bandar taluk of the Krishna district), and Allosynge. North of Allosynge was *aphetêrion* the great starting-point of ships bound for Golden Chryse. A *stūpa* pillar fragment bearing an inscription of the time of Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi was found at Chinna Ganjam (Repalle taluq, Guntur district) near the sea-shore. A fragment of a *stūpa* pillar was also found at Kollitippa, a few miles to the north of Chinna Ganjam. In the vicinity of Chinna Ganjam, Rea found the remains of three *stūpas*. As Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out, an inscription dated Śaka 1166 (A. D. 1244) mentions Mōṭupalle as a port, and Mōṭupalle is only three miles to the north-east of Chinna Ganjam. It is therefore highly probable that Mōṭupalle or its vicinity contained a port or ports through which flowed a part of the trade of the Maisolia region between two great navigable rivers. Below the Maisolia region also, there would seem to have been ports though their names have not been preserved. As already stated coins bearing the device of a ship with masts and the legend *sāmisa s(i)r(ri)* have been picked up on the Coromandel Coast between Mādras and Cuddalore.

The causes of the twin movements of trade and colonisation were many and varied. The peace and progress, and the royal encouragement of trade and colonial activities which followed the extension of the Śātavāhana power to Eastern Deccan, was a very potent cause. The inner impulse of the Aryan culture to spread far and wide, the Roman need for articles of luxury like spices, fragrant woods, and resins, sandals, aloes, camphor and benzoin, and the desire for gold, a commodity which had grown scarce when the disturbed conditions in the north had stopped the flow of that metal from Siberia, were some of the other causes.

Buddhism flourished throughout the period of the Hindu Śātavāhanas who first tolerated and later actively patronised it. It made great strides in the last two centuries B. C., as the Buddhist caves and epigraphs at Pitalkhorā, Nāsik, Bhājā, Beḍsā, Koṇḍāne and Kuḍā (in Western Deccan), and the *stūpas* at Bhaṭṭiprolu, Amarāvatī, Goli, Ghaṇṭaśāla and

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Gummaḍidurru testify. The Kārlā *Chaitya*-cave, 'the most excellent in Jambudvīpa', belongs to the first century B. C. But it is the first two centuries of the Christian era, especially the period of Śātavāhana recovery A. D. 90-180, that constitute the most glorious epoch of Buddhism in the Deccan. In Western Deccan the Kshaharātas and their rivals the Śātavāhanas vied with one another in scooping out *vihāras* (monasteries) at Nāsik and in making grants of villages, lands and money to the monks keeping the *vassa* in the caves at Nāsik and Kārlā. The royal example was followed by feudatories and officials. Trade with the West which had by now reached its climax, and trade with the East which was fast expanding, made it possible for crowds of merchants, craftsmen, women, and even monks and nuns to vie with one another in making costly donations to the Buddhist Church. In Western Deccan these donations include, among other things, rock-cut *chaityas* and *vihāras*; and in time came *bhojana-maṭapas* (refectory), and *upathānasālā* (hall of reception), both attached to *vihāras*. In Eastern Deccan as already noted, the Amarāvatī and many other *stūpa* complexes were either built or enlarged and embellished. But here it was all the fruit of private effort.

The objects of worship were *stūpas* in the open or *chaityas*, the sacred tree with the empty throne, the footprints of the Master, the *triśūla* emblem, the *Dhammachakka* on a pillar, and relics of the Buddha and of other great teachers. The common ways of worship were the circumambulation of the *stūpa* and kneeling before the sacred object with joined hands, or falling flat on the ground. The offerings made were cloth, flowers and liquids. Pilgrimages to Buddhist centres seem to have been the order of the day. Towards the close of the Śātavāhana period there supervened Mahāyāna Buddhism and worship of figures of the Buddha.

The Buddhist church teemed with sects. The Bhadāyanīyas flourished at Nāsik and Kaṇheri, the Dhammottariyas at Sopāra, and the Mahāsāṅghikas at Kārlā and its vicinity. But there was no undue rivalry amongst these sects, and monks of different sects kept the *vassa* in the same *vihāra*; and a preacher of the Dhammottariya sect donates a pillar of the Kārlā *Chetiyāghara* which was the special property of Mahāsāṅghikas. The chief sects in Eastern Deccan were the Chetikiya, Pubbaseliya, Avaraseliya, Utayipabhahi and Mahavinaseliya. The Buddhist world abounded in great teachers. In Western Deccan Mahāsthaviras, Sthaviras, Charakas, and Tevijas (those who knew the *Tripiṭaka*) walked the land, enlightening the faithful on the Law of the Master. In Eastern Deccan, monks nuns, and laymen, flocked to teachers versed in the *Vinaya* and *Dhamma*. Even nuns were teachers (*upajhiyāyinī*) and had scores of female pupils (*atevāsinī*) under their tuition.

The Śātavāhanas were followers of the Vedic religion. The third king performed numerous sacrifices, named one of his sons Vedisiri, and worshipped Saṁkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Indra, the Sun and the Moon. Later kings bear such names as Yaña and Śivaskanda. The *Saptaśatī* refers to the worship of Indra, Kṛishṇa, Paśupati and Gaurī. Names

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6. THE DOMINIONS OF THE ANDHRAS AND WESTERN KSHATRAPAS *c.* A.D. 150

facing p. 320)

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like Śivapālita, Śivakhadila, Śivadatta, Kumāra etc., point to the worship of Śiva and Skanda, while Vishṇupālita, Veṇhu and Lachinikā attest the worship of Vishṇu. In the *Saptaśatī*, Hari or Trivikrama is said to be superior to other gods. The Kṛishṇa cycle of legends was already fully developed, but the Vedic religion would seem to have flourished better in the Kshatrapa dominions (Gujarat, Kāthiāwār and Malwa).

The closing years of Puḷumāyi's reign witnessed a revival of Western Kshatrapa power under Chashṭana son of Ghsamotika, of the Kārddamaka line. This Kshatrapa rally was probably initiated and supported by the Kushāṇas. Chashṭana first established himself in those Kshatrapa provinces which had not been overrun by Gotamīputa—Cutch and Sindhu-Sauvīra. He then recovered the lost Kshatrapa provinces of Kukura, Suraṭha, Maru, Śvabhra, Avanti and Ākara and celebrated these great victories by the assumption of the title of *Mahākshatrapa*. To cope with the administration of these vast and newly conquered provinces, he associated first his son, and then his grandson in the administration of the country as Kshatrapa. According to Ptolemy his capital was Ujjain.

Rapson's view that Puḷumāyi II was the son-in-law of Rudradāman, the grandson of Chashṭana, is based on the assumptions that the dates in Nahapāna's inscriptions belong to the Śaka era, and that Śātakarṇi is sometimes used distinctively and sometimes generally. So according to him the 'Śātakarṇi' of the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman said to have been related to, and twice defeated by, the latter, is Puḷumāyi II. Therefore the Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi of the Kaṇheri inscription, wherein he is mentioned as the son-in-law of Mahākshatrapa Rudra (dāman), must also be Puḷumāyi. Even granting that the Kshatrapa-Śātavāhana matrimonial alliance as revealed by the Kaṇheri inscription was purely political, it is highly improbable that Puḷumāyi, who according to Ptolemy was a contemporary of Chashṭana, married the latter's great-grand-daughter. Again, Rudradāman is said to have defeated 'ā Śātakarṇi not distantly related to him.' Once Rapson's reference of the dates in Nahapāna's inscriptions to the Śaka era is abandoned, his identification ceases to be valid.

Siri-Sātakaṇi—c. A. D. 120-149 : Vāsiṭhiputa Siri-Puḷumāyi's successor was Vāsiṭhiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, probably the former's brother or grandson. He is mentioned only in the *Vāyu-purāṇa* which gives him a long reign of 29 years. His 600 coins from the Akola hoard presenting three types of alphabet corroborate the Purāṇic regnal period. He is the Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Chanda coins, the Vāsiṭhiputa Siva-Siri Śātakaṇi of the lead coins from the Godavari and Krishna districts, the Vāsiṭhiputa Hiru-Hātakaṇi of a silver coin in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,[2] the Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi of the Kaṇheri inscription,

[1] *Dakshiṇāpathapateś Śātakarṇer dvir api nirvyajām-avajity-āvajitya saṁbaṁddhāv(i)dūra(ta)yā anutsādanāt prāptayaśasā.*

[2] The silver coin is modelled as regards type, size, and weight on the Kshatrapa coinage. On the obverse it bears the legend *Vāsiṭhiputasa* and the

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and very probably also the Vāsiṭhiputa Chatarapana Siri-Sātakaṇi of a Nānāghāt inscription.[1] His silver coin modelled on that of the Western Kshatrapas goes far to prove that he was the son-in-law of Rudradāman.

Siva-Siri-Puḷumāyi—*c.* A. D. 150-56 : The Kshatrapa-Śātavāhana conflict was reopened in the reign of the next king Siva-Siri-Puḷumāyi.[2] He would seem to be a grandson of Puḷumāyi II and is most probably the 'Sātakarṇi', lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, defeated by Rudradāman. The Girnār inscription states that Rudradāman 'obtained good report because he in spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated Sātakarṇi, lord of the Deccan, on account of their not distant connection (*saṁbandha avidūra(ta)yā*) did not destroy him.' The cause of the renewal of conflict can be easily guessed. Rudradāman was bent on avenging the defeat of Nahapāna and recovering the lost Kshatrapa provinces. Though Anūpa and Aparānta, the jewels of the Śātavāhana crown, were recovered, Asika, Asaka, Muḷaka and Kuntala eluded his grasp. The words in the Girnār inscription 'did not destroy him (Śātakarṇi)' are perhaps a veiled admission of this fact.

Siri-Sivakhada-Sātakaṇi—*c.* A.D. 157-159 : Siva Siri Puḷumāyi III was succeeded by his son Siri-Sivakhada Sātakaṇi (the Śivaskanda of the Purāṇas). We cannot identify him with the *rājan* Sivamaka Sada (Sātakaṇi) of an Amarāvatī inscription;[3] but he is certainly the Khada Sātakaṇi of three coins from the Akola hoard.

DECLINE

Siri-Yaña—(A. D.160-189) : The Śātavāhana empire was worn out by age, long wars and centrifugal tendencies. The decline set in towards the later part of the long reign of Siri-Yaña, the successor of Khada-Sātakaṇi. His two Kaṇheri inscriptions dated in the seventh and tenth regnal

head of the king (the first known coin portrait of a Śātavāhana monarch) and on the obverse the Ujjain symbol, the *chaitya* of two tiers and the legends '(. . .) *Hātākaṇisha Ārakh* (*itasha*).' The peculiar *ha* is either the Kharoshṭhī *ha* inverted or is connected with the cursive *ha* on Kshatrapa coins. The use of two varieties of the Brāhmī alphabet and two different dialects on coins is perhaps reminiscent of the use of the Brāhmī, Kharoshṭhī and Greek on the coins of the Western Kshatrapas.

[1] It may be suggested tentatively that 'Chhatrapa' can be a form of 'Chhatrapa' on the analogy of 'Chula' for 'Chhula' and 'Chāṁtamūla'for 'Chhāṁtamūla'. 'Chhatarapa' is a form of 'Chhatrapa' Sans. 'Kshatrapa'. 'Chatarapaṇa' is a form of 'Chatarapaṇaka' for sometimes the 'aṇaka' ending in names is shortened into *ana* e.g., Viraṁna for Viraṁṇaka. The name Chatarapaṇa could have been borne only by the Śātavāhana son-in-law or grandson of Rudradāman. It is difficult to insert another name in the later Śātavāhana list.

[2] The Purāṇic words *Śivā-śrī-vai-Puloma tu saptaiva bhavitā ṇṛipaḥ* were also translated by Pargiter as : After Puḷumāyi there will be Śiva Śrī.' (*DKA.* p. 71 *n.* 18) Śiva and Śrī are honorific prefixes. Moreover after Puḷumāyi II we have a Sātakaṇi. Above all, 4 coins of Śiva-Siri-Puḷumāyi come from the Akola hoard. The *Vishṁu Purāṇa* has '*Śātakarṇiḥ Śiva Śriḥ*,' '*Śiva Śrī Śātakarṇi*' : Wilson's tr. p. 473

[3] Lūders, *List* no. 1279

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years, the Nāsik inscription of the seventh year, and the two inscriptions from the Guntur district, one of which is dated in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, show that he ruled over both Eastern and Western Deccan. His silver coin from Sopāra, like that of Vāsiṭhiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi is modelled on Western Kshatrapa coinage; and if it was issued for a newly conquered province, we could infer that he recovered Aparānta, a province which had been lost to the Western Kshatrapas a few decades earlier. It was the last episode in a long and tragic conflict. The other two silver coins of Siri-Yaña were obtained in Amreli (Kāthiāwār) and Baroda. Rapson says : 'It would be hazardous to conclude from the provenance of these two specimens that the Āndhra power was extended northwards of Aparānta into the domains of the Western Kshatrapas during the reign of Śrī-Yajña.'[1] His coins with the horse device show that the victory was celebrated by an *aśvamedha* sacrifice.

Pargiter has shown that some of the Purāṇas were redacted during Siri-Yaña's reign. He is perhaps the Śātavāhana whom Bāṇa refers to as *trisamudrādhipati* and as friend of a mendicant by name Nāgārjuna. Hiuan Tsang also refers to Nāgārjuna P'usa as a contemporary of king Sha-to-p'o-ha (Śātavāhana) or Leading Light (Yin Leng). The latter quarried a monastery for him on the mountain Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, 300 *li* to the south-west of the capital of Kosala. According to Tibetan tradition a monk Nāgārjuna expounded Mādhyamika philosophy, and surrounded the *stūpa* at Dhānyakaṭaka (Amarāvatī) with a railing.

The numerous coins of the reign are as varied in type and denomination as they are widely distributed. They come from Gujarat, Kāthiāwār, Sopāra and the districts of Chanda, Akola (Madhya Pradesh), Godavari and Krishna (Āndhradeśa). The Chanda potin coins bear the elephant device, and those of the Sopāra fabric bear the portrait head of the king. From Eastern Deccan come sackfuls of lead and copper coins bearing horse, elephant and *chaitya* devices. In addition to 1/16, 1/4, 3/8, 1/2, 3/4, 7/8 and 1 *kārshāpaṇas* (issued by Puḷumāyi II also), Siri-Yaña issued 1-1/8 and 1-3/4 *kārshāpaṇas*. Wars in the west and a great commercial prosperity in the east explain this plentiful issue of currency.

The closing years of Siri-Yaña's reign were clouded by a disaster. The Ābhīras broke the political unity of the Deccan by slicing off the territory around Nāsik. The Traikūṭakas cannot be included in the dynasty of ten Ābhīras, as they existed for over two centuries, while Ābhīras, according to the Purāṇas, lasted only for 67 years. The Traikūṭakas (whose era starts with A.D. 249) were therefore successors of the ten Ābhīras mentioned by the Purāṇas as being the successors of the Śātavāhanas; the Ābhīra power would therefore have been established in the Nāsik region about A.D. 183.[2] The earliest mention of this people is in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali.[3] Ptolemy refers to their country (Abiria) and places

[1] *BMCAWK.* p. xc
[2] For another view see ch. xi
[3] Kielhorn's ed. I p. 252

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it between the Indus delta and Kāthiāwār. They first sprang into prominence as hereditary officers under the Western Kshatrapas. Ābhīra Rudrabhūti was a general (*senāpati*) under Rudrasiṁha I (Śaka 103, i.e., A.D. 181). The founder and the only member of the Ābhīra dynasty known from epigraphs is *rājan* Māḍhariputra Iśvarasena, son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta. The Nāsik inscription dated in the ninth year of his reign is in perfect Sanskrit, but the mode of dating is Śātavāhana.

Svāmi-Sakasena: The successor of Siri-Yaña was Māḍhariputa Svāmi Sakasena. But for the find of the lion coins from the Āndhradeśa (Krishna and Godavari districts) bearing the legends *Siri-Saka Sada* and elephant coins in the Akola hoard with the legends *Saka Sātakaṇi*, the inclusion Māḍhariputa Svāmi Sakasena's name in the Śātavāhana line would have been difficult; for the name, while foreign to the restricted and peculiar nomenclature of the Śātavāhanas, is nearer to that of the Ābhīra king just mentioned, and though the dating of the Kaṇheri inscriptions[1] is in the Śātavāhana style, the usual Śātavāhana honorific prefix *siri* is absent.

Vijaya, whose reign was very short (six years), is known to us only from the Purāṇas and from four coins in the Akola hoard. His son and successor Vāsiṭhiputa Siri Chaḍa Sātakaṇi reigned for ten years. An inscription dated in the second year of his reign comes from Kaliṅga (Kodavolu near Pithapuram in the Godavari district).[2] It records a donation by an *amacha* named Bhūmika. Lead coins of this king bearing horse and *chaitya* devices have been picked up in the Godavari and Krishna districts. Though no coin of Siri-Chaḍa has been found in the Akola and Chanda hoards, it is certain that he ruled over the northern provinces (in Madhya Pradesh); for his immediate successor and the last of the main line, Puḷumāyi IV was still ruling over them. Though no trace of Puḷumāyi's rule is found in Āndhradeśa, it undoubtedly formed part of his dominions, seeing that an inscription appertaining to him has been found as far south as the Bellary district,[3] and his coins are included in the Akola hoard. The inscription, dated in the eighth year of his reign, is found in a place between Myakadoni and Chinnakaḍabūru in the Adoni Taluq of Bellary district. It records the construction of a tank by a certain householder, resident in Vepura, under *gāmika* Kumāradatta. The village is said to have been situated in the Sātavāhani-hāra which was a part of the *Janapada* under Mahāsenāpati Khaṁdanāga. On the coins in the Akola hoard the king's name is spelt as Pulahamavi.

FALL

The story of the fall of the empire is much better documented now than it was three decades ago. We now have the Akola hoard of Śātavāhana coins and numerous inscriptions of the Ikshvākus from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

[1] Lūders, *List* nos, 1001-2
[2] Ibid. 1341; correction in *Early History of the Andhra Country* p. 71 *n.* 107
[3] *El.* XIV p. 151

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In the light of these finds the disruption of the empire can be traced in some detail throughout its parts. It seems to have been partitioned among the five minor dynasties. A collateral line came to hold sway over the northern provinces. In the west the Ābhīras very early appropriated the territory around Nāsik; the Ikshvākus carved out for themselves a kingdom in the eastern (Krishna-Guntur) region; the Chuṭus took possession of the south-western parts and extended their power in the north and east; and the Pallavas filled the political vacuum in the south-eastern tracts. The Purāṇas, even in their present distorted and sketchy form, corroborate and supplement the picture drawn from inscriptions and coins. They say: 'When the kingdom of the Āndhras has come to an end there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants: 7 Āndhras, and 10 Ābhīra kings; also 7 Gardabhins and 18 Śakas . . . The Śrīpārvatīya Āndhras will endure 52 years, the 10 Ābhīra kings 67 years, the 7 Gardabhins will enjoy the earth for 72 years, the 18 Śakas 183 years'.[1]

Coins have disclosed the names of three kings of the Vidarbha line of Śātavāhanas. They succeeded the imperial Śātavāhanas in their northern provinces which roughly corresponded to the southern part of modern Madhya Pradesh. The three kings are Karṇa (or Kaṇha), Kuṁbha, and Ruḍa Sātakaṇi. As Ruḍa Sātakaṇi seems to have ruled over the northern provinces and parts of Āndhradeśa, it is better to consider him as preceding Karṇa and Kuṁbha Śātakarṇi; and the long verticals and the reascent of the letters on the Kuṁbha coin place its striker below Karṇa.

In the Krishna-Guntur region Puḷumāyi IV was succeeded by Sivamaka Sada. But even this tattered remnant of Śātavāhana power was swept away by the Śrīpārvatīya Āndhras (or Ikshvākus), whose ancestors had been feudatories (*mahātalavaras* and *mahāsenāpatis*) under the Śātavāhanas.

The Chuṭus of Banavāsi (capital of Kuntala) were the most powerful of the immediate successors of the Śātavāhanas. Some scholars consider Chuṭu-kula to be a branch of the Śātavāhana-kula merely on the strength of a common surname. But the Sātakaṇi surname is borne even by a *mahāraṭhi* in the Chitaldrug region (Sadakana Kaḷalāya mahāraṭhi). It is, however, certain that the Chuṭu and Śātavāhana families were connected by matrimonial ties, and that the ancestors of the Chuṭu kings were feudatories of the Śātavāhanas (*mahāraṭhis* and *mahābhojas*). Large lead coins from Karwar bearing the legends *raño Chuṭukulānaṁdasa* are doubtless to be referred to the earlier and feudatory members of this dynasty. On the basis of certain identifications, which are by no means beyond doubt, Rapson makes out three generations and two reigns of the Chuṭus. 'The two members of this family who are known to have reigned are Hāritīputra Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi and his grandson Hāritīputra Śiva (skanda)-varman.'[2] If the donors of the Kaṇheri

[1] *DKA.* p. 72

[2] *BMCAWK.* p. xliii

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and the Banavasi inscriptions of Hāritīputra Vishṇukaḍa Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi are the same, we may surmise that the Chuṭu power reached as far north as Kaṇheri; and if the large lead coins from the Cuddappah and Anantapur districts bearing the legends Hāritī[1] can be attributed to the Chuṭus, their kingdom may be supposed to have extended far towards the east as well.

THE PURĀṆIC LIST OF ANDHRA (ŚĀTAVĀHANA) KINGS

Modified in the light of Inscriptions and Coins

No.	Name	Mentioned also in		Regnal period
1.	Āndhra Simuka	I.L.		23
2.	Kṛishṇa	I		18
3.	Śrī Śātakarṇi	I. C.		10
4.	Pūrṇotsaṅga			18
5.	Skandastaṁbhi			18
6.	Śātakarṇi	I. C.		56
7.	Laṁbodara	C (?)		18
8.	Āpīlaka	C		12
9.	Meghasvāti			18
10.	Svāti			18
11.	Skanda Svāti			7
12.	Mṛigendra Śātakarṇi			3
13.	Kuntala Śātakarṇi	L		8
14.	Śātakarṇi			1
15.	Puḷumāyi (Pulomavi)			36
16.	Arishṭakarṇa			25
17.	Hāla	L		5
18.	Maṇḍalaka			5
19.	Purīndrasena			5
20.	Sundara Śātakarṇi	L		1
21.	Chakora Śātakarṇi			6 months
22.	Śiva Svāti			28
23.	Gautamīputra	I. C. L.		21
24.	Puḷumāyi (Pulomā)	I. C. L.		28
25.	Śrī Śātakarṇi	I. C.		29
26.	Śiva Śrī (Puḷumāyi)	I. C.		7
27.	Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi			3
28.	Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi	I. C. L.		29
29.	(Māḍharīputra Śakasena)	I. C.	(not in any *Purāṇa*)	[10]

[1] Ibid. pp. liii, lxxxi, 25

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No.	Name	Mentioned also in	Regnal period
30.	Vijaya	C.	6
31.	Śrī Chaṇḍa Śātakarṇi	I. C.	10
32.	Puḷumāyi	I. C.	7

I=Inscription C=Coins L=Literature

As the Purāṇas tell us that there were thirty kings, two names have to be deleted from this list of early Śātavāhana kings. No. 5 bears a name unfamiliar to the peculiar and restricted nomenclature of the Śātavāhanas and Svāti (no. 10) appears to be a repetition made simply in order to fill a gap.

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CHAPTER XI

THE DECCAN AFTER THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS. *c.* A. D. 200-300

1. *THE EARLY VĀKĀṬAKAS*

THE decline and dismemberment of the Śātavāhana empire followed the death of Yajña Śātakarṇi which took place about the beginning of the third century A.D. Scions of the imperial family were ruling in different parts of the empire in the early part of that century; but these branches were gradually extirpated by new powers, many of which had originally owed allegiance to the Śātavāhanas. Wide regions of Madhya Pradesh, that appear to have been under a branch of the imperial family in the early half of the third century, came later under the occupation of the Vākāṭakas who were the dominant power holding sway over considerable parts of the Deccan, often with portions of Central India, in the period between the fall of the Śātavāhanas and the rise of the Chālukyas.

The ancestry and original home of Vindhyaśakti, founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, are wrapped in obscurity. His name appears to associate him with the Vindhyan region, while the name of his family is possibly derived from that of a locality or person called Vakāṭa or Vākāṭa. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*[1] refers to Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravīra (Pravarasena I of the inscriptions) and the latter's four sons who are said to have become kings. Reference is also made to the end of Vindhyaka rule possibly pointing to the extirpation of the Vākāṭakas from Central India by the Guptas. Pravīra or Pravarasena I is further said to have ruled for sixty years at the city of Kāñchanakā (or at Purikā and at Chanakā) and to have performed a number of *vājapeya* or *vājimedha* (*aśvamedha*) sacrifices. The Vākāṭakas are mentioned in association with the Kailakilas, who are called Yavanas or Vṛishas in the Purāṇas and may have been foreigners related to the Śakas of Western India and possibly also to the Nāgas of Vidiśā. While, however, Vindhyaśakti is placed after the Kailakilas, the Nāgas are mentioned between Vindhyaśakti and his son Pravīra, and the relation between Pravīra and king Śiśuka of Purikā, mentioned immediately before him, is not specified.

It is not easy to determine the value of most of the Purāṇic details about the Vākāṭakas that have been quoted above. It may be suggested on their basis that the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty flourished in the country about Eastern Malwa when the authority of the Śakas of Western India was declining in that region owing to the rise of powers like the Nāgas of Vidiśā and semi-independent Śaka chiefs such as Śrīdharavarman of

[1] Ch. 99, v. 364ff; cf. Pargiter, *DKA.* p. 49

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the Sanchi inscription.[1] He may be supposed to have later extended his power across the Vindhyas at the expense of the later Śātavāhanas. It must, however, be remembered that most of the records of his descendants have been discovered in Madhya Pradesh and Berar in the Deccan, while only a few epigraphs of one of their feudatories have been found in Bundelkhand in Central India.[2] Epigraphic evidence shows that the Vākāṭakas had their headquarters in the Nagpur district of Madhya Pradesh and the Akola district of Berar, and that Bundelkhand was governed through a viceroy or feudatory.[3] This may suggest that Vindhyaśakti was a feudatory of the later Śātavāhanas of Vidarbha, becoming powerful with the decline of his masters, and that he and his son extended Vākāṭaka power over Central India. One cannot, however, be definite on this point as the possibility of the transference of the Vākāṭaka capital to the Deccan with the advance of the Guptas in Central India in the fourth century is not entirely precluded.

It is sometimes suggested that the origin of the Vākāṭaka dynasty should be traced in the Deccan, because Vākāṭaka occurs in one of the Amarāvatī inscriptions as the name of a pilgrim who visited the Buddhist establishments at Amarāvatī about the third century A.D.[4] But there is no evidence to show that the personal name of this pilgrim had anything to do with the dynastic appellation of the Vākāṭakas and that the home of the pilgrim was actually in the Deccan. There is likewise little evidence to support the conjecture that the Vākāṭakas derived their name from Bījnaur-Bāgāt in Bundelkhand and that the Purāṇic Kailakilas lived near the modern Kilakila river in the Panna State.[5]

The charters of the Vākāṭaka kings are dated in regnal years and not according to any era. The theory that the era of A.D. 248-49 was founded by them is not supported by any evidence.[6] The date of the foundation of the dynasty has therefore to be determined from other evidences.[7] The historical sections of the Purāṇas are usually ascribed to the second quarter of the fourth century, as they speak of no Gupta king by name and refer to Gupta rule only over Prayāga-on-the-Ganges, Sāketa, and Magadha, indicating a date earlier than the subjugation of wide areas of northern India by Samudragupta about the third quarter of the same century. The same Purāṇic accounts, as already observed, not only refer to Vindhyaśakti, his son and grandsons, but possibly also to the end of Vākāṭaka rule over parts of Central India. This seems to indicate that Vindhyaśakti and his son ended their rule considerably before the middle of the

[1] Cf. *SI.* pp. 180ff. Pargiter, *DKA.* p. 49; Raychaudhuri, *PHAI.*[4] p. 460

[2] Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1709. 1710 etc.

[3] *EI.* XXVI p. 137; XVII pp. 13 ff; *CII.* III p. 234
EI. XV no. 13 (27) p. 267. The palaeography of this record resembles that of the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus of the Krishna-Guntur region, who ruled in the third century. It seems, however, that the pilgrim bore the same name as the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, if it was named actually after a person and not a locality.

[5] Cf. Jayaswal. *Hist. Ind.* pp. 66-68; see vol. III ch. viii of this history for further discussion of the origin.

[6] Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 108-11

[7] Cf. *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, pp. 87-90 and notes

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fourth century, and that the former possibly reigned in the second half of the third century. It is further known that Prithivīsheṇa I, great-great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti, was more or less a contemporary of Samudragupta whose son Chandragupta II was the father-in-law of Rudrasena II, son of Pṛithivīsheṇa I.[1] The reign of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithivīsheṇa I may therefore be assigned roughly to the third quarter of the fourth century and counting, according to the usual practice, twenty-five years to a generation, his great-great-grandfather Vindhyaśakti may be assigned to the corresponding quarter of the previous century. A late reference to the Vākāṭakas is noticed in the Vishṇukuṇḍin records according to which Mādhavavarman I of that dynasty, who ruled in the sixth century, married a Vākāṭaka princess.[2] It is also to be noted that the Chālukyas who began to extend their power in the later half of the sixth century did not encounter Vākāṭaka opposition. The Vākāṭakas are therefore known to have ruled from the third to the middle of the sixth century.

Vindhyaśakti, founder of the Vākāṭaka family, was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gotra*. No record of his reign has so far been discovered although he is described in the Ajaṇṭā inscription[3] of Harisheṇa as a *dvija* and as a banner of the Vākāṭaka family. No royal title is used in connection with his name in the Ajaṇṭā record; but its fragmentary character renders it uncertain whether he ruled without royal titles like Pushyamitra Śuṅga. Little is known about the extent of Vindhyaśakti's dominions; but he seems to have been a powerful king who extended his sway at the expense of his neighbours.

Vindhyaśakti was succeeded by his son Pravarasena I, whose long reign seems to have begun in the third century. None of his own inscriptions has so far been discovered; but his achievements have been described in most of the records of his descendants. He was the real founder of the family's greatness. He is styled *samrāṭ*, or universal monarch, in some records. The Purāṇic account assigning to him a reign of sixty years and the performance of Vedic sacrifices seems to be based on fact. He is described in the records of the family as a performer of numerous sacrifices including four *aśvamedhas*.[4] The celebration of the *aśvamedhas* was probably in commemoration of the recent foundation of the Vākāṭaka empire on the ruins of the earlier sovereignty of the Śātavāhanas. There is no doubt that Pravarasena I was a great champion of the Brahmanical religion. He secured his position in the north by contracting a matrimonial alliance with the powerful Nāga king Bhavanāga of the Bhāraśiva family of Central India. Bhavanāga's daughter is known to have been married to Gautamīputra, a son of Pravarasena I.[5] It is not improbable that Pravarasena extended his power in Central India at the expense of the Bhāraśivas whom he had defeated and that his celebration of the *aśvamedha*

[1] Loc. cit.; *EI.* xv. pp. 41 ff.
[2] *Suc. Sat.*, p. 135; *EI.* IV pp. 196-7. Some scholars assign the Vishṇukuṇḍin King to the fifth century.
[3] *HAS.* XIV
[4] Basim Pl. *EI.* XXVI pp. 137 ff.
[5] *CII.* III p. 237

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was in imitation of the ten *aśvamedhas* performed by the Bhāraśivas who had conquered the whole land from Malwa to the Bhāgīrathī. Pravarasena I probably died in the first quarter of the fourth century, In regard to his reign it may be pointed out that theories[1] attributing to the early Vākāṭakas an all-India empire and representing them as the successors of the Kushāṇas are based on little evidence. The history of Pravarasena's successors, who at least from the days of Rudrasena II became subordinate allies of the Guptas, will be treated in the next volume.

2. *THE ĀBHĪRAS*

The Ābhīras were possibly a foreign people who entered India in the train of the Śakas from a region in the neighbourhood of eastern Irān. Their name reminds one of Abiravan[2] between Herāt and Kandahār. There were different Ābhīra settlements in many parts of Western and Central India. Although there is an Ahirwar[3] or Ābhīravāṭa in Eastern Malwa, literary evidence usually locates the Ābhīras in the Aparānta or western division of India. They are associated with the Śūdras (placed by the Greeks in Northern Sind)[4] and both the peoples are often located about the place wnere the river Sarasvatī lost itself in the Rajputana desert.[5] Aberia or Abiria, i.e. the Ābhīra country, has been placed by the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (sec. 41) and Ptolemy's *Geography* (vii, 1,55) about South-Western Rajputana, between the lower Indus valley and Kāthiāwār. The kingdom of the Ābhīras, mentioned in the Purāṇas among the successors of the Śātavāhanas, lay in the north-western region of the Deccan possibly including Northern Konkan, i.e. Aparānta in the narrow sense of the term.

The Ābhīras are sometimes found to have been officers of the Śaka rulers of Western India. An inscription[6] of A.D. 181 found at Guṇḍa in Northern Kāthiāwār speaks of a tank dug by the Ābhīra general Rudrabhūti, son of the general Bāpaka, during the reign of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha I. Coins[7] of a Mahākshatrapa named Iśvaradatta, dated in his first and second regnal years, show that he was an adventurer who was in temporary possession of the major part of the Śaka territories for about two years. This Mahākshatrapa's name which does not resemble any in the Śaka genealogy, and the independent way of dating the coins show that he was not a Śaka, though the suggestion that he was an Ābhīra is not supported by evidence. His rule of about two years is assigned by Rapson to the period A.D. 237-39 but by Bhandarkar, more plausibly, to A.D. 188-90.[8]

[1] Cf. Jayaswal, op. cit., pp. 82-94
[2] Cf. *JNSI.* VI p. 94
[3] *PHAI.*[4] p. 458; *JRAS.* 1897, p 891
[4] *PHAI.*[4] p. 208
[5] *Suc. Sat.*, p. 242
[6] *EI.* XVI p. 235
[7] Rapson, *BMCAWK.* pp. cxxiv ff.; clxii
[8] *ASIAR.* 1913, pp 227-30

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Only one Ābhīra king is known, who may be regarded as a successor of the Śātavāhanas and the Śakas of Western India. This is Rājā Māṭharīputra Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, mentioned in a Nāsik inscription[1] of the ninth year of his reign. The record speaks of two investments of 1000 and 500 *kārshāpaṇas* in the trade-guilds of Govardhana (old Nāsik) for the purpose of providing medicines for the sick among the Buddhist monks residing at the monastery on Mount Triraśmi. The benefactress was the Śakānī Vishṇudattā, daughter of Śaka Agnivarman, wife of the *Gaṇapaka* Rebhila, and mother of the *Gaṇapaka* Viśvavarman. From the fact that Śivadatta, father of king Īśvarasena, is credited with no royal title, Īśvarasena appears to have been the founder of the Ābhīra royal family in the north-western part of the Deccan. He flourished some time after the death of Yajña Śātakarṇi probably about the middle of the third century. It is thus possible to think that he was the founder of the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi era of A.D. 248-49. Little is known about Īśvarasena's successors, although the Purāṇas appear to speak of ten Ābhīra kings ruling for about sixty-seven years.[2]

The Nāsik region in Northern Mahārāshṭra certainly formed a part of the dominions of Ābhīra Īśvarasena; but the actual extent of his kingdom cannot be determined. If the era of A.D. 248-49 was really founded by this king, the Ābhīras may be supposed to have extended their power over Aparānta (Northern Konkan) and Lāṭa (Broach-Nausari region of Gujarat) where the era is known to have been in use in the fifth century. The Kalachuris, originally of the Māhishmatī region on the Narmadā,[3] possibly used the era after their conquest of areas formerly belonging to the Ābhīra kingdom.

The Ābhīra kings continued to reign as late as the middle of the fourth century when they came into conflict with Mayūraśarman founder of the Kadamba family of Banavāsi. The reference in the Chandravalli inscription[4] to Mayūraśarman's fight with the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas points to the separate existence of the principality of the latter people, who possibly carved out a kingdom, at the expense of the Ābhīras, in Northern Konkan. The Traikūṭakas, whose name is derived from that of the Trikūṭa hill in Aparānta, were possibly a branch of the Ābhīras. They appear to have later appropriated most of the territories of the Ābhīras. It is uncertain whether the Ābhīras mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription[5] as a people subdued by Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century, were those of the North-Western Deccan. The reference in this case may be to some other principality of the Ābhīras of Central or Western India.

[1] Rapson, op. cit., pp. lxii-iii; *EI.* VIII p. 88

[2] *DKA.* p. 45

[3] The Kalachuris were probably foreigners who entered India in the train of the Hūṇas. Their claim to descent from the ancient Haihayas of the district round Māhishmatī in the Narmadā valley seems to point to the area where they settled.

[4] *MAR.* 1929, p. 50. The genuineness of the record has been questioned, (*NHIP.* VI p 238), but we have no doubt about it.

[5] *CII.* III pp. 1 ff.

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It is often believed[1] that the so-called Kalachuri or Chedi era was in use in different parts of India even in early times. There is, however, no evidence to prove its use in the early period anywhere outside the territories originally held by the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas. The Kalachuris carried its use to Central India at a later date.

3. THE BODHIS

Coins[2] bearing the hill symbol like the issues of the Śakas of Western India, prove that there ruled certain kings of the Bodhi dynasty about the third century A.D. probably somewhere in the north-western part of the Deccan. Some coins bear the name of Bodhi or Śrībodhi who may have been the founder of the dynasty. It is possible that the name indicates the Bodhi tree, and this would suggest that the Bodhis were Buddhists in faith. Other rulers of the family were Śivabodhi, Chandrabodhi (Śrīchandrabodhi) and Vīrabodhi (Vīrabodhidatta). The Bodhis may have been successors of the Śakas and the Śātavāhanas; but nothing is known either about their relation to their contemporaries or about the end of the dynasty.

4. THE IKSHVĀKUS

The main branch of the Śātavāhana family was ruling in the country round about the mouths of the river Kṛishṇā as late as the end of the first quarter of the third century, at which date it was ousted from that region by the Ikshvākus who must originally have been feudatories of the Śātavāhanas. Whether these Ikshvākus were a branch of the celebrated Ikshvāku family of Ayodhyā cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.[3]

The founder of the Ikshvāku dynasty of the Āndhra country was king Śāntamūla (Chāṁtamūla) who appears to have ruled in the second quarter of the third century. He performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice possibly to signalise the establishment of Ikshvāku sovereignty in the heart of the Āndhra country and the overthrow of the Śātavāhanas. Little is known of the events of the reign of Śāntamūla or of the extent of his dominions. The Ikshvākus, who are probably called Śrīpārvatīya Āndhras in the Purāṇas, appear to have ruled from the city of Vijayapurī in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa valley of the Nallamalai range which was known in early times as Śrīparvata. Śāntamūla was a staunch follower of the Brahmanical faith and was specially devoted to Svāmi-Mahāsena i.e. Skanda-Kārttikeya. Besides the *aśvamedha*, he performed some other Vedic sacrifices including the *vājapeya*. The revival of Brahmanism under Śāntamūla after the fall of the later Śātavāhanas, who probably had Buddhist

[1] Cf. Jayaswal, loc cit; Bhandarkar, *List*, pp. 159 ff.
[2] Rapson, *BMCAWK*. pp 207 ff.
[3] Cf. *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 9 ff.; *NHIP*. VI pp. 64 ff.

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leanings, was short-lived, for his immediate successors repudiated his religious policy and again leaned towards Buddhism.

A sister of Śāntamūla was married to a *mahāsenāpati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of the Pūkīya family which possibly flourished in the Pūṅgi district on the banks of the Guṇḍlakammā river.[1] The king's daughter Aṭavī-Śāntiśrī was given in marriage to a *mahāsenāpati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of the Dhanaka family. The Ikshvākus were also matrimonially related to the Hiraṇyakas, who possibly came from the Hiraṇyarāshṭra corresponding roughly to the Jammalamadugu taluk of the Cuddapah district.

King Śāntamūla I was succeeded by his son Vīrapurushadatta who ruled at least up to his twentieth regnal year about the third quarter of the third century. The Ikshvākus favoured cross-cousin marriages, a practice which is prescribed for the people of the Deccan by such an early authority as Baudhāyana (*circa* fifth century B.C.)[2] and is still prevalent in the Deccan to-day. No less than three of Vīrapurushadatta's queens were the daughters of his father's sisters. Another queen of this king was possibly Rudradhara-bhaṭṭārikā who was the daughter of the Mahārajā of Ujjain. The ruler of Ujjain thus related to Vīrapurushadatta was probably the contemporary Śaka Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena II (*c.* A. D. 255-77) of Western India. A daughter of the Ikshvāku king was given in marriage to the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa, probably a ruler of the Chuṭu-Śātakarṇi family of Banavāsi. The position of the Ikshvāku ruling house was certainly strengthened by these matrimonial alliances.

No official record of Vīrapurushadatta has so far been discovered. Some private votive records of the pious men and women who visited the Buddhist establishments at Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Jagayyapeṭa during Vīrapurushadatta's reign have been found. Most of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions record the donations made by certain ladies of the king's family in favour of the Great Monastery near Vijayapurī. These ladies were all Buddhists; but whether Vīrapurushadatta and his son, another king mentioned in these records, were themselves followers of the Buddhist faith cannot be determined. It should be noted, however, that neither of these two kings claims, like Śāntamūla, to have been favoured by the god Mahāsena or to have celebrated any Vedic sacrifice.

Vīrāpurushadatta was succeeded by his son Ehuvula-Śāntamūla who ruled at least for eleven years. The Gurzala inscription[3] speaks of a king named Ruḷupurushadatta whose name as well as the findspot and palaeography of the record appears to connect him with the Ikshvāku king Vīrapurushadatta. It is not implausible to suppose that Ruḷupurusadatta was the successor of Ehuvula-Śāntamūla; but the independent rule of the Ikshvākus in the Kṛishṇā-Guṇṭūr region appears to have been extirpated by the Pallavas of Kāñchī about the end of the third century. The reigns of both Ehuvula-Śāntamūla and Ruḷupurushadatta may thus

[1] Krishnarao, *EDA.* p. 45
[2] *Suc. Sat.*, p. 13.
[3] *EI.* xxvi pp.1 23 ff; *NHIP.* vi p 67-n. 3

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be roughly assigned to the last quarter of that century. The Mayidavolu grant[1] of the Pallava crownprince Śivaskanda-varman records his order to the Pallava viceroy of Āndhrāpatha stationed at the city of Dhānyākaṭaka in the present Amarāvatī-Dharaṇikoṭa area in the Guntur district. The opinions of scholars differ about the date of Śivaskanda-varman and his father, whose name is not definitely known[2] but during whose reign the Mayidavolu charter seems to have been issued. The present writer, however, thinks it reasonable to assign Śivaskanda-varman to about the first quarter of the fourth century and the Pallava occupation of the heart of the Āndhra country to about the end of the previous century.[3] It is not impossible that the Pallava king Siṁhavarman recently known from an early inscription[4] discovered in the Guntur district, was really the father of Śivaskanda-varman.

The Ikshvākus continued to flourish as local rulers, possibly of the Guntur region, for centuries after. They are mentioned in a record[5] of the Kekayas of Mysore who claim to have contracted a matrimonial alliance with the Ikshvākus at some time in the fifth century. Vague references to these Ikshvākus of the Āndhra country may be traced here and there in a late Kannaḍa poem entitled *Dharmāmṛita*.[6]

5. *THE BṚIHATPHALĀYANAS* (Pithunda)

About the middle of the second century A.D., when the Greek geographer Ptolemy wrote his *Geography*, the people called Maisôloi, apparently inhabiting the present Masulipatam area of the Krishna district, had for their metropolis the city of Pitundra.[7] The city seems to be the same as the Pithuḍa mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription[8] as having been devastated by king Khāravela of Kaliṅga in the first century B. C. Towards the end of the third century A.D. the same region is found to have been held by rulers of the Bṛihatphalāyana dynasty, who probably had their headquarters at the old city of Pitundra-Pithuḍa.

A Rājā or Mahārāja named Jayavarman is the only known member of the Bṛihatphalāyana royal family. He issued the Kondamudi grant[9] in his tenth regnal year from his camp at Kudūra in the form of an order to the governor of the Kudūra district to give a piece of land to certain Brāhmaṇas. The city of Kudūra, which is believed by some scholars to have been the capital of Jayavarman Bṛihatphalāyana,[10] is usually identified with Gūḍūru near Masulipatam, although its identification with

[1] *EI.* VI pp. 86 ff.
[2] *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 183-4; cf. pp. 166-7; cf. however *NHIP.* VI pp. 229-35. I take Śivaskanda as the name (cf. modern Tamil names like Śivashaṇmukham) and cannot accept the theory that *śiva* at the beginning of the name is an honorific.
[3] *Suc. Sat.*, loc. cit.
[4] *JAHC.* II pp. 68-9
[5] *Suc. Sat.*, p. 15; *EC.* XI Dāvaṇagere 161
[6] Krishnarao, op. cit., p. 122
[7] *Suc. Sat.*, p. 46 ff.
[8] *EI.* XX pp. 72 ff.
[9] *EI.* VI p. 315
[10] Cf. Dubreuil, *AHD.* pp. 84-5; *EI.* VI p. 315.

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Kōḍūru near Ghaṇṭaśāla (ancient Kaṇṭakaśaila or Kaṇṭakaśaula; Greek *Kantakassulos*) has also been suggested.[1]

The history of the Bṛihatphalāyanas before and after the reign of Jayavarman is quite dark and nothing is known about their relations with the Śātavāhanas, Ikshvākus and Pallavas. We may surmise that the earlier members of the family acknowledged the suzerainty of the later Śātavāhanas and their Ikshvāku successors. Towards the end of the third century, Jayavarman Bṛihatphalāyana appears to have ruled for some time as an independent monarch after shaking off the yoke of the Ikshvākus. Very soon the Ikshvākus and possibly also the Bṛihatphalāyans were subdued by the Pallavas of Kāñchī who are known to have extended their power about that time over Āndhrāpatha and Kuntala.

6. *THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS AND THEIR FEUDATORIES IN KUNTALA*

Indian literary traditions appear to speak of a branch of the Śātavāhana family ruling in the Kuntala country which comprised the North Kanara district and parts of Mysore, Belgaum, and Dharwar.[2] A king of Kuntala named Śātavāhana is mentioned in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* by Rājaśekhara, while the same ruler or a second of the same name is possibly called Kuntala-Śātakarṇi in the Purāṇas as well as in Vātsyayāna's *Kāmasūtra*.[3] The Purāṇic lists[4] make Kuntala-Śātakarṇi a predecessor of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, while a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* explains the name as being due to the king's birth in the Kuntala country.[5] The name of Hāla, who is called 'Kuntala' or 'the lord of Kuntala' in literary traditions and is credited with the authorship of the celebrated Prākṛit anthology entitled *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, is a Prākṛit corruption of *Sāta*; cf. *Sātavāhana* taking the Prākṛit from *Sālāhaṇa*. Hāla is sometimes identified with Kuntala-Śātakarṇi although the two are separately mentioned in the Purāṇas.[6]

When precisely the Śātavāhans extended their power over Kuntala is difficult to determine. The Nāsik *praśasti* shows that this territory formed no part of the Śātavāhana dominions even during the reign of the great Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.[7] The earliest Śātavāhana record to the south of the Kṛishṇā belongs to the time of the next king Vāsishṭhīputra Pulumāvi.[8] It was probably this ruler who conquered the trans-Kṛishṇā districts. It is not impossible that Pulumāvi's lieutenants established themselves in Kuntala in the heart of the Kanarese country in the wake of his southern expeditions.

[1] Krishnarao, op. cit., pp 320-1
[2] *Suc. Sat.*, pp 215 ff *IHQ.* xxiii pp 65-8
[3] *PHAI.*[4] pp. 339-40
[4] Rapson, op. cit., p. lxvi
[5] *PHAI.*[4] loc. cit.
[6] Cf. Rapson, loc. cit.,
[7] *EI.* viii pp. 60 ff. No. 2. There is no reason to believe that Vaijayantī (Banavāsi) formed a part of Gautamīputra's dominions (*SI.* p. 191 *n.* 3). *Contra* p. *ante*
[8] *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 142 ff.

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There is epigraphic evidence of the rule of kings who called themselves 'delighters of the Chuṭukula' in South-Western Deccan before the rise of the Kadambas.[1] They were closely connected with the Mahāraṭhis or Mahārāshṭrins (*rāshṭrikas* of the earlier epoch) and the Mahābhojas (*bhojakas* of the earlier period) who appear to have been feudatories of the Śātavāhanas, although they may have claimed Śātavāhana blood. Coins bearing the designations *Chuṭukaḍānanda* and *Muḍānanda* have been discovered at Karwar[2] and are connected by their type with those of Sadakaṇa (Śātakarṇi) Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi who was probably a semi-independent governor of the Śātavāhanas in the Mysore region. *Chuṭukaḍānanda*, which seems to mean 'delighter of a place called Chutukaṭa' may be the same as or at least associated with *Chuṭukulānanda* of the inscriptions.[3] It is not impossible to think that the semi-independent Śātavāhana governors of the Kuntala region were overthrown by the Muḍānandas when the power of the Śātavāhanas declined after Yajña Śātakarṇi and that the Muḍānandas were ousted by the Chuṭukulānandas.

The Banavāsi inscription[4] of king Hāritīputra Vishṇukaḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi has been palaeographically assigned to the age of Yajña Śātakarṇi, i. e. to about A. D. 200. It is better, however, to refer it to the first half of the third century, as its palaeography resembles that of the Ikshvāku inscriptions. The word Vishṇukaḍa or Vishṇukaṭa like Chuṭukaṭa, may have indicated a locality. It is, however, not possible to determine whether *Vishṇukaṭa-Chuṭukula* actually means the Vishṇukaṭa branch of the Chuṭu family and whether the Chuṭus had their headquarters first at Chuṭukaṭa and later at Vishṇukaṭa. The above record speaks of a Mahābhojī (i. e. a Mahābhoja's wife), who was a Mahārāja's daughter, and of her son Śivaskandanāgaśrī. Rapson identifies the lady and her son with Nagamūlā (Nāgamūlanikā) who was the wife of a Mahāraṭhi and the daughter of a Mahābhojī and a Mahārāja, and her son Skandanāga Sātaka[5] of a Kaṇheri inscription.[6] It is further supposed that the name of Vishṇukaḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi occupied the damaged initial portion of the Kaṇheri inscription just as in the Banavāsi epigraph. But the identification of the two entirely different names, Śivaskandanāgaśrī and Skandanāga Śātaka, is extremely doubtful. Even if it be suggested that they were two sons of the daughter of Vishṇukaḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi, the Chuṭu occupation of the Kaṇheri region is not thereby proved, for the connection of the queen and prince with Kaṇheri can be differently explained. The identification of either of these two persons with king Śivaskanda-varman of Vaijayantī (Banavāsi), capital of Kuntala, as suggested by Rapson,

[1] Rapson. op. cit., pp. liii-iv; *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 219 ff.
[2] Rapson, op. cit., pp. 59-60; also lxxxiii ff.
[3] The reading intended for Rapson's *chuṭukaḍānanda* may have actually been *chuṭukuḍānanda* (for *chuṭukulānanda*). Cf. notes on *Prāk. Prak.* ii, 23 in Sircar, *Gram. Prak Lang* p. 18
[4] *IA.* 1885, p. 331; Rapson, op. cit., pp. liii-iv
[5] *Śāta* or *Śātaka* is a contraction either of *Sātakarṇi* or of *Sātavāhana*.
[6] *ASWI.* v p. 86; Rapson, loc. cit.

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is also unwarranted. King Śivaskanda-varman and his predecessor (father ?) Vishṇukaḍḍa-Chuṭu-Śātakarṇi of the Malavalli inscription[1] flourished shortly before the Kadamba occupation of the Kuntala capital under Mayūraśarman, about the middle of the fourth century. Thus the Chuṭu ruler who issued the Malavalli record in his first regnal year possibly reigned about half a century after his namesake of the Banavāsi inscription. King Vishṇukaḍḍa-Chuṭu-Śātakarṇi II may have been a feudatory of the Pallava king Śivaskanda-varman and have named his successor after his overlord. This possibility is suggested by the practice of naming the heir after a ruler's suzerain as noticed in other families,[2] and by the fact that Mayūraśarman, founder of the Kadamba dynasty, is said to have obtained the feudatory state bounded by the Arabian Sea and the Preharā (i. e. the Malaprabhā or Malapraharā, or the Ghaṭaprabhā or Ghaṭapraharā) from the Pallava monarch of Kāñchī.[3]

7. *THE KURAS OF KOLHAPUR*

An interesting group of kings known from their coins found at Kolhapur are Vāsishṭhīputra Vilivāyakura, his successor Māḍharīputra Sivalakura, and the latter's successor Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura.[4] Rapson is inclined to take the expression *Kura* as a Prākṛit form of the Sanskrit *kula* ; but it seems to be the name of the family to which the three kings belonged. Some writers think that the kings known from the Kolhapur coins represent a branch of the Śātavāhana family, while others have made attempts to identify them with certain known members of that family.[5] There is, however, no evidence as yet to connect the Kolhapur kings with the Śātavāhanas. They appear to have been local rulers of the Kolhapur region and may perhaps be designated the Kuras of Kolhapur.

[1] Ibid. pl. .liv; *EC.* VII, sh. 263 p. 251
[2] Cf. *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 176-7, 248
[3] *SI.* I p. 453 *n.*1.
[4] Rapson. op. cit., pp. lxxxvi ff.
[5] Ibid. p. lxxxviii; see also p. 314 *ante.*

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CHAPTER XII

POLITICAL ORGANISATION (POST-MAURYAN)

NORTH INDIA

THE government of the Śuṅgas (or Baiṁbikas), who were political heirs of the Imperial Mauryas in the sovereignty of North India, was a continuation (as far as the scanty materials allow us to judge) of that of their predecessors, but with a much looser organisation. Pushyamitra, the founder of the dynasty, indeed continued unaccountably to call himself by his old official title of *senāpati*, although he twice asserted his claim to paramount sovereignty by the ancient Vedic token of performance of the horse-sacrifice. But his heirs and successors styled themselves *rājan* like the emperor Aśoka, although they gave up the honorific title *devānāṁ priya* adopted by the great Maurya.[1] If (as is indicated by a late literary tradition) Agnimitra acted as viceroy at Vidiśā in his father's lifetime, it would follow that the Maurya imperial practice of appointing Prince-Viceroys was still in vogue, with the significant addition of the royal title to their names. The viceroy at the provincial capital (and no doubt the king at his headquarters as well) was assisted by the traditional council of ministers known to Aśoka's time. It would further appear that the council under such a masterful ruler as Agnimitra helped mainly to register the king's decrees and carry them into effect.[2] We know the name of at least one Śuṅga feudatory, namely Dhanabhūti, who is commemorated in some votive inscriptions on the Bhārhut *stūpa* pillars and railings. As a characteristic feature of Śuṇga dominion it may be mentioned that local dynasties ruled in the great centres of Ayodhyā, Kauśāṁbī, Ahichchhatrā and Mathurā. These rulers struck coins in their own names and sometimes took the royal title. They must, therefore, have enjoyed a position little short of independence of the paramount power. Some of the kings are known to have been related by blood to the Śuṅgas. This kinship probably resulted in an allied group of Śuṅga kings so that Dhanabhūti, the feudatoy named above, could

[1] *Senāpati* Pushyamitra performer of double horse-sacrifice (*EI.* xx p. 54 f.); Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice (Patañjali on Pāṇini III. 2. 123); *senāpati* Pushyamitra writing to his son Agnimitra on completion of horse-sacrifice (*Malav.* Act. v); *senāpati* Pushyamitra ruling the kingdom as king (Pargiter, *DKA.* p. 70); *senānī* Pushyamitra (*HC.* VI); perhaps also *Harivaṁśa* III. 192. 40-1 (with emendation of Kāśyapa into Śuṅga, as suggested in *IHQ.* 1929, p. 405). Rājā Bhāgabhadra (*ASIAR.* 1908-09, p. 129 where by contrast the Greek king is styled mahārājā). For continuation of *devānāṁ priya* as honorific title see Patañjali on Pāṇ. v 3. 14.

[2] Agnimitra as Pushyamitra's viceroy at Vidiśā with the title of king, Agnimitra's *amātya-parishat* or *mantri-parishat* (*Mālav., passim*). The *sabhā* of Pushyamitra referred to by Patañjali on Pāṇ. I. 1. 68 may have been merely his court.

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properly date his record 'during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas'.[1]

In their system of central and provincial administration the Greek kings in India borrowed, with a few innovations, the practice of contemporary Hellenistic dynasties and especially of the Seleucids of Western Asia, of whom indeed they were an offshoot. The kings as a rule took the usual Greek royal title (*basileus*), but some of them chose to style themselves 'Great King', a title first assumed among Hellenistic kings by the Seleucid Antiochus III. The kings of the house of Euthydemus followed the Seleucid practice of sometimes appointing the heir-apparent as joint-king of the whole realm. Euthydemus, however, introduced a newer state-form in which the younger son of a king ruled a definite part of the kingdom as sub-king with the right of coining in his own name.[2] From a few references in the well-known Pāli work *Milindapañha*, it has been plausibly argued that king Menander had his council of ministers of the traditional Hellenistic type. Among other officials were the Greek moneyers whose monograms appeared on the coins.[3] It has recently been inferred from an analysis of the name-endings in Ptolemy's list of Indian provinces east of the Paropamisadae (Hindukush) that the Greeks in India organised their conquests in imitation of the Seleucidan eparchies (sub-divisions of satrapies), the only difference being that the provinces were not eparchies but full satrapies with governors responsible only to the king. These governors must have sometimes borne the Greek designations of *strategus* ('general') and *meridarkh* (governor of part of a satrapy), which were handed down to Śaka and Pahlava times. From figures of city-goddesses with mural crowns and titles in Prākṛit found on some of the coins it has been inferred that certain cities enjoyed a sort of quasi-autonomy under the rule of the Indo-Greek kings.[4] The Greek

[1] Lüders, *List*, nos. 687, 882 (inscrs. of Dhanabhūti and his wife). Ayodhyā : square cast coins with names of rulers, 2nd century B.C. (Allan, *BMCCAI.* pp. lxxxviii, 130-5), Kauśāmbī : die-struck coins with rulers' names, 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. (Allan, ibid. pp. xcvi 150 f.). Pañchāla (Ahichchhatrā) : struck coins with rulers' names from end of 3rd to end of 1st century B.C. (Allan, ibid. pp. cxvi-cxxi, 192-204). To the above we may add Dharmadeva, king of Kosala, sixth descendant of Pushyamitra (*EI.* xx p. 54 f. and *IHQ.* 1929, pp. 604-7), king Bahasatimitra in inscr. of the time of Udāka (Lüders, *List*, no. 904). The proposed identification of the 'Mitra' kings of Pañchāla with the Purāṇic list of Śuṅga kings is untenable (Allan, ibid. pp. cxx, cxxi)

[2] Examples of kings with the title 'Great king' : Eucratides and Hippostratus. Examples of joint reigns : Euthydemus II and afterwards Demetrius II, joint-king with their father Demetrius I; queen Agathocleia jointly with her son Strato I; Strato I jointly with his grandson Strato II (Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 37, 157-8 etc.). Examples of sub-kings; Antimachus sub-king under his father Euthydemus and subsequently under his brother Demetrius I; Demetrius II, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Apollodotus, sub-kings under Demetrius I; Antimachus II and others, sub-kings under Menander; sub-kings under Strato I (Tarn, op. cit., pp. 90, 157-8, 162, 230, 317, 319)

[3] Council of ministers (*Milindapañha*, pp. 4, 19,20 with Tarn's interpretation, op. cit., pp. 418-9). Monograms of Greek moneyers (Tarn, op. cit., App. I. pp. 437-41).

[4] Organisation of eparchies (Ptolemy VII 1. 42 & 55 with expln. by Tarn. op. cit., pp. 230-41). City-goddesses on coins (*CHI.* p. 575 and pl. vi. 10, pp. 590-1 and pl. vii. 36 etc.). For refs. to *strategus* and *meridarkh* of Śakas and Pahlavas see below.

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kings in India, however, unlike the Seleucids of Western Asia, failed to establish large settlements of their countrymen in cities and military colonies. Inscriptions and coins, on the other hand, introduce us to Indian or Indianised feudatory dynasties ruling in Mathurā and the Swat region. The great city of Ujjayinī, former seat of a Maurya viceroyalty, continued to strike a remarkably varied series of coins, although the coinage of its sister-city Taxila was stopped with the Greek conquest.[1]

As regards the policy of the Greek kings towards their Indian subjects it has recently been argued that Demetrius I's kingdom was a partnership of Greek and Indian, and that Menander's empire was essentially Indian with a small Greek ruling caste. But the arguments, set forth with much ingenuity and originality, tend only to prove that in contrast with the attitude of other Hellenistic kings towards their Asiatic subjects, the Greek kings in India conceded a qualified equality to Indians. It is true that Demetrius I, contrary to the practice of all Seleucid and Ptolemaic kings, introduced a bilingual coinage which was continued by his successors, while he, as well as his great successor Menander, selected Indian cities as their capitals. From the simultaneous occurrence of Greek and Indian devices on a series of Pantaleon's and Agathocles's coins it may further be inferred that they treated the Greek and Indian communities in their capital cities on the same level. But exception has rightly been taken to the inference drawn from the names of a few Yavana donors commemorated in West Indian cave inscriptions, namely that Demetrius, contrary to the corresponding Seleucid practice, admitted Indians to citizenship in his own city. The Kharoshṭhī letters on Greek coins might be the initials of Indian moneyers who were, as such, citizens of Greek cities. But these are admittedly limited to the coins of the Greek kings east of the Jhelum after the time of Menander and his contemporaries. Again it is significant that the four chief councillors of Menander were all foreigners, while of the two *meridarkhs* known to Indian history, one who ruled the Swat Valley in the later period of Greek rule was a Greek, and the other who was probably an Indian belonged to the early Śaka epoch.[2]

[1] Mathurā: a few square but mostly round coins with names of rulers, one group with the tilte of *rājan*, from the end of 3rd to the middle of 1st century B.C. (Allan, *BNCCAI.* pp. cix-cxi, 170-82). Shorkot inscr. of the reign of Menander mentioning his feudatories Vīryakamitra and Vijayamitra (*EI.* XXIV p. 7). Ujjayinī: uninscribed coins (6 classes), 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.; inscribed coins with name of city (1 class), 1st half of 2nd century B.C. (Allan, op. cit., pp. cxli-cxlv, 241-62). To the above we may add Traigartas of Trigarta (Jālandhara, mod. Jullundur district in the Panjab), whose coins mention their *janapada* in characters of 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. (Allan, op. cit., pp. cxxxix-cxl, 212). On coins of Taxila, see Allan, op. cit. pp. cxxv-cxxxix, 214-38

[2] Indian partnership in the kingdoms of Demetrius and Menander (Tarn, op. cit., pp. 118, 260, 358, 410). Significance of bilingual coinage (ibid. p. (181). Demetrius's capital at Taxila and Menander's capital at Sāgala (ibid. pp. 179, 247-8). Devices of panther, the emblem of Dionysus and *Yakshī* the presiding deity of Nagarahāra on one series of Pantaleon's and Agathocles's coins (ibid. pp. 159-60). Yavana donors in West-Indian inscrs. (ibid. pp. 254-7, criticised by Johnston, *JRAS.* 1939, pp. 217-40, Keith in *D. R. Bhandarkar*

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The decline and fall of the Greek kingdom in India gave the opportunity to a number of ancient peoples in eastern Panjab and the Upper Ganges basin to establish kingdoms or republics which in some cases lasted far down into the third and even fourth centuries A.D. In the second half of the first century B.C. the Kuṇindas (of the tract at the foot of the Siwalik hills and between the upper courses of the Beas and the Sutlej) founded a short-lived kingdom under a ruler called Amoghabhūti who took the titles of *rājā* and *mahārāja*. The Audumbaras (of the tract between the upper Sutlej and the Rāvi) set up an independent state in the first century B.C. under kings whose names appear on their coins with the title of *rājan*: one of their kings Mahādeva has the unusual title of *rājarāja*. The Yaudheyas of eastern Panjab, true to their description by Pāṇini as a fighting community founded an exceptionally long-lived republic. In the first phase of their independent existence extending over the late second and the first centuries B.C., they proudly asserted their success in war in the legends of the coins which were issued in their names. Another republican people of this period were the Ārjunāyanas (of the Delhi-Jaipur-Agra region) who similarly asserted their martial triumphs in their coins of the late second century B.C. The Rājanyas (of the modern Hoshiarpur district in the Panjab) struck coins in the name of their state (*janapada*) in the second and first centuries B.C., while the Śibis (of western Rajputana) did the same in the first century B.C. A revival of republics in the regions above named took place, as we shall presently see, in the second and following centuries A.D. Coins attest to the existence of a number of other kingdoms and republics in the North-West during the second and first centuries B.C., but they are mere names. Such are the *Agrodaka-janapada* (second century B.C.), the *gaṇa* of the Vṛishṇi-kshatriyas (first century B.C.), the *Agrodaka-Agacha-janapada*, as well as the kings Jyeshṭhadatta and Mahāsena (second century B.C.). Of the constitution of the republics such as can be traced from the scanty records of the centuries immediately before and after Christ we shall speak elsewhere.[1]

Vol. pp. 218-30). Kharoshṭhī letters on Greek coins (Tarn, op. cit., pp. 356-8). Of four Yonaka ministers of Menander (*Milin.* p. 29 etc.) two were Greeks, one a Bactrian or Sogdian and the fourth probably an Anatolian (Tarn, op. cit., pp. 422-3)

[1] Kuṇindas: silver and copper coins with name and titles of Amoghabhūti the Kuṇinda king, last half of 1st century B.C. (Allan, *BMCCAI.* pp. ci-ciii, 159-67). Audumbaras: square copper coins with name and titles of Audumbara, kings, 2nd to 1st century B.C. (ibid. pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvi, 122-8). Yaudheyas: coins of classes 21, and 5 (classes 2 and 5 with name of the republic), late 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. (ibid. pp. cxlvii-cxlix, 265f.). Ārjunāyanas: coins with name of republic and ref. to its military success, *c.* 100 B.C. (ibid. pp. lxxxii-lxxxiii, 121). Rājanyas: 2 classes of coins with name of republic and its *janapada* 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. (ibid. pp. cxxiii, 210-2). Śibis: coins with name of republic as well as state (*janapada*) and capital, 2nd century B.C. (ibid. pp. cxxiii-cxxv, 213, nos. 21-2). *Agrodaka-janapada* etc. (ibid. pp. cliii f, 279-81). Allan's tr. of the Sibi coin-legend is untenable. The view (Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, p. 82 *n.*) that Amoghabhūti was an official title appearing for centuries is incorrect (Allan, op cit., p. ciii). So also is the view (Jayaswal, op. cit., I p. 161) that the Audumbaras, if a republic, had an elected king.

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The rule of the Śakas and Pahlavas in Northern India was essentially a continuation of that of their Greek predecessors with some features borrowed from the administration of the powerful Parthian dynasty of the west. A historical tradition embodied in the Jaina tale, the *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka*, of unknown date and authorship, credits the Śakas with living in the 'Indus Country' in the first century B. C. under an overlord called *sāhānusāhi* (king of kings) whose feudatories bore the title of *sāhi* (chief). But the account lacks corroboration. The earliest known Śaka king in India, Maues, at first adopted the usual Greek title of 'King' or 'Great King'. But after he had conquered Gandhāra from the Greeks he took the Parthian imperial title of 'Great King of Kings' like the famous king Mithridates II (the Great) ruling at Ctesiphon. This last title (or its equivalent) was adopted not only by Maues's Śaka successors (Azes I, Azilises and Azes II), but also by the Parthian 'kings' who ruled north-west India and the adjoining borderland (Vonones, Spalirises, Orthagnes, Gondophares and Pacores).[1]

Like the Seleucids of Western Asia, the Śaka kings frequently associated their heirs with themselves as joint kings, the former's name in Greek occupying the place of honour on the obverse and the name of the latter in Prākṛit appearing on the reverse of their coins. Greek moneyers continued to operate the city mints in the reigns of Azes I and his dynasty as also in the reign of Gondophares, as we know from the Greek monograms on their coins. The survival of quasi-autonomous cities is proved by the representation of city-goddesses of the Indo-Greek type on the coins of Maues, Azes I and Zeionises.[2]

In their organisation of the provincial administration (as in their central government) the Śaka and Pahlava kings of North India were indebted mainly to their Greek forerunners. From an analysis of Ptolemy's list of provinces in Indo-Scythia it has plausibly been argued that the the Śakas in Sind and Kāthiāwār retained the Greek eparchies with their characteristic name-endings. In the north-west the Śakas and Pahlavas had officers called *strategus* (military governor) and *meridarkh* (governor of a provincial sub-division) dating no doubt from Greek times. The most characteristic designation of a provincial governor under Śaka-Pahlava rule was *kshatrapa*, a Sanskritised form of the Old Persian *kshatrapāvan* through Greek *satrapes*. From it was derived (in imitation of the

[1] Śaka Sāhānusāhi and Sāhis (*Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*, ed. H. Jacobi, 247 *f*, quoted Konow, *CII.* II (i) pp. xxvi-xxvii). Coin-legends of Maues with the title of 'King' or 'Great King', Smith, *CCIM.* p. 38; Whitehead, *PMC.* p. 98. Coin-legends of Maues, Azes I, Azilises, Azes II, Vonones etc. with full imperial titles, Smith *CCIM.* pp. 39-58, Whitehead op. cit. pp. 98-142, 145. Mithridates II or the Great was the first Parthian Emperor to assume the title of 'Great King of Kings', and Maues invaded India after his death (Rapson in *CHI.* I pp. 567, 570). Vonones was the *Suren* or rather the ruler of the *Suren's* realm for the time being: Gondophares was the *Suren* in his time (Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 344)

[2] Coins of Spalires and Azes I (both styled 'Great King' as well as 'Great King of Kings'; Azes I and Azilises, Azilises and Azes II (both styled 'Great King of Kings'). For Seleucid practice see Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 347-8. City-goddesses on Śaka coins, Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 353

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current Indian official idiom) the higher title of *mahākshatrapa*. From the first the Śaka-Pahlava governors and feudatories held a position of high authority bordering upon independence. On the coins the names and full imperial titles of the suzerain are recorded in Greek on the obverse, while the feudatory's name and title are given in Prākṛit on the reverse. The feudatories regularly transmit their office to their descendants.[1] The *kshatrapa*, sometimes jointly with a colleague, strikes coins in his own name. With the end of a united Śaka empire after the death of Maues, there arose a number of *kshatrapa* dynasties, often with the reigning king taking the title of *mahākshatrapa* and his heir adopting the lower title.[2] Finally it would seem that the Śakas first put into practice what may have been the aim of the Indo-Greek kings, namely that of taking Indians into partnership. It is under their rule that we first hear of Indians occupying the office of treasurer and probably also that of governor.[3]

The imperial Kushāṇas who rivalled, if they did not surpass, the greatest of the Greek, Śaka and Pahlava kings in the extent of their dominion, introduced an exalted conception of monarchy. Kadphises I at the beginning of his long reign took the humble title of *yabgu* or *yaua* (chief), while modestly placing the effigy of the Greek king Hermaeus or of the Roman Emperor Augustus on the obverse of his coins. But he assumed the lofty title of *mahārāja* apparently after his invasion of Parthia and conquest of Taxila. Kadphises II (Wima Kadphises), to whom belongs the credit of conquering the Indus country, adopted the imperial title of 'Great King of Kings' or 'King of Kings, Saviour' in Greek on the obverse of his coins and their equivalents with some additions in Prākṛit on the reverse. Kanishka I, the conqueror of eastern India, while taking the imperial title in Greek on one series of his coins adopted the bold innovation of transcribing its Iranian or Śakan equivalent on other coins. The same tendency to replace the outworn Greek tradition by the indigenous one is manifested in Kanishka's discontinuance of the Greek

[1] Greek eparchies under Śaka rule, Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 232-40. *Strategus* Aspavarman associated with Azes II and Gondophares on coins, Smith *CCIM*; Whitehead, op. cit. *Meridarkh* Theodorus in Swat relic-vase inscr., 2nd half of 1st century B.C., *CII.* II (i) pp. 1, 4. Association of suzerain and provincial governor on coins: Vonones and 'king's brother' Spalahora, Vonones and Spalahora's son Spalagadama, Azes II and *Strategus* Aspavarman, Gondophares and Aspavarman, Gondophares and Sasa, Pacores and *mahārāja* Sasa, 'brother's son' of Aspavarman. 'King's brother' was a title of honour well known to Hellenistic courts, (Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 345 *n.* 7.)

[2] Coins of Kshatrapas: (a) Liaka Kusuluka, (b) Hagāna and Hagāmāsha, (c) Rājuvula, (d) Śoḍāsa, (e) Jihoṇika. Kshatrapa dynasties: (a) Liaka Kusuluka and his son Patika, (b) Rajuvula and his son Śoḍāsa, (c) Graṇavhryaka and his unnamed son, (d) Manigula and his son Jihoṇika. Of these Patika was at first without title (*CII.* II (i) p. 28) and afterwards *mahākshatrapa* (ibid. p. 48). Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa were at first *kshatrapas* and afterwards *mahākshatrapas* (Coins and *CII.* II (i) p. 48), while the rest had no other designation than *kshatrapa*. Śoḍāsa had also the title *svāmin* (Lüders, *List*, nos. 59, 82).

[3] *EI.* IX p. 247 (Brāhmaṇa treasurer of *mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa; *CII.* II (i) p. 4 (*meridarkh*, probably an Indian); ibid. p. 103 (*kshatrapa* Sivasena, probably an Indian, in the town of Abhisāraprastha).

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monograms which had appeared on the coins of the first two Kushān emperors. The Prākṛit equivalent of Kanishka's imperial title (*mahārāja rājātirāja devaptura*) which occurs on the pedestal of his statue was continued by his successors Vāsishka and Huvishka. To this Kanishka II added the striking title which has been read as a transliteration of Roman Caesar. To revert to the older titles, *mahārāja rājātirāja* was evidently borrowed by the Kushāṇas from their Śaka and Pahlava predecessors. The epithet *devaputra* was accepted till recently as a literal rendering of the Chinese imperial title *t'ien-tzu* (Son of Heaven). But cogent reasons have now been given for the view that *devaputra* was not adopted by the Kushāṇas as an official title, but was a complimentary epithet current among their Indian subjects and meaning a class of divinities with distinctive functions.[1]

The tendency towards the exaltation of the king's office noticed above led to the conception of his quasi-divinity. 'On the gold pieces of Kadphises II the shoulders of the king are surrounded by luminous rays or flames, and his bust appears to issue from the clouds like the gods of Greece . . . Nimbus appears only on some pieces of Kanishka: on certain gold pieces of Huvishka the sovereign is at once ornamented with nimbus, flames and clouds . . . Vāsudeva had simply the nimbus round his head which is itself surmounted by a pointed tiara. This last type remained that of Indo-Scythian Kushān kings called the later Kushāns.'[2]

Our knowledge of the administrative machinery of the Great Kushāṇas is very scanty. If the so-called 'nameless king' of the coins was a local ruler governing the Indian kingdom on behalf of his suzerain, it would follow that the Kushāṇas conceded the right of striking coinage along with the imperial title to their viceroys. In their provincial administration the Kushāṇas continued the government of *mahākshatrapa* and *kshatrapa* brought into vogue by the Śakas. They also introduced two

[1] Unnamed *mahārāja* gushaṇa of Panjtār inscr. of year 122 identified with Kadphises I (Marshall in *JRAS.* 1914, pp. 977-8; Konow in *CII.* II (i) p. lxv). On the other hand the unnamed *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* of the Taxila silver scroll inscr. of the year 136 identified by Marshall and Konow (loc. cit.) with Kadphises I might well be Kanishka I (F. W. Thomas in *B.C. Law Vol.* II p. 312). Kanishka I called by Iranian titles of *muroda* (Śaka *muruṇḍa* i.e. lord) and *marjhaka* (Śaka for *grihapati*, the 6th *raṭna* of the *Chakravarti* according to Buddhist legends (Konow in *CII.* II (i) p. 145). Absence of Greek monograms on Kaniskha's coins (Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 353). Title of Kanishka II in Ara inscr. of year 4 read as *kaisara* by Lüders, *IA.* 1913, p. 132 f, and Konow *CII.* II (i) p. 165. *Devaputra* a complimentary epithet and not an official title (F.W. Thomas in *B.C. Law* II pp. 305-20). The reading of *devaputra* on a coin of Kadphises I is an error (ibid. p. 307 *n.*)

[2] The above is a quotation from Drouin, *Rev. Num.* 1901, pp. 154-6, tr. *IA.* XXXII, 1903, pp. 427-32. On the other hand neither the *devakula* of Huvishka's paternal grandfather referred to in a Mathurā inscr. (*JRAS.* 1924, p. 402), nor the well-known statues of Kanishka I and other Kushāṇa kings or princes need necessarily imply the king's divinity. *Devakula* means 'a royal gallery of portrait-statues' such as is mentioned in Bhāsa's *Pratimā nāṭaka* (Jayaswal, *JBORS.* 1918-19. Statues of a Śaka *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and other foreigners which are identifiable by inscriptions are known (Lüders in *EI.* XXIII pp. 206-7, ix, 241-6

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grades of military (or judicial) office known by their Indian titles of *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *daṇḍanāyaka*. Significant of the policy of the Kushāṇa rulers is the fact that the high offices in all known instances were held by foreigners. Again we find that the city-goddess type of coins known even to Śaka and Pahlava rulers is conspicuous by its absence under the Kushāṇas. This has been taken to mean that the quasi-autonomous type of cities of earlier times was no longer in existence. On the other hand the villages were in charge of the traditional headmen whose office was usually hereditary.[1]

The downfall of the Kushāṇa empire in India was followed by the rise of a few minor republics in the Panjab and Rajputana. In the late second and the third centuries A.D. the Kuṇindas who lived (as we have seen) under kings in the second and first centuries B.C. were a republican people. To judge from the device and the legend of their coins they probably dedicated their state to the god Śiva. In the late second century A.D. and again in the third and early fourth centuries A.D. the Yaudheyas, whose dominion probably extended at this time from Dehra Dun district to western Rajputana, stood forth as an independent republic; they issued coins, characteristically enough, with the inscribed device of the god Kārttikeya and the goddess Lakshmi. The coins of the former period seem to testify, what is also hinted at in a Mahābhārata passage, that the state of the Yāudheyas was dedicated to Kārttikeya; those of the latter period show their republic (*gaṇa*) proudly proclaiming its military success. From the joint evidence of coins and seals we know that the Yaudheyas in the latter period had a (probably elected) civil and military head called *mahārāja mahāsenāpati*, while their councillors had a common seal proclaiming their victory. The Mālavas of eastern Rajputana were an independent republic from the second to the early fourth century A.D. The coins issued in the name of their republic (*gaṇa*) or state (*janapada*) proclaimed their military success.[2]

[1] Coins of 'nameless king' or Soter Megas (*CII.* II (i) p. lxix). Konow thinks (ibid. p. lxxxi) that Huvishka ruled the eastern provinces as viceroy with the title of *mahārāja devaputra* before assuming the full imperial title. *Mahākshatrapa* Kharapallāna and *kshatrapa* Vanaspara (*EI.* VIII p. 179). *Daṇḍanāyaka* (*CII.* II (i) p. 149), *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Ulāna (*EI.* XXIII p. 199). Do. Valāna (*EI.* IX p. 242), cf. *JRAS.* 1924, p. 402. Absence of city-goddesses on Kushāṇa coins (Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 353). *Grāmika* in Kushāṇa inscrs. (Lüders, *List.* nos. 48, 69a)

[2] Coins of Kuṇindas with figure of Śiva and dedicatory legend (Allan, *BMCCAI.* pp. cii, 167-8). Coins of Yaudheyas: class 3 with figures and dedicatory legend, later 2nd century A.D.: class 6 with figure and legend, 3rd and early 4th centuries A.D. (ibid. pp. cxlix-cliii, 270-80). Rohitaka, modern Rohtak specially favoured by Kārttikeya (*Mbh.* III 32, 45). Cf. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 155-7. Clay-seal referring to Yaudheya 'councillors of victory' (*PASB*, 1884, pp. 137-41). Inscr. referring to Yaudheya *mahārāja mahāsenāpati* (*CII.* III p. 252). Allan's location of Yaudheyas in eastern Panjab and western Rajputana has been confirmed by the discovery of Yaudheya coin-moulds near Rohtak (*JUPHS.* XII pp. 82-5) and of a new hoard of Yaudheya coins from Dhera Dun district (*JNSI.* II pp. 109-12). Coins of Mālavas: Class A, 2nd to early 4th century A.D., one series referring to their republic (*gaṇa*) (Allan, op. cit., pp. civ-cviii). So-called names of chiefs of Mālava

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We may pause here to notice such features of the constitution of the Indian republics of the centuries immediately before and after Christ as may be traced from the descriptions of the characteristics of *saṅghas* and *gaṇas* (in the technical sense of republics) in the contemporary literary works. The *saṅghas*, according to Kauṭilya (XI, 1) were of two classes, namely the military-cum-agricultural and industrial type, and the political type. Both types had high executive officers (*mukhyas*), princelings (*kumārakas*) and the indeterminate assembly. Apparently in the case of the latter type the *mukhya* and *kumāraka* were called *rāja* and *rājputra* respectively. The *saṅgha* could try and punish the *mukhyas* for offences, and it owned property in common. It was easy for unscrupulous royal politicians (as Kauṭilya shows by numerous examples) to weaken the *saṅghas* by the methods of secret diplomacy and assassination with ultimate object of making the king sole monarch over them. In the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 107, 6-32) we are told that *gaṇas* had their *mukhyas* as well as their general assembly. It was to the interest of the *gaṇas* that the authority of the *mukhyas* should be respected, and that they should secretly take counsel among themselves and act together for the collective good.

EAST AND WEST INDIA

For our knowledge of the government of Kaliṅga in the second or first century B.C. we have to depend upon the obscure and much discussed Hāthīgumphā cave inscription of king Khāravela, supplemented by a few short contemporary inscriptions from the same locality. The kings who belonged to the Mahāmeghavāhana family and the Cheta or Cheti (Chedi) dynasty bore the lofty titles of *ārya* and *mahārāja* unknown to the imperial Mauryas, but their princes were still called *kumāras*. It would seem that kingship was transmitted in the usual lineal succession. To judge from a minor votive inscription, the Cheti kings continued the system of municipal administration represented by the office of the town-judge. In the Hāthīgumphā inscription we have a glimpse of the principles of Khāravela's administration as well as his aims and ideals as a ruler. As has been rightly pointed out, Khāravela, unlike the reformist emperor Aśoka, chose to follow the traditional methods of his forefathers, and, though a Jaina by faith, adopted the Brahmanical principles of government. His religious toleration, unlike that of Aśoka, was of the ordinary Indian type involving non-interference with others' religion and nothing more. Again, the string of panegyrics showered upon Khāravela in his record seems to bear out the conclusion that he aspired to become a

coins (Smith, *CCIM*. pp. 174-8, Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, I p. 218, Allan, op. cit., p. cvi class B) are probably not names at all, but meaningless attempts to reproduce the usual coin-legend (Allan, op. cit., pp. cvi-cvii). Lead seal from Rairh referring to Mālava *janapada* (K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh* p. 54). Allan's location of Mālava in eastern Rajputana (cvii) has been confirmed by the recent discovery of over 300 Mālava coins at Rairh (Puri. op. cit., pp. 49-50)

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chakravarti ('king-overlord'). Khāravela is actually hailed with this latter title in the votive inscription of his chief queen.[1]

Of the two Śaka ruling houses of Western India (those of Bhūmaka and Chashṭana), and particularly of the second, it may be said that while retaining to the last the titles indicative of their foreign origin, they borrowed or adopted wholesale the indigenous nomenclature as well as the methods and principles of administration. To the older Śaka titles of *mahākshatrapa* and *kshatrapa* they added almost from the first the Indian royal designation of *rājan*. Other titles adopted by them namely *svāmin* (regularly from Nahapāna onwards), *bhadramukha* and *sugṛihītanāman* (occasionally thereafter), became fixed in the Indian dramatic tradition as honorific designations of specific characters. In the organisation of their administrative machinery they adopted the old Indian official designations of *amātyas* and *sachivas*. As in the Arthaśāstra and Jātaka tradition, and no less in the contemporary Śātavāhana administration, the *amātyas* were a generic class of officials from whose ranks were selected high ministers, provincial governors and the like. From a reference in Rudradāman's Girnār rock inscription it appears that, like the *mantris* of Kauṭilya, the *sachivas* were entrusted with the execution of great public works. From the same record we learn that the *sachivas* were of two classes, namely, *matisachivas* (councillors) and *karmasachivas* (executive officers). Other high officers known to the Śaka administration were the *senāpati* (general) and the *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (commander-in-chief). Though the high offices were usually held by foreigners, we have an instance of an Indian serving as an *amātya*.[2]

[1] *Ayira* in inscrs. of Khāravela and Kudepa, Pali *ayira*, Skt. *ārya* (*IHQ*. 1938, p. 470 *n*.). Kingship in regular lineal succession (B. M. Barua's tr. in *IHQ*. 1938, p. 473, superseding his earlier interpretation in *Old Brahmi Inscrs*., pp. 41, 235-9 indicating conjoint rule by two kings). *Nagara akkhadaṁsa* (Lüders, *List*, no. 1351), Skt. *nagarākshadarśa* corresponding to Aśokan *nagaravyavahāraka mahāmātra* (Kalinga RE. I). On the other hand *mahāmada* (Lüders, *List*, no. 1352) is not an equivalent of *mahāmātra* but is probably a proper name (B. M. Barua in *IHQ*. 1938, p. 164 superseding his earlier interpretation in *Old Brahmi Inscr*.). On Khāravela's methods of government and his equivalence to a *Chakravarti* see Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscr*., pp. 232 f., 258-9, 263, 265. *Kaliṅga chakravarti* Khāravela in inscr. of his chief queen (Lüders, *List*, no. 1346)

[2] *Kshaharāta Kshatrapa* Bhūmaka on coin, but *rājā Kshaharāta* Nahapāna on coins, *rājā Kshaharāta* Kshatrapa Nahapāna and *rājā mahākshatrapa* Svāmi-Nahapāna in inscrs. (Lüders, *List*, nos. 1099, 1131-5, 1174). *Rājā* Chashṭana and *rājā* Rudradāman in inscr. (ibid. no. 964a—*EI*. XVI p. 23). *Rājā mahākshatrapa* (or *kshatrapa*) *sugṛihītanāmā svāmi* applied to Chashṭana, Jayadāman, Rudradāman, Rudrasiṁha (Lüders, *List*, nos. 963, 965); *rājā bhadramukha svāmi* Chashṭana (ibid. no. 967). *Kshaharāta* usually held to be a family or clan name is an Iranian title meaning 'regent' or 'viceroy' according to Konow (*IHQ*. 1938, p. 140). On transliteration of Western *kshatrapa* coin-legends, see Rapson *BMCAWK*. pp. cxiii f. On use of titles *svāmi* etc. in Indian works on dramaturgy, see S. Lévi, *Sur quelques termes etc. JA*. 1902, pp. 95 f. tr. *IA*. 1904, pp. 163 f. *Amātyas* etc.; Ayama of *vatsagotra*, *amātya* of Nahapāna (Lüders, *List*, no. 1174); Suviśākha, a Pahlava *amātya* of Rudradāman in charge of Ānartta and Surāshṭra; *matisachivas* and *karmasachivas* of Rudradāman (*EI*. VIII p. 44, I. 17); Ābhira Bāpaka *senāpati* of *Rudrasiṁha* (Lüders, *List*, no. 963); Śaka Śrīdharavarman, a *daṇḍanāyaka* (*EI*. XVI p 232)

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We get a few glimpses of the administrative methods of the Śaka rulers of Western India from the contemporary records. In the second half of the first century A.D., according to the valuable testimony of the author of the *Periplus*, the king maintained a regular pilot-service for negotiating the dangerous navigation at the great port of Barygaza (Bharukachchha, mod. Broach). Large boats of two varieties in the king's service sailed up the coast as far as Syrastrene (Kāthiāwār) to meet incoming vessels: steering the vessels safely between dangerous shoals, the pilot-boats towed them to fixed stations along the whole route; at these stations the vessels could lie safely at anchor or in deep basins during ebb-tide. The same care for their valuable commercial interests led the Śaka rulers (or more probably their Kushāṇa overlord) to obstruct the trade of the port of Kalyāṇa belonging to their Śātavāhana rivals. This obstruction was so intensive that foreign ships touching at Kalyāṇa were in danger of being seized and taken to Barygaza. The success of this selfish policy may be gauged from the fact, noted by the author of the *Periplus*, that the vast trade from the rich marts of Pratishṭhāna and Tagara in the interior, instead of finding its natural outlet in Kalyāṇa harbour, was diverted across a long and difficult mountainous country to Barygaza.

The evidence of a well-established administrative procedure in the reign of Nahapāna is provided by a reference in one of the Nāsik cave records of his son-in-law Ushavadāta. From this we learn that it was customary for charitable endowments in kind and in cash to be proclaimed at the local town hall (*nigamasabhā*) and registered at the record office (*phalakavāra*). The Śaka rulers, again, seem to have worthily maintained the Maurya tradition of the care of public works. In the time of Rudradāman the famous artificial lake Sudarśana originally constructed by the provincial governor of Chandragupta Maurya was restored at heavy cost out of the *mahākshatrapa*'s private funds by the governor of Ānartta and Surāshṭra.[1]

What distinguished the Śaka rulers of Western India from other foreign dynasties of or before their time was the completeness with which they identified themselves with the traditions as well as the interests and sentiments of their Indian subjects. The earlier *kshatrapas*, true to their northern origin, continued to inscribe their names and titles on their coin-legends in Graeco-Roman and Kharoshṭhī characters. But their successors changed the former into something like an ornamental border and substituted for the latter the Brahmi script of the Indian interior. What is more, in place of the undiluted Prākṛit employed by all other contemporary powers in their official records, the Śakas introduced for the same purpose a Prākṛit strongly influenced by Sanskrit. Thus they

[1] Pilot service at Barygaza (*Periplus*, secs. 44, 48, 52). Saraganus of *Periplus* sec. 52 identified with Śātakarṇi I (*PHAI.*[4] p. 404). Sandanes with Sunandana Śātakarṇi (*IHQ.* 1932, p. 234 and *PHAI.*[4] p. 404), with Kanishka (S Lévi in *JA.* 1936, pp. 75, 84), with Wima Kadphises (Konow in *IHQ.* 1938, p. 150). *Nigamasabhā* and *phalakavāra* (*EI.* VIII pp. 82 f. with Senart's tr.). Other explns. of *phalakavāra* in D. C. Sircar, *SI.* 160.

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gave an immense impetus to the movement which ended in making Sanskrit the official language of northern and western India for centuries afterwards. In Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna, was represented the traditional Indian type of princely patron of religion at his best. His numerous charities were bestowed impartially upon the Brāhmaṇa laity as well as the Buddhist monks, and in each case in accordance with the approved canonical methods. Again the long panegyric of Rudradāman embodied in his famous inscription at Girnār may properly be taken to reflect his own aims and ideals as a ruler. From this we can infer that Rudradāman chose to be remembered as a model king combining in himself the best qualities of a ruler known to Indian tradition. His name was repeated by the venerable, meaning (as S. Lévi points out,[1]) that for them it was like another Veda demanding assiduous study and devout veneration and yielding the most precious fruit. Gifted with a beautiful physical frame and auspicious bodily marks, he acquired, we are told, complete mastery over the whole Indian lore of the humanities no less than of the military sciences. Rudradāman's administration was modelled on the best traditional standards. All *varṇas* looked to him for protection and sought him as their lord in an emphatic way of illustrating the Smṛiti dictum enjoining protection of all creatures upon the king. He adhered to his vow of not taking life except in battle and he re-instated deposed kings, thus conforming to the Indian type of a righteous conqueror. He earned the strong attachment of *dharma* by rightly raising his hand (during the dispensation of justice as directed by Smṛiti authority); he daily bestowed presents and honours; he filled his treasury by lawful collection of the recognised sources of revenue; his kingdom was free from all human and providential calamities; for benefiting cows and Brāhmaṇas and others, he met the heavy cost of repairing the embankment of Sudarśana lake not by recourse to the known devices of taxes, benevolences and forced labour, but by magnanimously drawing upon his treasury.[2]

THE DECCAN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

The administration of the Śātavāhanas who founded the first historical empire in the Deccan was developed on the Indian traditional lines, but there were some striking innovations. To the ancient title of *rājan* usually borne by them in their coin-legends, these kings in their inscriptions sometimes added that of *svāmin* brought into vogue by their Śaka rivals. In

[1] *JA.* 1902, XIX p. 100

[2] Coin-legends of Western *kshatrapas* (Rapson *BMCAWK.* p. clxxxvii). Girnār rock inscr. of Rudradāman (*EI.* VIII pp. 42-5). Expln. of recognised sources of revenue (*bhāga*, *bali* and *sulka*) and known oppressive devices (*kara*, *vishṭi* and *praṇaya*) in the writer's *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 189. Jayaswal's interpretation (*Hindu Polity*, II pp. 52, 89, 120-1), of this inscr. as referring to the theory of elective kingship, to *paurajānapada*'s right of sanctioning the king's demand for money grants and to constitutional laws enabling ministers to accept or refuse the king's demand for expenditure, is far-fetched and untenable.

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the panegyric of the queen-mother Balaśrī, by way of exception, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi is styled *rājarāja* and both he and his son are called *mahārāja*. The queens used the title of *devī* known to Aśoka's inscriptions, but Balaśrī as an exception styled herself *mahādevī*. Though the kings almost always distinguished themselves by their metronymics, the succession was usually in the male line. There is no reason to think that the practice of conjoint reign by the reigning king and his heir was known to this dynasty. As a striking and original feature of Śātavāhana polity, it may be mentioned that two queens Nāyanikā and Balaśrī took a conspicuous part in the public life of their times. The former acted as regent on behalf of her son Vedaśrī, while the latter jointly with her son Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi issued orders to a district officer to make a charitable endowment. These ladies showed their independence in relation to the reigning sovereign in other ways that are mentioned below. The Śātavāhanas were served by officers of the type known to Indian political tradition. In place of the Mauryan *mahāmātras* they employed *amātyas* as a generic class of officials. One of the early Śātavāhanas created a new higher grade of these officials called *rājāmatyas*. The *amātyas* were employed on executive, financial, and other business and as district officers. A *rājāmatya* is mentioned as treasury officer. It is probable that Śātavāhana administration knew military offices of the type of *senāgopa* (commander) and *aśvavāraka* (horse-trooper) which are mentioned in other contemporary records. To Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi or his son Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi belongs the credit of creating the higher office of *mahāsenāpati* about whose military duties, however, our records are strangely silent. It seems likely that the office of the *mahāsenāpati* was regarded as a patent of nobility, for the wives of these officers took the titles of their husbands. The administration of the districts called by the old Maurya title of *āhāra* was entrusted to *amātyas*. The villages were in charge of the traditional headmen. We can make out the burdens to which villages in Western India were ordinarily liable from the list of immunities and privileges granted by the kings to the Buddhist monks in a number of their charters. The villages could be freely entered by the king's troops, could be requisitioned for the king's necessities, could be dug up for salt (which was evidently a royal monopoly) and could be interfered with by the district police.[1]

[1] *Rājā* on Śātavāhana coins (Rapson, *BMCAWK.* pp. cci-ccii, 1-45; *JNSI.* IV pp. 26-8). *Rājā svāmin* in inscrs. (*EI.* VII p. 6, VIII p. 94, also VIII p. 65 and p. 71 with D. C. Sircar's expln., *SI.* p. 191 *n.* 4) *Rājarāja* Gautamīputra, *mahādevī* Gautamī (*EI.* VIII p. 60 f.). K. P. Chattopadhyay's view (*JRASB.* 1927, p. 503 f.) of rule by sister's son of the reigning king is not borne out by facts (*PHAI.*[4] pp. 341-2). The theory of conjoint rule by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi is untenable (Ibid. pp. 412-4, Gopalachari, *EHAC.* pp. 64-6). Nāyanikā's name (and status) preceding that of her husband king Śātakarṇi I (Lüders, *List*, no. 1114). Deed granting endowment of Balaśrī and Gautamīputra written by (the queen's) female doorkeeper (*EI.* VIII p. 73). Solitary reference to *mahāmātra* in inscr. of Krishna I's time (Lüders, *List*, no. 1144, *EI.* VIII p. 93), Amātya as district officer, writer of royal charter, messenger for conveying king's order, superintendent of work

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The West Indian cave inscriptions containing records of donations made by the Śātavāhana kings give us an insight into the working of the state administration. Following the Aśokan tradition the king issued a verbal order which was expected to be conveyed duly to the district officer. The order specified the locality and extent of the gift, the name of the donee, as well as the immunities and privileges conferred upon the latter, with directions to have them registered. The names and designations of the officers (or of others) who drew up the deed and those who verified it were duly recorded as also the date of its delivery, the name of its engraver and (in the fuller examples) the date of depositing the duplicate copy in the royal archives and the name of the officer conveying the document to the donee.[1]

The feudatories of the Śātavāhanas who ruled the western and southern parts of their dominion held a position of high authority bordering upon independence. If the two groups of contemporary rulers whose coins have been found at Karwar (in northern Kanara) and Kolhapur (in the Southern Maratha country) have been rightly identified as Śātavāhana feudatories, they must have ruled as kings with the right of coining in their own names. Inscriptions and coins refer to other officers called *mahāraṭhis* and *mahābhojas* who were definitely feudatories. These offices were held by a few families enjoying the distinction of intermarriage with the royal house. Again, the titles were held to be such a patent of nobility that the wives regularly took the titles of their husbands.[2]

In the panegyric of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi recorded by the queen-mother Balaśrī we find reflected as a sort of posthumous political manifesto the high personality of the greatest of the Śātavāhanas and a statement of his aims and conceptions as a ruler. He was, we are told, a model hero rivalling the achievements of the greatest kings known to history and legend. Above all, he was the ideal king granting the boon of fearlessness to others, refraining from all injury to life, even that of an offending enemy, identifying himself with the joys and sorrows of his subjects, levying and spending taxes justly and (as enjoined by the Smṛitis) checking the contamination of the four *varṇas*.

(Lüders, *List*, nos. 1124-6). *Rājāmatya* as treasurer (ibid. no. 1141). *Senāgopa* and *aśvavāraka* (ibid. nos. 381, 728, 1266). *Mahāsenāpati* (ibid. no 1124, *EI.* VIII p. 65 and *EI.* XX p. 6). *Mahāsenāpatini* (Lüders, *List*, no. 1146, *EI.* VII p. 93 f.). *Grāmika* (*EI.* XIV p. 155 with corr. by Gopalachari, *EHAC.* p. 87, *n.* 66). Expln. of immunities and privileges of gifted lands in *EI.* VII pp. 65-66

[1] Formulary of donation in Lüders, *List*, nos. 1124-5-6. For the Aśokan parallel see *RE.* VI (with B.M. Barua's note, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, II pp. 285-6).

[2] Kings Chuṭukaḍānanda and Muḍānanda of Karwar coins provisionally classed as Śātavāhana feudatories (Rapson, *BMCAWK.* pp. xxii, 59-60) Kings Vāsishṭhīputra Vilivāyakura, Māḍhariputra Śivalakura and Gautamīputra Vilivāyakura of Kolhapur coins identified by Rapson, (ibid. pp. xxvii-xxviii, 5-16) with three kings of the Purāṇic list, but held by other scholars (*PHAI.*[4] p. 421; Gopalachari, *EHAC.* p. 75) to be feudatories. *Mahārathis* and *mahābhojas* as feudatories (Lüders, *List*, no. 1100, 1116, Rapson *BMCAWK.* pp. xx-xxii, 57-8, Gopalachari, op. cit., pp. 78-83)

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The Ikshvākus and other dynasties who seized the inheritance of the Śātavāhanas in Eastern Deccan continued the same type of administration with slight changes. The Ikshvāku kings styled themselves indifferently *rājas* and *mahārājas*, while their chief queens assumed the title of *mahādevī*. The higher titles were probably justified by the successful performance of the *aśvamedha* and *vājapeya*, the ancient tokens of paramount sovereignty, by the first king Śāntamūla I. The Ikshvākus retained the high offices of *mahāsenāpati* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* known to us from the Śātavāhana and the Kushāṇa records respectively. To these they added the office of *mahātalavara* which has been recently rendered by 'Lord Chief Justice'. The holders of these offices intermarried with the ruling family, while their wives regularly took the titles of their husbands. The kingdom was divided into districts called *rāshṭras*, but the title of the officers in charge of them is unknown.[1]

Following the Ikshvāku precedent, king Jayavarman of the Bṛihatphalāyana clan indifferently styled himself *rāja* and *mahārāja*. A *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* holding likewise the office of *mahātalavara* is mentioned as one of his high officials. To judge from the list of immunities granted to some Brāhmaṇa donees in Jayavarman's charter, it may be gathered that villages in his time were subject to the same financial administrative and other burdens as under the Śātavāhanas. Jayavarman seems to have substantially followed the old Śātavāhana administrative procedure in making his charitable endowment. In his record named above he issued orders specifying the donee's name, the nature and extent of the gift, and the list of immunities conferred by him. The order was conveyed to the local officer in charge of the district (*āhāra*) and was signed by the king himself. The district officer, however, is no longer called *amātya*, but has the designation of *vyāpṛita*.[2]

The kings of the Chuṭu branch of the Śātavāhanas, who ruled Aparānta and Banavāsi after the downfall of the main line, took the usual royal title of *rājan*. Their officers of state were called, as before *amātyas*. The feudatories bore the familiar names of *mahāraṭhi* and *mahābhoja*, and their wives used the same titles in the feminine gender. The villages (as we learn from the immunities granted by the king to some donees) were usually liable to burdens of the type known to the Śātavāhana times.

[1] *Mahārāja* (Śāntamūla), *rājā* and *mahārāja* (Vīrapurushadatta), *rājā* (Ehuvula), *mahādevī*, *mahāsenāpati*, *mahātalavara*, *mahātalavarī* (Lüders, *List*, nos. 1202 3-4 ; *EI.* xx pp. 16, 19, 21, 22, 24; xxi, p. 62). Division into *rāshṭras* (Lüders, *List*, no. 1202). *Mahātalavara* rendered 'Lord Chief Justice' (B. V. Krishnarao, *EDA.* p. 43); earlier explns. in Vogel, *EI.* xx p. 6, Sircar, *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 19 etc.

[2] *Rājā* and *mahārāja* (Jayavarman), *mahātagivara*, *vyāpṛita* (Lüders, *List*, no. 1328). *Mahātagivara* is said to be a variant of *mahātalavara*, not a mistake for it (*EI.* xx p. 7, *n.* 1.; B. V. Krishnarao, *EDA.* p. 44, correcting Vogel and Hultzsch *EI.* vi 315 who is followed by Sircar, *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, 44-5). Gopalachari *EHAC.* p. 160 *n.* reads it as *mahātalavara*, for which see *EI.* xxiv p. 281

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The kingdom was divided in the usual fashion into *āhāras*, but there is some doubt about the designation of the officers in charge of them.[1]

[1] For refs. see Lüders, *List*, nos. 1021, 1186, 1195-6 and Rapson, *BMCAWK.* p. xlvii. B. V. Krishnarao, *EDA.* pp. 150 f. The district officer's title (Lüders, *List*, no. 1195) is given as *rajjuka* by Lüders and as *mahāvallabha* by Krishnarao, *EDA.* p. 152, both terms occurring in the inscriptions.

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CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

(*A*) *JAINISM*

OF the six centuries of Jainism forming the subject of this section, the first half was comparatively more eventful and admits of a little more systematic treatment than the second, for which we have little guidance outside the Mathurā inscriptions. For the earlier period we have the rather late Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscriptions and the Hāthīgumphā inscription besides the *Kālakāchārya-Kathānakam* in its different versions, and other legends of a quasi-historical character. The *Rājāvali-Kathe*, a compendium of the nineteenth century, and the *Paṭṭāvalis* are also valuable.

During this period Jainism prospered in different centres, some being more prominent than others when circumstances favoured them. In the third century B.C. Magadha, the home of Jainism, was apparently the most important area; Kaliṅga, and perhaps South India[1] also come into view during the second century B.C., while Ujjayinī claims attention during the first, mainly on account of traditions that have gathered round the name of Vikramāditya Śākāri and his reputed father Gardhabhilla and the Jaina saint Kālaka. In the early centuries of the Christian era Mathurā became the best known centre of Jainism in the North.

As already noticed, the Jainas claim that Chandragupta Maurya and his descendant Samprati professed and patronized their faith. The history of Jainism is very largely the story of the relations of the Jaina monks with their royal patrons on the one side and with the growing numbers of their lay followers on the other. To follow the history of the Jaina church from the time of Bhadrabāhu, the contemporary of Chandragupta Maurya, a summary account of the church from the time of Mahāvīra to that of Saṁbhūtivijaya, the predecessor of Bhadrabāhu, will furnish the necessary background.

In his lifetime Mahāvīra was head of the entire Jaina community comprising the four orders (*tīrthas*) of the monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen. After his death, according to some authorities, Gautama Indrabhūti became the spiritual leader for twelve years, though other accounts say that having become a *kevalin* he never held office.[2] The next was Sudharman, the only other *gaṇadhara* (leader of a group, *gaṇa*, of pupils)

[1] Sec. ch. XVI. It may be noted that the early date once assigned to Kundakunda on the basis of the Paṭṭāvalis and his authorship of the *Kural* have both since become very doubtful. See *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pp. 40 f. and *Pravacanasāra*, translated by Faddegon & Thomas, Intrn. p. xix. *Contra* A.N. Upadhye, Intrn. to his edn. of *Pravachanasāra*, Bombay, 1935, pp. x-xiii.

[2] Mrs. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 68

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out of the original eleven, who survived Mahāvīra.[1] Sudharman held office for twelve years and was followed by his pupil Jambūsvāmī who led the community for twenty-four years. He was the last of the *kevalins*, for after him both *moksha* and omniscience were closed to men. The six leaders who followed him came to be known as *śrutakevalins*; they lacked the omniscience of the *kevalins*, but had complete knowledge of the scripture. They were followed by *daśapūrvis*, leaders who knew the ten *Pūrvas* of the twelfth *Aṅga*.[2] Jambūsvāmī attained *moksha* according to one reckoning in 403 B.C. It should be observed, by the way, that the dates given for events in the history of Jainism are only approximations, as there are numerous discrepancies among different accounts and a discussion of them here would be out of place, and perhaps profitless in a general history. Prabhava, who had figured earlier in the rôles of prince, robber and magician, succeeded Jambūsvāmī. Finding no one among the Jainas fit to succeed him, and impressed by the spiritual qualities of a staunch Brahmin by name Śayaṁbhava, Prabhava decided to win him over to Jainism and succeeded in converting him just after he had completed a great sacrifice. Śayaṁbhava became leader in 397 after Prabhava's death, and was followed by Yaśobhadra who died in 319. The next leader was Saṁbhūtvijaya who acted in that capacity for only two years and was succeeded by the celebrated Bhadrabāhu in 317 B.C.

For about twenty years Bhadrabāhu, the last of the *śrutakevalins*, remained the leader. Born of a Brahmin family at Kotikapra in Puṇḍravardhana,[3] he was a great scholar and one of the most revered teachers of the Jainas. He was the last to possess knowledge of the fourteen *Pūrvas* which contained the canon in the ancient text. His pontificate is remarkable for events which led ultimately to the definite crystallization of the long-standing differences between two sections of the Jainas who came ultimately to be known as Śvetāmbaras (white-robed) and Digambaras (sky-clad). The story is told in the *Bhadrabāhucharita* of Ratnanandin, a work of the fifteenth century A.D., which may be accepted, according to Jacobi, as preserving a fairly correct tradition.[4] Bhadrabāhu who had the power of divining the future predicted that a famine of twelve years' duration would ravage Northern India, and decided to migrate to the South with his followers. Leaving his colleague Sthūlabhadra in charge of the monks who did not wish to follow him, he left Magadha for Southern India where there was no famine. Sthūlabhadra was the son of Śakaṭāla, the prime minister of the last Nanda king. The numbers of Jainas who left for the South and those who stayed behind are alike stated to have been 12,000, the former including the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta. When he reached Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Mysore, Bhadrabāhu felt his end approaching, and after designating Viśākha as his successor, he ended his

[1] A. Guérinot, *La Religion Djaina*, pp. .42-3
[2] Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 68, 72
[3] *Rājāvalikathe*, *IA*. XXI p. 157
[4] *ZDMG*. XXXVIII, 1884, pp. 1-42; Guérinot, op. cit., p. 50; Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 70-2

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life by starvation. The famine raged in the North, and in those hard days, the monks who had stayed behind, who were probably the older and more infirm section of the *Saṅgha*, adopted several modifications in the rules of their conduct. Among other things, they wore white robes (*śveta-aṁbara*) as also a peculiar head-dress known as *ardhaphālaka*. When the famine ended and normal conditions returned, some of the monks who had migrated to the South and remained faithful to the law of nudity returned and disapproved of the new modes introduced by their brethren in the North. Despite the efforts of Viśākha and Sthūlabhadra to bring the two groups closer, the separatist tendencies proved too strong and in course of time led to a definitive schism in A.D. 79, the most important of the many schisms that marked the history of the Jaina church. One sect became known at first as Ardhaphālakas and later as Śvetāmbaras; and the other Digambaras. Though many legendary details obscure its outlines somewhat, the narrative of Ratnanandin appears coherent and probable.

The Śvetāmbara tradition places this schism somewhat later in A.D. 82 or 609 years after the demise of Mahāvīra (527 B.C. according to this tradition). According to this account, there was in Rathavīrapura a teacher called Śivabhūti, also known as Sahasramalla and Botika. He had been converted by the monk Āryarakshita, and had a sister named Uttarā. One day Śivabhūti received a costly garment from the king and his guru Āryarakshita tore it to tatters. Śivabhūti understood the master's meaning, resolved to wear no clothes thereafter and began to preach nudity. When his sister Uttarā wished to follow his example, he dissuaded her saying that women could not attain final deliverance on any account. Thus was founded the Botika or Nagnatā sect which grew into the order of Digambaras.[1] Thus according to this tradition which dates from the twelfth century A.D. Śivabhūti was himself the author of the two fundamental dogmas of the Digambaras, viz., nudity and the ineligibility of woman for the attainment of *nirvāṇa*.

Some date about A.D. 80 may thus be taken to mark the definitive rupture between the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras. Before this, they had lived side by side without any apparent discord. Some followers of the leaders Pārśva and Mahāvīra, like Keśi and Gautama, strove to bring about the unity of the faith soon after the death of Mahāvīra.[2] But their object was not attained, and differences which had been persisting for several generations ended in a final definitive breach, in the drift towards which the migration to the South under Bhadrabāhu formed a well-marked stage.

Another cause for the division also came up in the lifetime of Bhadrabāhu,[3] according to some accounts. A council was summoned at

[1] Guérinot, op. cit., p. 49; Stevenson, op. cit., p. 79

[2] *Uttarādhyayana*, XXII,; *SBE.* 45

[3] There are different accounts of the end of Bhadrabāhu's life. One that he died of starvation in the South, a version supported by some late Kannada inscriptions in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa (*EC.* II) has been mentioned already. Another is that he returned from South India at the end of the famine to be the head of the whole community

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Pāṭaliputra to fix the canon under the lead of Sthūlabhadra. The council fixed it as eleven *Aṅgas* and fourteen *Pūrvas*. The books were not committed to writing at the time but were orally transmitted. The work of the council, however, was repudiated by the followers of Bhadrabāhu, and therefore did not carry much weight. The differences with regard to the content of the canon and its authoritative text exemplified in stories like this became another marked point of difference between the two great sects.

Besides the *Kalpasūtra* (the lives of the Jinas) attributed to him, Bhadrabāhu is said to have composed commentaries (*niryuktis*) on ten canonical books and another work *Upasarga Harastotra* in praise of Pārśva which the Śvetāmbaras hold to be their holiest book. A work on astronomy, the *Bhadrabāhvī Saṁhitā* is ascribed to him also. But it is obviously a work of a later time than that of Varāhamihira, and the story of rivalry between the two brothers of Pratishṭhāna, Bhadrabāhu and Varāhamihira, narrated by late Jaina writers, but not by Hemachandra, is clearly a late invention.[1] All Jaina authors from Hemachandra onwards place the death of Bhadrabāhu at the age of seventy-six in the year 170 after the Vīranirvāṇa i.e., in 297 B.C. Bhadrabāhu preached in different parts of India and four of his disciples attained some celebrity viz., Agnidatta, Jinadatta, Somadatta and Godāsa. At his death, none of these disciples succeeded, but Sthūlabhadra, the most celebrated among the disciples of Sambhūtivijaya. As already stated, the Council of Pāṭaliputra was summoned by him in Bhadrabāhu's lifetime according to some accounts. He consecrated Mahāgiri and Suhastin, the two sons of his sister; but discords grew up between them and each founded a separate line of masters. Sthūlabhadra died in 252 B.C., and Mahāgiri became the head of the community. He is said to have revived the ideal practice of nudity which had fallen into disuse. Two famous Jaina works were written in his time; they were the *Tattvārtha-sūtra* of Umāsvāti and *Pannavaṇa sūtra* (one of the *upāṅgas*) by Śyāmāchārya a pupil of Umāsvāti. Mahāgiri, a true ascetic, recognized that under his predecessor many abuses had crept into the order, and strove to bring the community back to its primitive faith and practice. The result was that many drifted away from it under leaders of schisms, in fulfilment of a prophecy that after Sthūlabhadra the monks would become less strenuous in their lives. Mahāgiri's reforming efforts were frustrated by another factor. That was the conversion of Samprati and the disastrous effect of the liberal royal patronage

and that his party declined to accept the work of the Council of Pāṭaliputra summoned by Sthūlabhadra during Bhadrabāhu's absence. (Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 11, 72, 73). A third account says that Bhadrabāhu resigned his position as leader to Sthūlabhadra and retired to Nepal for the rest of his life. When Sthūlabhadra went to Nepal to consult him on the canon and its preservation by the Council of Pāṭaliputra, he learnt from his predecessor all the fourteen *Pūrvas*, but was forbidden to reveal to others more than the first ten of them, so that the canon established by the Council was a fragmentary one (*CHI.* I pp. 165-6).

[1] *Kalapasūtra*, ed. Jacobi, Intr. pp. 12-14 See, however, *Anekānta* III, 12 pp. 175-84 for another view by Muniśrī Chaturvijaya)

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that followed it. The Śvetāmbara account of the conversion of Samprati says that Suhastin once met the emperor in Ujjain. In a previous birth Samprati had been a beggar who had accepted the Jaina faith to get a share of the sweets carried by the disciples of Suhastin and died of surfeit. At the sight of Suhastin, Samprati recollected the incident of his former birth, and again became a convert to Jainism. He then tried to spread Jainism by all means in his power, and did everything for that religion which Aśoka had done for Buddhism. Hemachandra[1] says of Samprati: 'He showed his zeal by causing Jaina temples to be erected over the whole of Jambūdvīpa. During Suhastin's stay at Ujjain, and under his guidance, splendid religious festivals and processions in honour of the *Arhat* were celebrated, and great was the devotion manifested by the king and his subjects on this occasion. The example and advice of Samprati induced his vassals to embrace and patronise his creed so that not only in his kingdom but also in adjacent countries the monks could practise their religion.' He sent missionaries as far as Afghanistan and the Andhra and Tamil countries, the first known contact of Śvetāmbaras with the South. He showered rich food and other good things on the members of the Saṅgha. Even Suhastin could not refuse them for fear of irritating the monarch. Mahāgiri found it useless to remonstrate with him, and therefore left him and retired to Daśārṇabhadra where he died of voluntary starvation. Of the eight pupils he left behind, the two principal ones, Uttara and Balissaha, founded a school designated by their joint names. A third Rohagupta also attained fame. In those days a school was called *gaṇa* and was made up of branches or *śākhas* comprising families or spiritual lines known as *kulas* or *saṁbhogas*, the latter term implying regional groups.[2] Suhastin who had become *de facto* leader before the death of Mahāgiri now became the *de jure* leader and had a happier career than his brother, thanks to his readiness to accept royal patronage and protection. He set himself to repair the weakness that had befallen the community as a result of the reforming zeal of Mahāgiri and the differences between the two brothers; he gained new disciples and created new branches of the order. Possibly new recruits were received too readily. At any rate it was under Suhastin that Avantikumāra, the son of a rich man who had been brought up in luxury, was allowed to join the order only to discover that the ascetic's life was a hard one, and not venturing to return to the world, he put an end to his intolerable position by starving himself to death. A magnificent temple was built by his relatives on the spot where he died. The Jainas claim that this was no other than the famous temple of Mahākāla in Ujjain, now one of the most famous shrines of Śaivism. Avantikumāra's story is still remembered as a warning against a rash entrance into the order; he is called Avanti Sukumāra, Avanti the Delicate.[3]

Suhastin left eight disciples, many of whom became well known for the

[1] *Pariśishṭaparvan*, ed. Jacobi, p. 69, cited by C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 145.

[2] Guérinot, op. cit., p. 44

[3] Stevenson, op. cit., p. 75

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flourishing schools they founded. Rohana became the chief of the Uddehagaṇa of four *śākhas* and six *kulas*. Bhadrayaśas placed himself at the head of the Uduvāṭika *gaṇa* with its four *śākhas* and three *kulas*. Kāmarddhi founded the Veśavāṭika *gaṇa*, a curious name, composed of four *śākhas* and as many *kulas*. Śrīgupta directed the Chāraṇa *gaṇa* which included four *śākhas* and seven *kulas*. Ṛishigupta created the Mānava *gaṇa* subdivided into four *śākhas* and three *kulas*. Lastly, Susthita, surnamed Kotika and Supratibuddha, formed the Kautika *gaṇa* comprising four *śākhas* and four *kulas*.[1] They collected five disciples all of whom founded branches and families. The chief among them was Indradatta (Indradinna) who continued their work and was succeeded by Āryadinna (Dinnasūri) and Siṁhagiri.

Susthita became the head of the entire community after Suhastin (177 B.C.), and under him the name of the Jainas is said to have been changed from *Nirgrantha-gachchha* to *Kālika-gachchha* in honour of the teacher Kālika, who taught him a secret *mantra* which he repeated crores of times. Susthita was followed in the high office by Indradinna in whose time the celebrated Kālakāchārya continued to flourish. The story of Kālaka is told in many versions that have formed the subject of critical study by modern scholars.[2] Gardabhilla, king of Ujjain, insulted Kālakāchārya by the abduction of his sister who had joined the order with him and become a nun. The monk then approached one of the Scythian kings in Śakastāna for help. But that king was afraid of attacking Gardabhilla, a powerful ruler enjoying the protection of the goddess Rāsabhī, who by the spell of her voice made it impossible for an enemy to approach within fourteen miles of the king. On his part Kālaka had magic powers and could produce wealth at will. He persuaded the Śaka to raise an army and march against Ujjain. When it encamped at a distance of fourteen miles from Ujjain, the goddess began to raise her voice for the protection of Gardabhilla, but the Śaka army stopped her mouth with their arrows, and she became unable to utter a sound. Then Gardabhilla was easily made captive and Kālaka's sister released (61 B.C.). When he was forgiven and set at liberty, he retired to a neighbouring forest where he was finally devoured by a tiger.[3] Some years afterwards, the son of Gardabhilla, according to some accounts the glorious Vikramāditya, came up from Pratishṭhāna with an army, expelled the invaders from Ujjain, and ruled there for many years in great splendour and established the era that goes by his name (58/7 B.C.). Though the exact historical foundation for this story is not easily ascertained, the setting of the story fits the first century B.C. very well, as it was clearly a period of Śaka inroads into India and of the attempts of Indian rulers, particularly the Śātavāhanas, to resist them, while the Purāṇas count the Gardabhillas among the feudatories (*bhṛityas*) of the Āndhras. The Kālaka story is valued for its moral lesson that whoever labours for the eminence of the faith obtains glory, an idea

[1] Guérinot, ibid.
[2] Norman Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*
[3] Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 75-6

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which is sometimes stretched to cover actions otherwise not easy to justify. The magic power due to *yoga* by which Kālaka was enabled to punish Gardabhilla is also held in admiration; but in many of the texts Kālaka has to expiate his vengefulness against Gardabhilla as it was at variance with the true ethics of Jainism.

Kālaka is, however, specially remembered for the dispute which seems to have started with him on the day for the commencement of *Pajjusana* or *Paryushaṇa*, the sacred festival which closes the Jaina year, some holding that the fast begins on the fourth day of the month of Bhādrapada, others that it starts on the fifth day. Kālaka, it is said, once visited the king of Peṇṭha (in the Deccan) and asked him to come and listen to the discourses he was delivering at *Pajjusana*. The king said he would attend if it was on any day but the fifth, the day of a special festival of Indra which he was bound to keep, and requested the saint to postpone his discourse till the sixth day. The ascetic offered instead to hold his discourse a day earlier, on the fourth day, as postponement was not possible, and since then 'some sects have begun the fast on the fourth and some on the fifth',[1] though occasionally differences among astrologers led to all sects beginning it on the same day.

Vikramāditya himself, according to Jaina sources, was a patron of Jainism. He is reputed to have owed his conversion to Siddhasena Divākara, the son of a Brahmin minister and a learned Jaina ascetic. Siddhasena is said to have met Vṛiddhavādi in debate in the midst of a jungle where they had only ignorant cowherds for their judges; they could not follow Siddhasena's learned discourse in Sanskrit and gave the palm to Vṛiddhavādi who spoke the language of the people. Siddhasena who wanted to translate the Jaina scriptures into Sanskrit was persuaded by his *guru* to abandon the idea of making them inaccessible to the common people, and even to expiate his sinful thought by wandering about for twelve years without uttering a word. Evidently the legend represents some attempt on the part of the saint to Sanskritize the Jaina canon and his failure in the attempt. Two other events assigned to about this time by the Jainas are a defeat of the Buddhists in argument by an ascetic called Ārya Khapuṭa who lived in Broach, and the foundation of Śatruñjaya, the holiest of the Jaina *tīrthas*, in Palitana, by a monk who had the power of rising through the air aided by a disciple who commanded the power of creating gold. Despite all these and many other stories that have gathered round the name and times of Vikramāditya, that monarch remains a shadowy figure. Some are inclined to deny his existence altogether, while others, perhaps more reasonably, hold that though there may have been a ruler of Ujjain of that name in the first century B.C., legend has beyond doubt confused him with other and better known Vikramādityas of later times, particularly the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II Vikramāditya. As for Siddhasena, modern scholars are generally inclined to assign him to a date in the seventh or eighth century A.D.[2]

[1] Ibid.

[2] Jacobi, Intrn. to *Samarāichcha Kahā*

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After Indradinna, the church was headed successively by Dinnasūrī, Siṁhagiri and Vajrasvāmi, the last being reputed a great scholar who preached principally at Pāṭaliputra and its neighbourhood and won numerous converts to the faith.[1] The Jainas believe that Vajrasvāmi was able to call up at will a magic carpet that could transport any number of persons to any distance by air; a tradition similar to that which found an early place in Tamil literature, referring to *pāṇḍu-kambalam*, *lit.* the white blanket, the seat of Indra which by its agitation invited his attention to any extraordinary occurrences on earth.[2] To Vajrasvāmi's time the Jainas assign the sixth and seventh schism in the church,[3] while the eighth and the most serious schism, already mentioned, between the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras occurred soon after his death about the middle of the first century A.D.

Vajrasvāmi was followed by Vajrasena in whose time came the definite breach in the church and the Digambaras hived off to form a totally distinct organization. 'Differing dates are given for the separation; the Śvetāmbaras believe it to have taken place in A.D. 142, the Sthānakavāsi in A.D. 83, whilst Dr. Hoernle places the date about A.D. 79 or 82.'[4] Of the successors of Vajrasena there are only edifying legends attesting their piety and devotion, of little historical interest.

In the second century B.C. Kaliṅga under Khāravela appears to have ranked as an important seat of Jainism, which seems to have been early introduced into the country. Jaina tradition mentions the visit of Mahāvīra to Orissa and the inscription of Khāravela (l. 14) implies that Kumāri hill (Udayagiri) was the place where he preached and propagated his faith.[5] Khāravela, whose inscription begins with an invocation of the Jinas, was himself a Jaina layman of a pious disposition. He says he offered 'respectfully royal maintenances, China clothes (silks) and white clothes to the monks who by their austerities have extinguished the round of lives, the preachers on the religious life and conduct at the Relic memorial.' He also brought about a council of ascetics and sages from all quarters and 'caused to be compiled expeditiously the text of the seven-fold *aṅgas* of the sixty-four letters.' Earlier, he brought back and set up the image of the Jina of Kaliṅga which had been carried away by king Nanda of Magadha. Though he patronised Jainism particularly, he was 'a respecter of every sect, and the repairer of all temples' as he proclaims in his inscription. The Jaina accounts, however, have nothing to say about this royal patron of their creed, and the inscription which is all we

p. iii; P. L. Vaidya, ed. *Nyāyāvatāra*, Intrn. p. 20; etc.

[1] Guérinot, op. cit., p. 44

[2] *Maṇimekalai*, 14 *ll.* 28-9; 29 *ll.* 21-2

[3] The first schism was led by Jamāli, the nephew and son-in-law of Mahāvīra, and occurred in the Master's lifetime, four years after his enlightenment; the second by Tishya-gupta at Rājagriha; the third by Āshāḍha *c.* 313 B.C. 'the fourth in 307 B.C. by Aśvamitra ; the fifth in 299 by Gaṅga; the sixth in A.D. 18 by Rohagupta; the seventh by Gotthāmāhila in A.D. 57. Guérinot, op. cit., pp. 46-8

[4] Stevenson, op. cit., p. 79

[5] Jayaswal, *JBORS.* XIII pp. 223, 245-6; *EI.* XX p. 89 and *n.* 11

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have to rely on for a knowledge of his deeds is by no means an easy record, as the long and varied history of its study and interpretation shows.[1]

An important landmark in the history of Jainism in North India in our period is formed by the numerous Jaina inscriptions of Mathurā, some of them undated, and others bearing dates most probably in the Śaka era marking the accession of Kanishka. The general purport of the inscriptions is to record gifts of individuals for the honour of their religion and for the benefit of themselves and their parents. When they mention the names of reigning kings and the period of their rule when the gift was made, they help to reconstruct the history of the period. They belong to the period just before and just after the commencement of the Christian era, and show clearly the permanent hold that Jainism no less than Buddhism had acquired on Mathurā and its neighbourhood during this period. They bear testimony to a firmly established Jaina community, strongly supported by the pious lay devotees of all classes and ranks who gave presents of dwellings, clothes and so on, and erected *āyāgapaṭas*, *stūpas* and images, some with faces on all sides (*sarvatobhadrika*), and temples for worship. 'The inscriptions,' says Smith,[2] 'are replete with information as to the organization of the Jaina church in sections known as *gaṇa*, *kula* and *śākhā*, and supply excellent illustrations of the Jaina books. Both inscriptions and sculptures give interesting details proving the existence of Jaina nuns, and the influential position in the Jain church occupied by women.' Among the donors figure bankers, jewellers (*maṇikāra*) caravan-leaders, dyers, perfumers, village headmen (*gāmika*), dealers in metals (*loha-vāṇiya*), and so on, and mostly their wives, daughters, sisters or daughters-in-law, all of them lay disciples of the faith, and pupils (*sīsinī*) of some preacher or other at whose instance they make the gifts.[3] Most of the inscriptions come from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā (mound) occupied by a large Jaina *stūpa* and at least two Jaina temples.

The period of six centuries covered in this summary of Jainism was thus marked by many important developments. The unity of the community was broken once and for all when the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras developed into rival sects. The canon of the sacred literature was fixed though not as yet perhaps committed to writing. Jainism, lastly expanded beyond Bihar, the land of its birth, and overflowed the rest of India including the Far South. In some respects this was the period which witnessed the greatest activity of the church and marked the heyday of the faith, though it may be doubted if it ever attained a position equal in influence to that of Buddhism.

[1] C. J. Shah, op. cit., *n.* 1 on pp. 160-1
[2] *The Jain Stūpa*, p. 6
[3] Lüders, *List*

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(B) BUDDHISM

(200 B. C.—A. D. 300)

I

WITH the advent of the Śuṅgas Buddhism suffered a check. The Buddhist accounts[1] are unanimous in representing Pushyamitra Śuṅga as a persecutor of Buddhism. His persecution started in Magadha where it is said he tried unsuccessfully to destroy the famous Kukkuṭārāma monastery in Pāṭaliputra. He went up to Śākala to execute his policy of persecution. There he offered a reward of 100 dināras for the head of every Buddhist monk. The Buddhist accounts further tell us that this policy involved him in a war with a Yaksha named Kṛimiśa[2] and ultimately brought about his death at a place called Sthūlakoshṭha. This evidence cannot be completely discarded. The Buddhist accounts refer to the dissatisfaction felt by the ministers of Aśoka as well as by his grandson Samprati at the extravagance with which Aśoka was emptying the treasury on the Buddhist establishments.[3] The state was impoverished and weakened and this led to the downfall of the Mauryas. Pushyamitra started with a reactionary policy, performed *aśvamedha* sacrifices and did his best to revive the Brahmanical religion. If his policy of persecution was followed with greater vigour from Śākala it was because the Greeks had become the protagonists of this religion and had declared war against him in its defence.[4] Demetrius and Menander became the champions of the cause of Buddhism and overran the whole of Northern India. Pushyamitra disappeared and his successors ruled not from Magadha but from Vidiśā.

The temporary persecution of Buddhism at the hands of Pushyamitra was ineffective. The people had espoused the cause of Buddhism. It was probably this popular feeling that dissuaded Pushyamitra from destroying the Kukkuṭārāma at Pāṭaliputra. The same popular sentiment prepared the way for the great progress made by Buddhism during the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period. This is made amply clear by the very large number of private donations recorded on Buddhist monuments at this time. A number of famous Buddhist establishments like the Bhārhut Stūpa,

[1] *Divyāvadāua*, xxix pp. 429-434; Przyluski, *La Legende de l'Empereur Acoka*, pp. 256 f. where he deals with the Chinese versions of the story; *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, ed. Gaṇapati Śāstri, ch. 53, vv. 530-7. For the Tibetan version of the story *Bu-ston*, trans. Obermiller, p. 199

[2] For the identification of Kṛmiśa with Demetrius see my *Kṛmiśa and Demetrius*, *IHQ*. XXII pp. 81 f

[3] *Divyāvadāna*, loc. cit., p. 430. The text says that Aśoka appointed Samprati, the son of Kuṇāla, heir apparent to the throne. As Aśoka was emptying the whole treasury on the Buddhists, Samprati, on the advice of his ministers, made Aśoka a virtual prisoner and restrained him from this policy.

[4] While describing the causes of the Greek invasion the Purāṇas say that they came for the sake of religion, cupidity or wealth (*dharmataḥ kāmato rthataḥ*): *IHQ*. XXII pp. 89-90

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the Kārle Caves, and the Sāñchī Stūpa belong to the Śuṅga-Kāṇva period and testify to the great prosperity which Buddhism was then enjoying. Buddhism had developed from a monastic into a popular religion. It had become a theistic religion with Buddha and his relics as the objects of the cult. The *stūpas* contained the ashes of the Great Master. Mere circumambulation and worship of these *stūpas* came to be considered by the ordinary laity as an act of great piety. The sanctity of Buddha's person was still held in the highest estimation and it was a sacrilege to make an image of him for the purpose of worship. The Bodhi tree or the sacred wheel were considered to be sufficiently representative of the divine aspect of the Lord.

It was in this period that Buddhism was adopted by the Greeks in the North.[1] King Menander was a great champion of the faith. The story of his conversion by Nāgasena is related in the *Milindapañha* and seems to have a historical basis. He was probably instrumental in inviting Demetrius to defend the cause of Buddhism against the persecution of Pushyamitra. After establishing his capital at Śākala he began to do many acts of piety. In these he seems to have emulated the example of Aśoka. He is said to have been charitable, attached to the Law and a builder of monasteries, gardens, *chaityas*, wells etc. Some of his coins bear the emblem of the wheel, and he calls himself a *trāta* and a *dhramia*. Buddhist tradition represents him as a saviour of Buddhism. The Greeks carried the story of his pious acts very far. Plutarch[2] tells us that after his death, the large cities within his empire contended for the honour of preserving his ashes and ultimately divided them among themselves just as was done with the ashes of Buddha. Another Greek ruler, Agathocles, uses the emblems of the Buddhist *stūpa* and Bodhi tree on his coins, and he takes pride in calling himself a *Hinduja*, i.e. an Indian by birth.

From the time of Menander the Greeks in India adopted Buddhism as the religion of their faith. Henceforth they play the part of donors to Buddhist establishments. One Irila builds two cisterns for the monks at his own expense at Junnar, Chita builds a meeting-hall for the *saṅgha* at the same place. Indrāgnidata excavates a cave at Nāsik, and Dhenukākaṭā builds a temple at Kārle. There were doubtless many other donations elsewhere, but the examples mentioned were made at the most important institutions of the period.

The Pāli texts represent the Greeks as taking part even in missionary activities. We are told that after the conversion of the Yavana (Greek) country to Buddhism, Moggaliputta Tissa went there and selected a Greek elder Dharmarakshita for missionary work. Dharmarakshita was then sent to Aparāntaka where he successfully preached the law of Buddha

[1] S. Levi. '*Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs*,' *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions*, XXIII 1891, pp. 436-49, reprinted in *Memorial Sylvain Levi*, pp. 204 ff.; Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, *SBE.* XXXV; P. Demieville *Les Versions Chinoises de Milindapañha*, *BEFEO* XXIV.

[2] *CHI.* I p. 551

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and converted thousands, including women and nobles.[1] The Ceylonese chronicle[2] further tells us that when Duṭṭhagāmaṇi founded the Great Stūpa (Mahāthūpa) in Ceylon in the middle of the second century B.C. Buddhist teachers came from various countries. The Greeks were represented by the Greek elder Mahādharmarakshita who came from the city of Alasando (Alexandria ad Caucasum).

The Greeks in India were also responsible for developing a new style of Buddhist art which is usually known as Indo-Greek and which flourished mostly in the Panjab and North-Western India. It also exercised a great influence on the Buddhist art flourishing in other parts of India and abroad, in later days. The Greeks were perhaps responsible for the first plastic representation of Buddha, and this indicated a great change in Buddhist ideology from purely ethical to theistic concepts.

The rapid extension of Buddhism after the time of Aśoka to various parts of India resulted in the rise of Buddhist sects of which the number is given as eighteen.[3] These sects arose not from doctrinal differences except in certain cases, but from the geographical conditions. With the spread of Buddhism, communities were founded in various parts of the country and as there was no co-ordinating organisation many of them developed their own traditions respecting the ancient teachings. The differences between many of these schools were so small that a number of them died out or merged in a short time with others.

The first schism in the church, we have seen, took place at the time of the second council, and split the church in two, one section being called Mahāsāṅghika and the other Sthaviravāda (Pāli Theravāda). Various traditions both northern and southern would have us believe that from the time of the first schism for nearly one century the Sthaviravāda Church remained undivided, while the Mahāsāṅghika during the same period (the second century after Nirvāṇa) gave rise to eight different schools: Ekavyāvahārika, Lokottaravāda, Kaukkuṭika, Bahuśrutīya, Prajñaptivāda, Chaityaśaila, Aparaśaila and Uttaraśaila.

Divisions started in the Sthaviravāda camp a century later (third century after Nirvāṇa). The first gave rise to two schools: Sarvāstivāda and Mūla-Sthaviravāda (also called Haimavata). From the Sarvāstivāda arose the Vātsiputrīya which gave rise to four schools called Dharmottarīya, Bhadrayānīya, Sammatīya and Chhannagarika. Later on two other schools also arose from the Sarvāstivāda: Kāśyapīya and Mahīśāsaka, and the latter was parent of the Dharmaguptaka school. The last school to originate from the Sarvāstivāda came into existence a century

[1] *Mahāvaṁsa*, *Dīpavaṁsa*, and *Sutta-vibhaṅga*—texts discussed by Levi, op. cit.

[2] Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 194

[3] A complete account of the schools and their doctrines is found in Vasumitra's 'History of Eighteen Schools' which is preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translations. For the Tibetan translation Vassilief, *Bouddisme, ses Dogmes etc.*, Paris, 1865, pp. 222 ff; for the Chinese translation—J. Maśuda, *Asia Major*, II pp. 1 ff; for the Pāli sources—Geiger, *Mahāvaṁsa*, App. 2

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later, and it was known as Saṁkrāntivāda (also called Sautrāntika).

The Mahāsāṅghika since its inception in Vaiśālī was mostly confined to the east from where it spread specially to the south. The followers of this school probably did not form a strong community in the north as they are mentioned only in two inscriptions:[1] the Wardak vase inscription of the 51st year of Kanishka and the Mathurā Lion Pillar. The first refers to a *vihāra* being built by one Vagramarega for the Mahāsāṅghikas, but the reference in the second inscription is not very clear. It probably speaks of the interest that was being taken by one Buddhila, a Sarvāstivāda teacher, in the literature of the Mahāsāṅghika school. The Mahāsāṅghika and its sects had a larger following in the South. A Kārle cave inscription of the 24th year of the reign of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi[2] records the gift of a nine-celled hall to the Mahāsāṅghikas. The gift was important and shows that the school was held in high esteem in that region. The Mahāsāṅghika and some of its branches also flourished in the region of Amarāvatī and Dhānyakaṭaka, but some of its earlier sects, such as the Ekavyāvahārika, Lokottaravāda and Kukkuṭika probably disappeared very early as they are not mentioned in any inscription.

The Mahāsāṅghika developed a literature of its own. In fact it claimed to have preserved the most authentic tradition of early Buddhism in so far as it traced its lineage from Mahākāśyapa who was responsible for convening the first Buddhist council in which, according to tradition, the canon was recited for the first time. The Tibetan accounts[3] say that the literature of the school was written in a Prākṛit language but no original text of the school having come down to us we do not know what sort of Prākṛit it was. The Vinayapiṭaka of this school[4] has, however, survived in its entirety in a Chinese translation made by Fa-hien and Buddhabhadra in A.D. 424. Fa-hien discovered a manuscript of this text on his Indian travels in a Mahāyāna monastery in Magadha. The story as told by Fa-hien is interesting and throws some light on the antiquity of the Mahāsāṅghika-Vinaya:[5] 'Fa-hien's original object had been to search for the Vinaya. In the various kingdoms of North India, however, he had found one master transmitting orally the rules to another but no written copies which he could transcribe. He had travelled far and come on to Central India. Here in the Mahāyāna monastery he found a copy of the Vinaya containing the Mahāsāṅghika rules—those which were observed in the first great council while Buddha was still in the world. The original copy was handed down in the Jetavanavihāra.' Fa-hien's testimony proves that the Mahāsāṅghika-Vinaya was written down quite early at a time when manuscript copies of the Vinaya of other schools were not yet available. Fa-hien also refers to the Abhidharma[6] of

[1] Konow, *CII.* II (i) p. 165 & p. 30
[2] Lüders, *List*, 1106; *EI.* VII p. 71
[3] Vassilief, op. cit., p. 271
[4] P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, p. 136
[5] Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 98
[6] Ibid. p. 99

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the Mahāsāṅghika school, a copy of which he got in Magadha, but it has not been preserved. We do not know if the school had a Sūtrapiṭaka of its own. No trace of any such collection has come down to us. Of the three early branches of the Mahāsāṅghika there are no vestiges except in the literature of one school, the Lokottaravāda. The *Mahāvastu* is declared to be a portion of the Vinayapiṭaka of this school. The *Mahāvastu* itself declares that it is 'the portion called Mahāvastu of the Vinayapiṭaka of the Lokottaravāda of Madhyadeśa—a branch of the Mahāsāṅghika.'[1]

The Mahāsāṅghika, along with its three branches—the Ekavyāvahārika, Lokottaravāda and Kaukkuṭika—believed in the supramundane (*lokottara*) character of Buddha. Buddha was thus considered to be infallible. Every word uttered by a Buddha has a deep religious significance. He is omniscient and not subject to human failings. The historical Buddha had no place in this theory. The Mahāsāṅghika also formulated the theory of *mūlavijñāna*, 'original consciousness', which was of great consequence. It is this subtle consciousness from which the five *skandhas* originate. Thus regarded, the *skandhas* do not transmigrate; it is the *mūlavijñāna* which is the real subject of transmigration.[2]

The other branches of the Mahāsāṅghika, viz., the Bahuśrutīya, Prajñaptivāda, Chaityaśaila, Aparaśaila and Uttaraśaila, have also left definite traces in the history of the Buddhist Church. In addition to the last three schools, the Pāli sources mention a few others including them under the general heading Andhaka (Andhraka). The additional names are: Rājagiriya, Siddhatthika, Pubbaselia and Vājiriya. The schools are also generally known as Chetiya or Chaitya (ka). These schools flourished in the region of Dhānyakaṭaka near Amarāvatī and played an important part in the history of Buddhism during the first few centuries of the Christian era.[3] Some of them continued to exist till the seventh century, when Hiuan Tsang visited the place.

The Chaityakas are already mentioned in a Nāsik cave inscription.[4] A number of inscriptions discovered at Amarāvatī[5] mention the Chetiya school and its chief place of worship—the Mahāchaitya at Dhānyakaṭaka.[6] A number of inscriptions discovered at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, a place near ancient Dhānyakaṭaka refer to the following Andhraka schools:[7]

1. Chetiyavādaka
2. Rājagirinivāsika (the same as Rājagiriya mentioned by Pāli sources)
3. Puvasele (Purvaśaila)
4. Mahāvanseliya (this may be one of two other *seliya* schools: Apara—and Uttara—)
5. Siddhatthika.

[1] *Mahāvastu* ed. Senart, I p. 2
[2] Masuda, loc. cit., 68, *n.* 1
[3] *EI.* XX (i); *IHQ.* VII pp. 633 f
[4] Lüders, *List*, no. 1130
[5] Ibid. no. 1225
[6] Ibid. no. 1225
[7] *IHQ.* VII p. 646

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The inscriptions also speak of the Airiya Hagha or Ārya-Saṅgha by which probably the Mahāsaṅgha is meant. The Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions mention another school of the Mahāsāṅghika, the Bahuśrutīya. The existence in the region of Dhānyakaṭaka of practically all the branches of the Mahāsāṅghika mentioned in literature shows that this area had become the most important stronghold of the Mahāsāṅghikas under the patronage of the Śātavāhanas and their successors in the Krishna valley. These schools continued to prosper till the third or fourth century A.D. This place, as we know from one of the inscriptions, had attracted monks and nuns from various lands: Kāśmīra, Gandhāra, Chīna, Kirāta, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana, Ḍamila and Tāmbapāṇṇi (Ceylon).[1]

The Andhraka schools had no literature of their own and seem not to have differed from the parent community, the Mahāsāṅghika, on any important doctrinal point. They evidently shared with other Mahāsāṅghika sects the principal views of the school on Buddhalogy and transmigration.

The schools arising from the other camp, the Sthaviravāda, have also left their definite mark in literature and epigraphy, from the Śuṅga right up to the Kushān period, and may be said to have flourished from 200 B.C. to A.D. 200. The Sarvāstivāda and its branches flourished mostly in the north, being recorded in a number of inscriptions[2] of the Kushān period e.g., the Zeda Inscription, the Kurram valley relic casket, the Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscription. One inscription records the gift to the Sarvāstivāda monks of the famous Kanishka-Vihāra of Purushapura. These inscriptions clearly show that the Sarvāstivāda school was esteemed in the entire region from Mathurā to Nagara (hāra) and from Taxila to Kāśmīra. The Haimavata school had its stronghold in Vidiśā.[3] The Sonārī *stūpa* inscriptions of Bhilsa refer to this school and its apostle Dundubhisara. Other inscriptions of the same region record the names of two other teachers of the same school, Kāśyapagotra and Gauptīputra (Gotiputa). The Ceylonese chronicles as well as the *Samantapāsādikā* make special reference to Dundubhisara and Kassapagotta as the apostles of Buddhism in the Himalayan zone. The Haimavata school, as the name indicates, probably originated in the Himalayan region, perhaps in Kāśmīra.

A number of inscriptions of the Kaṇheri cave mention the Bhadrayānika school, and the Sārnāth Pillar Inscription[4] refers to the Sammitīya and Vātsīputrika schools. We have seen that the Sammitīya was a branch of the Vātsīputrika, and hence they were intimately associated with each other. The Vātsīputrikas are also found in a Bhārhut inscription under the name Vacchiputra. The Kāśyapīya, another important branch of the Sarvāstivāda, is recorded in the inscriptions of

[1] *IHQ.* VII p. 651; *EI.* XX pp. 22-3; I accept Vogel's interpretation.
[2] Konow, op cit., pp. 30, 142, 152
[3] Lüders, *List*, no. 156; Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 317 f
[4] Lüders, *List*, no. 923

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the period. The oldest reference to them is in the Pabhosā Buddhist cave inscription[1] which records the excavation of the cave for the use of the Kaśśapīya monks, by one Āshāḍhasena, the maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra. The Bedali inscription (Hazara district) and the Taxila Copper Ladle inscription, both of which[2] belong to the Kushān period refer to them as Kasavia or Kasyaviya. Inscriptions are silent about the Dharmaguptaka school but there are other evidences to show that this was a very important school of the period. Although the Mahīśāsaka was a branch of the Sarvāstivāda and an important school, it is not mentioned in any inscription of North India. It does, however, find a place along with the Andhraka schools in one of the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[3]

Many of these branches of the Sthaviravāda have left their own literatures. The Pāli canon according to its own tradition is the sacred literature of the Theravāda (Sthaviravāda). The literature of the Sarvāstivāda[4] has, however, been preserved only in Chinese and Tibetan translations. The complete Vinayapiṭaka of the school was translated into Chinese in A.D. 404 by Kumārajīva and Puṇyatrāta. Only the *Prātimoksha* of this school has been discovered in its original Sanskrit, from Central Asia.[5] The Sūtrapiṭaka, consisting of four Āgamas, translated into Chinese between 397 and 427, in all likelihood belongs to the same school. Of the seven Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādas, the *Jñānaprasthāna-śāstra* is preserved in a Chinese translation of 383. The other six are in Chinese translations made by Hiuan Tsang between 651 and 660.

The Vinayapiṭakas of the Dharmaguptaka and Mahīśāsaka schools[6] are also preserved in Chinese translations of the beginning of the fifth century. The literatures of the other schools, viz. Haimavata, Kāśyapīya and Sammitīya, have come down to us in the fragments preserved in Chinese translations. A small text called *Vinayamātrakā-śāstra*,[7] which was translated into Chinese between 385 and 431, is a fragment of the Vinaya of the Haimavata school as stated by a colophon of the text itself. It has a close resemblance to the corresponding section of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya. A fragment of the Vinaya of the Kāśyapīya school is the *Vimukti-śīla-sūtra*[8] translated by Gautama Prajñāruchi at the beginning of the sixth century. A small section of the Vinaya of the Sammitīya school is the *Liu eul she eul ming leao lun* (22 explanations of the Vinaya)[9] which was translated by Paramārtha in the middle of the sixth century. A Śāstra or Abhidharma of the same school entitled *Sammitīya-nikāya-śāstra*[10] was translated into Chinese much earlier. It looks like an abridgement of a longer work giving the essential doctrines of the school. It is not impossible that some of these schools at least had more

[1] Ibid. no. 904
[2] Konow, op. cit., pp. 87-8
[3] *IHQ.* VII p. 647; *EI.* XX p. 24
[4] *India and China*, p. 137
[5] Finot, 'Prātimokṣa du Sarvāstivāda' *JA.* 1913
[6] *India and China*, p. 137
[7] Taisho Edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, no. 1463
[8] Ibid. no. 1460
[9] Ibid. no. 1461
[10] Ibid. no. 1649

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extensive literatures which have been lost. We know at least that Hiuan Tsang took 17 texts of the Sammitīya school from India to China, but translated none of them and the texts were ultimately lost.

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the doctrines held by the various schools of the Sthaviravāda group. However, some of their important differences with the Mahāsāṅghika may be pointed out. The Sarvāstivādas, as the name indicates, were realists. They believed in the existence of both material and mental elements. They held Buddha, in opposition to the Mahāsāṅghikas, to be a historical figure who was not infallible. Not all that he said was the Law, and not all the *sūtras* that he delivered were perfect. The fundamental doctrines are embodied only in the eightfold Aryan path (*ārya-ashṭāṅgika-mārga*).

The Dharmaguptaka school, although a branch of the Sthaviravāda, had a near doctrinal affinity with the Mahāsāṅghika. It attached a sanctity to the person of Buddha and placed him higher than the Saṅgha. It also maintained that great merit could be acquired by worshipping the *stūpa*.

The Mahīśāsaka too differed on some important doctrinal matters from its parent body, the Sarvāstivāda. While the latter maintained that the things (*dharmas*), present, past and future exist, the Mahīśāsakas propunded the view that the past and the future do not exist. It is said, however, that the Mahīśāsakas later on modified this position.

We know something more definite on the special doctrines of the Sammitīya school. The Sammitīya was a branch of the Vātsīputrīya. The most important view held by them in common was a modification of the theory of transmigration. While most of the Buddhist sects believed that the *pudgala* (ego) was either identical with the *skandhas* or different from them, the Vātsīputrīya and the Sammitīya maintained that the ego was neither the *skandhas* nor different from them. This ego, they maintained, contrary to the views of others, could transmigrate. The conception of this ego was more or less like the Brahmanical conception of *ātman* and similar to the conception of *mūlavijñāna* of the Mahāsāṅghika. They were therefore accused of heresy by some schools. They also held another revolutionary view in common with the Sarvāstivāda that non-Buddhists also were capable of obtaining the supernormal powers (*ṛiddhi*) and attaining to the position of Arhatship.

The last of the eighteen schools, which is called Saṁkrāntivāda by some sources and Sautrāntika by others, and which originated in the fourth century after Nirvāṇa requires to be noted. They were called Saṁkrāṅtikā because they believed in the transmigration of the *skandhas*. But by these *skandhas* they mean something different from its ordinary conception. It is called *ekarasa-skandha*, an entity similar to the *pudgala* theory of the Sammitīyas and *mūlavijñāna* of the Mahāsāṅghikas. On this point the school seems to have been the precursor of the later Sautrāntikas, but on another point they maintained a doctrine quite contrary to that of the Sautrāntikas of later times. They shared

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with the Sarvāstivāda the view that the *sūtras* delivered by Buddha were not all authoritative. The later Sautrāntika school, however, considered the *sūtras* alone to be authoritative. The Saṁkrāntivāda therefore should be distinguished from the Sautrāntika school of later times, although in certain respects the former may be considered a precursor of the later.[1]

It is thus clear that apart from some of the most important schools which developed their own literatures, the rest were local sects which as Fa-hien says 'agree in general meaning but they have small and trivial differences as when one opens and another shuts'.

II.

Kanishka's reign is a landmark in the history of Buddhism. Tradition not only represents him as a great patron of the religion but also associates him with a galaxy of Buddhist masters who were responsible for shaping the Buddhism of later times. Only a few coins of Kanishka contain Buddhist emblems, but a very large number of inscriptions of his reign as well as of that of his successors clearly bear out that it was a period of great Buddhist activity. It was in this period that the Indo-Greek school of Buddhist art which originated earlier had its greatest development. Buddha for the first time began to be represented by images. Buddhist monks from India carried Buddhism to Central Asia and China. Buddhist philosophical schools came into existence and a new form of Buddhism, the Mahāyāna, of far-reaching consequence came to be evolved in this period. The Buddhist sects mentioned above assumed their definite position in the doctrinal and literary history of Buddhism.

Kanishka must have contributed a good deal to this progress of Buddhism. Buddhist legends tell us that he became the sovereign of all Jambudvīpa 400 years after the death of Buddha. He at first treated Buddhism with contempt, but later on became a great champion of it. The story runs that while out hunting he met a cowherd-boy who inspired him with faith in Buddha by communicating to him a prophecy of the Lord that 400 years after him a king called Kanishka would build a great *stūpa* in his honour. This led to his conversion to Buddhism and the emperor in fulfilment of the prophecy built a great tope at Purushapura. This was the famous Kanishka-Mahāvihāra of Peshawar which became an object of admiration to all foreign travellers for centuries.[2] The Chinese sources give the name Tsiao-li to this *vihāra*. The Sanskrit name seems to have been something like Āścharya-vihāra.[3]

We do not know how far the story of Kanishka's conversion to Buddhism is authentic. The date at least seems to be wrong for Kanishka did not flourish before the end of the first century, i.e. about 500 years after

[1] Masuda, op. cit., p. 68 *n.* 1

[2] Watters *On Yuan Chwang*, I pp. 203-4

[3] Chavannes, 'Voyage de Song-yun', *BEFEO.* III p. 422 *n.*

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Nirvāṇa, but the Mahāvihāra built by him is mentioned not only in literature but also in inscriptions. It was the abode of Pārśva, the venerable patriarch of the Sarvāstivāda school, who was a contemporary of the emperor and probably his preceptor. He presided over a general Buddhist council convoked by Kanishka.[1] This is traditionally known as the Third Buddhist Council, evidently by the exclusion of the Council of Pāṭalīputra, which we have seen was only a party meeting. The Council was necessitated by the dissensions that had been raging in the Church. The Tibetan accounts tell us that the principal participants were Pārśva with 500 Arhats under him and Vasumitra with 500 Bodhisattvas under him. This really means that the points of view which we usually call Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna were both represented in the Council. According to one source, the Council acknowledged that all the eighteen schools preserved the genuine doctrine of Buddhism, it also put into writing the Vinaya as well as those parts of the Sūtra and Abhidharma that had not been written down before. The Chinese account as given by Hiuan Tsang tells us that the elders in this Council were concerned with the compilation of the commentaries (*Vibhāshā*) of the Sutra-, Vinaya- and the Abhidharma-piṭakas each containing 100,000 *ślokas*. These *Vibhāshās* were considered to be the authoritative interpretations of the canon, and by the order of Kanishka were engraved on copper-plates and enclosed in a *stūpa*. The venue of the Council, according to one source, was the Kuṇḍalavana-vihāra of Kāśmīra, according to the other, the Kuvana in Jālandhara.

Besides Pārśva, a number of other famous teachers was associated with Kanishka. Of these the foremost was Aśvaghosha.[2] Aśvaghosha, originally a Brahmin, was converted to Buddhism by Pārśva. His activities were confined to Magadha, but his fame soon reached the frontiers. He was brought to Puruṣhapura by Kanishka after his military expedition to the east. Aśvaghosha is famous for his literary works, *Buddhacharita*, *Sūtrālaṁkāra*, *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*—a drama of which only fragments have been discovered from Central Asia, *Saundarananda*, etc. His great literary genius has been recognised but in all probability he also originated a system of philosophy. This philosophy is sometimes called the Tathatā philosophy in which the ultimate reality is stated to be indefinable, attainable only by intuition. The phenomenal world is declared to be unreal. A systematic book of Mahāyāna philosophy called *Śraddhotpāda-śāstra*, which is found in Chinese and declared to be the translation of the Sanskrit original, is attributed to him. Some scholars, however, doubt the authenticity of this book. Other sources attribute to him a drama called *Rāshṭrapāla-nāṭaka* which is now lost and must have treated of philosophical topics. An account of this work as preserved in Chinese says: 'In the city of Pāṭalīputra Aśvaghosha had been going about to preach his

[1] Watters, op. cit., I pp. 209 f.; Obermiller, *Bu-ston*, p. 97; Kern. *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 121 f.

[2] Watters, op. cit., I p. 209; Vassilief, op. cit., p. 210; Levi, 'Encore Aśvaghosa', *JA*. 1928, pp. 193 f.

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religion and to convert others to it. Inspired by the desire to save the residents of the city he composed a beautiful piece of song called *Rāshṭrapāla*. Its tune was pure and elegant, and beauty and sadness perfectly harmonised in it. It dealt with sorrow, vacuity, essence of impersonality (*duḥkha, śūnyatā, anātmā*) that is to say all that constitute the illusory world. The three worlds or the *dhātus* are the prisons for imprisoning the people and it is impossible to be happy in any of these places . . .all is impermanent . . . the body is empty and vain . . .' . This is not quite a new philosophy; it is rather a fundamental thesis of Buddhism. It is therefore likely, as the tradition asserts, that Aśvaghosha was also an exponent of the Buddhist philosophy in some of his works.

Vasumitra,[1] we have seen, was also a contemporary of Kanishka. There are different personages of this name, and some confusion about them in the Chinese and Tibetan accounts. We are told that there were three Vasumitras in the early period; one lived three hundred years after Nirvāṇa and was the author of the two Abhidharma works of the Sarvāstivāda, viz., *Prakaraṇapada* and *Dhātukāya;* the second Vasumitra lived four hundred years after Nirvāṇa and assisted Pārśva in the compilation of the *Mahāvibhāshā;* the third was a Sautrāntika teacher. In spite of the tradition, it is possible to suppose that the first and the second were identical. There is no doubt that the Sarvāstivāda canon was rehearsed in the Third Council before the compilation of a comprehensive Vibhāshā could be undertaken. So Vasumitra may have been responsible for putting together the two Abhidharma texts mentioned before which pass under his name. He played that part of an editor, not of an author, in regard to the two texts. A few other works attributed to him such as the *History of Eighteen Schools*, *Saṅgīti-sūtra* etc. show that Vasumitra was interested in putting the traditional lore in order. This was also the main purpose of the Third Council—to take stock of the canonical books, to put them in order, to write them down, to fix the correct interpretation and to judge the value of the traditions as recorded by various schools. Vasumitra worked to that end.

Three more names are associated with him. Tāranāth says, 'Bhadanta Dharmatrāta, Ghoshaka, Vasumitra and Buddhadeva are the four great teachers of the Vaibhāshika school.'[2] Dharmatrāta[3] was the maternal uncle of Vasumitra. He may have been one of the collaborators in the compilation of the *Vibhāshā*. A great and important compilation, the *Udānavarga*, which is the Sanskrit version of the *Dhammapada*, is attributed to him. It contains many more verses than are found in the Pāli *Dhammapada*, and as a collection has greater importance than the Pāli text in the history of the Buddhist canon.

Ghoshaka[4] was a Tukhāra and thus belonged to the same nationality

[1] Minayeff, *Recherches sur Bouddhisme*, pp. 195 f.; Masuda, op. cit., p. 7; La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Intro. p. xliii

[2] Kern, *Manual*, p. 128

[3] La Vallée Poussin, op. cit., p. xlvii

[4] Ibid. p. xlvi

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as Kanishka. The tradition says that after the council and death of Kanishka, both Vasumitra and Ghoshaka were invited by the king of Aśmāparānta, a country to the west of Kāśmīra and near the country of Tukhāra. He is often quoted in the *Vibhāshā*, a fact which shows that he took part in the compilation of that great work. A separate work, the *Abhidharmāmṛita-śāstra*, is attributed to him. It is a very clear presentation of the fundamental doctrines of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma.

Buddhadeva[1] is mentioned in the *Vibhāshā*. He is in all probability the person referred to in the Mathurā Lion Pillar Inscription along with another Sarvāstivāda teacher named Budhila. Both Buddhadeva and Dharmatrāta are said to have held the doctrine that 'everything exists'. Buddhadeva further maintained that the various conditions of the mind (*chaitta*) are only the various modes of thought (*vijñāna*). This was somewhat similar to the Sautrāntika view of *ekarasaskandha* and the Mahāsāṅghika doctrine of *mūlavijñāna*. Both Dharmatrāta and Buddhadeva seem to have been elder contemporaries of Kanishka.

The reign of Kanishka saw the rise of the two philosophical schools which originated from the Sarvāstivāda.[2] The *Mahāvibhāshā* which was compiled in the Third Council with the object of supplying the most authoritative interpretation of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma was taken as the basis of the Vaibhāshika movement. The followers of this school explained the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism with the help of the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivāda school. Hence they are also known as the Ābhidharmikas. The four teachers mentioned above, Vasumitra, Ghoshaka, Dharmatrāta and Buddhadeva, are considered to be the pioneers of the Vaibhāshika movement. This, however, is not literally true. The Vaibhāshika was not constituted as a full-fledged school until later, when their opponents, the Sautrāntikas, came to be organised as a school. We have seen that the Sautrāntika doctrine of an original consciousness of which the mental conditions are only expressions can be traced also to the works of the two Vaibhāshika teachers: Dharmatrāta and Buddhadeva. As a school Sautrāntika originated slightly later, and the Vaibhāshika then only assumed the form of an independent school.

The Sautrāntikas[3] rejected the authority of the Abhidharma and the Vibhāshā and maintained that the *sūtras* were the only reliable source of the teachings of Buddha. We have seen that some old schools like the Mahāsāṅghika and the Saṅkrāntivāda considered the *sūtras* as the perfect utterances of Buddha, whereas the Sarvāstivāda maintained the contrary view that there are also imperfect *sūtras*. The Sautrāntika tendency at the beginning was known as Dārshṭāntika as it explained the doctrines by *dṛishṭānta* 'comparison'. The Dārshṭāntikas are mentioned in the *Mahāvibhāshā*. The Sautrāntika, however, was constituted as a fully fledged school by Kumāralāta who seems to have flourished soon after Kanishka.

[1] Ibid. p. xlviii
[2] Kern, *Manual*, pp. 126; Vassilief, op. cit., pp. 263 f
[3] La Valle Poussin, op. cit., p. lii

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Tradition speaks of him as one of the four luminaries along with Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna, and Āryadeva. He was thus either a younger contemporary of Kanishka or lived in the time of his immediate successor. We hear of two disciples of Kumāralāta: Śrīlāta and Harivarman. A work of Harivarman, the *Tattvasiddhi-śāstra* has come down to us in the Chinese translation of Kumārajiva (end of the fourth century). The most fundamental view of the Sautrāntikas was that objects are nothing but images of a subtle consciousness.

The Kushāna period also witnessed the rise of a new way in Buddhism, called Mahāyāna which has two philosophical schools:[1] Mādhyamaka and Yogāchāra. Mahāyāna was incipient even in the earlier Buddhism. We have seen that the Mahāsāṅghikas propounded the theory of *lokottaravāda*, and considered the historical Buddha to be nothing but an incarnation (*nirmāṇakāya*) of a supra-mundane Buddha (*saṁbhogakāya*). This theory led to the formulation of the new Buddhalogy with *trikāya* or 'three bodies': Nirmāṇakāya, Saṁbhogakāya and Dharmakāya, in which Dharmakāya is identical with the ultimate reality. This *trikāya* theory is one of the most important doctrines of Mahāyāna.

We have also noted that Buddhism was slowly developing into a theistic religion with Buddha as the object of the cult. Aśoka, we have seen, does not speak of Nirvāṇa as the highest goal but of heaven (*svarga*). His belief in the supernormal powers and in the possibility of leading others to the attainment of heavenly bliss through his own efforts is more a Mahāyāna than a Hīnayāna tendency, In fact, the new ideal which is extolled in Mahāyāna insists on active compassion for the weal of our fellow creatures and decries the egoistic ideal of the Arhats as advocated by the earlier schools which go under the general name of Hīnayāna. These new ways or ideals were being developed in an extensive literature which forms the canon of the Mahāyāna. Some of the works: *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and others seem to have come into existence at this period.

The Mahāyāna philosophy as a new school of interpretation of Buddha's original doctrines was developed in the two idealistic systems known as the Mādhyamaka and the Yogāchāra. The exponents of the Mādhyamaka were Nāgārjuna and his disciple Āryadeva. Nāgārjuna seems to have been a younger contemporary of Kanishka and flourished in the second century A.D. Āryadeva belonged to a later generation. Both of them came from the South—Nāgārjuna from Southern Kośala, and Āryadeva from Ceylon. They appear to have worked in the South, probably at Dhānyakaṭaka. Tradition says[2] that Nāgārjuna was born in a Brahmanical family, had at first a thorough Brahmanical training and became a Buddhist in consequence of a misadventure. He was a personal friend of the great Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi to whom he addressed an epistle (called *suhṛillekha*) that has been preserved in the Buddhist

[1] Kern, *Manual*, pp. 127 f.

[2] Vassilief, op. cit., p. 211

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collections. Nāgārjuna, therefore, worked under the patronage of the Śātavāhana king. A Buddhist tradition credits the Śātavāhanas with the propagation of Mahāyāna.[1] It is recorded in the form of a prediction of Buddha which says: 'There will be a king named Śātavāhana in South India. When the Law is on the point of extinction .... he will appear and propagate the *Vaipulya-sūtra* of the Mahāyāna and will save the Law from extinction.' In fact, we know from other sources that the Śātavāhanas were great patrons of Buddhism. Dhānyakaṭaka and its neighbourhood became the centre of the Mahāsāṅghika sects under this dynasty. A number of Buddhist cave temples, Kārle, Nāsik and the earlier caves of Ajaṇṭā belong to this period.

The Mahāsāṅghika sects with their theory of *lokottaravāda*, and the theory of *kāya* and *mūlavijñāna*, supplied a propitious ground for the growth of Mahāyāna in the South. Although Mahāyāna was incipient in earlier Buddhism, and some of the texts which are admitted to be a part of the canon of the Mahāyāna originated earlier, Mahāyāna was recognised as a developed system only with the formulation of the Mādhyamaka philosophy by Nāgārjuna. Nāgārjuna, therefore, is legitimately considered to be its founder. A number of works is attributed to him, the most important being a stupendous commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā*. He also composed an independent work — the *Māhyamaka-kārikā* in which he formulates the new philosophy. Āryadeva[2] wrote a commentary on the work. Āryadeva expatiated on the new philosophy further in his *Chatuḥśataka*, *Śataśāstra* and a number of other works. The new philosophy is commonly characterised as Śūnyavāda — the philosophy of relativism. It is a logical outcome of the principles of ancient Buddhism, according to which the phenomenal world is a mere illusion from the point of view of ultimate truth. There are two kinds of truths: *Pāramārthika* (ultimate) and *Sāmvṛitika* (relative or conventional). Viewed from the ultimate standpoint, 'All is delusion, dreamlike. There is no existence, there is no cessation of being, there is no birth, there is no Nirvāṇa, there is no difference between those who have attained Nirvāṇa and those who have not. All conditions, in fact, are like dreams.'

The other school, Yogāchāra, is of a slightly later origin. Two brothers Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, natives of Purushapura, are generally believed to have been the first exponents of this system. They lived, however, in the fourth century whereas Yogāchāra doctrines were already being formulated in the Kushāna period. It has been suggested by a number of scholars that the first exponent of this system was Bodhisattva Maitreya—or rather Maitreyanātha, who was the teacher of Asaṅga and lived in the third century.[3] In fact, the story runs that Asaṅga while writing his books had often to go to Bodhisattva Maitreya in the Tushita heaven for the

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II pp. 120 f.; Levi, 'Kaniṣka et Śātavāhana', *JA*. 1936, p. 116

[2] Vassilief, op. cit., p. 213

[3] Yamaguchi, *Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīka*, p. x; Tucci, *Doctrine of Maitreyanāth and Asanga*.

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solution of his difficulties. If the supernatural element is eliminated from the story, Bodhisattva Maitreya would be only a human teacher. Whatever that may be, it is quite likely that Yogāchāra philosophy was formulated in some form or other before the time of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. In fact, the fundamental doctrine of *ālayavijñāna*, which is considered to be the basis of phenomenality by this school, cannot be dissociated from the doctrine of *ekarasaskandha* of the Sautrāntika and the theory of *mūlavijñāna* of the Mahāsāṅghikas. Yogāchāra doctrines are also found in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, which is quite old. The Yogāchāra like the Mādhyamaka is an idealist school and formulates two kinds of truths—the ultimate and the relative, and looks upon the phenomenal world as an illusion. It asserts, however, that this illusion is a mental illusion and hence considers *vijñāna* or consciousness as real.

(C) *VAISHṆAVISM, ŚAIVISM, AND MINOR SECTS*

Introduction

Far-reaching changes were being introduced in the religious outlook of the Indo-Aryans some centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. The Vedic religion was no doubt held in honour, but its character was being gradually transformed. Sacrifices were still being performed with zest by kings and by common men with the help of the priests for particular ends in view, but many of the intellectuals of the day were getting more and more interested in the solution of problems connected with knowledge about the Absolute. The Āraṇyaka and the Upanishad literature, an authoritative and substantial part of which was associated with one or other of the different branches (*śākhā*) of the principal Vedas, was mainly conversant with such topics as the interpretation (*arthavāda*) of the nature of the various sacrifices, and the mystery of the Brahman and Ātman, and not with the actual ritualism of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas. A dim perception of the one unifying principle pervading and at the same time transcending the Universe can be traced in some of the late Vedic texts and in some Brāhmaṇa passages, but it is only in the Upanishads, the Vedānta, i.e. the end or acme of the Vedas, that one finds the ardent efforts of thinkers to throw light on the nature of the Universe and the Universal Principle. Here also are found the fundamental doctrines of Hinduism, the law of Karma and its necessary concomitants, the belief in the transmigration of souls and in the misery inherent in mortal existence, caused by the continuous chain of births and rebirths. Later religious reformers and founders of creeds like the Śākyamuni Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, though severe critics of sacrifices and ritualism, were compelled to assign an important position to some of these newly introduced theories of the Brahmanical seers. The religious outlook of the times when these reformers flourished, and even long before them, was thus of a nature indicative of a critical frame of mind in different classes

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of Indians with whom the old orthodox form of sacrificial religion of the Vedas was not much in favour. When Buddha and Mahāvīra flourished there were religious leaders like Kāśyapa, Kātyāyana, Sañjaya, Maskari Gosāla and others, many of whom seem to have been severe critics of Vedic sacrificialism. Side by side with the followers of these independent leaders and reformers there were many among the general mass of the people, some of whom were animists, while others were worshippers of particular gods and goddesses.

It is against this background of religious ferment that the origin of some of the principal Brahmanical sects can be traced. The most important element that operated to bring these sects about is *Bhakti*, primarily the loving adoration of some persons by others, but secondarily the deep affectionate and mystic devotion for some personal deity who is the principal object of worship to his devotees (*bhaktas*). These exclusive worshippers of particular deities were grouped under different heads which came gradually to be described as one or other of the sects. The divinities round whom the sects developed were not recruited from the orthodox Vedic pantheon, but from quite a different source. Indra, Prajāpati, Mitra, Varuṇa, Yama, Agni and a host of others could not serve the purpose of sectarian deities, and many of them were relegated to the minor position of the guardians of quarters (*dikpālas*). Some of the Vedic gods, again, like Vishṇu, Sūrya and Rudra, and Brahmanic deities like the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa, came to be merged in the composite cult-deities of different sects. In some cases this merger was important for the sects themselves, and some of the latter came to be designated, optionally at first, but more constantly at a later period, by the names of the Vedic counterparts of their cult pictures (cf. the part played by Vishṇu in the Bhāgavata or Pāñcharātra cult, later known as Vaishṇavism). The originals of the sectarian gods were either human heroes like Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa, the son of Devakī, Śākyamuni Buddha and Mahāvīra, or mythological beings like Śiva (Rudra-Śiva), or the Yakshas and Nāgas e.g. Maṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Dadhikarṇa, Takshaka and others, and such goddesses as Umā, Haimavatī, Ambikā, Durgā-Pārvatī and Vindhyavāsinī. The early Buddhist works on many occasions refer to the various kinds of worship prevailing in India, especially in its central and eastern parts, at the time when Buddha was living. The *Niddesa*, a work probably of the third century B.C., gives us a curious record of some religious systems and superstitions.[1] According to the author, there were not only worshippers of such deities as Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Pūrṇabhadra, Maṇibhadra and others, but also animists who adored an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog or a crow. Aśoka significantly remarks in his Rock Edict XII that men are usually associated with one or other of the sects, and that a tolerant monarch inveighs against the extolling of one's own sect to the disparagement of others (*ātmapāshaṁḍa-pūjā parapāshaṁḍagarahā*); he observes

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 3

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that 'that there is no country where these two classes, the Brāhmaṇas and the Śramaṇas do not exist, except among the Yonas, and there is no (place) in any country where men are not indeed attached to some sect.'[1]

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BHAKTI SCHOOL CENTRING ON VĀSUDEVA KṚISHṆA

ONE of the earliest religious schools centering upon a personal god who seems to have been originally a human hero was that of the Bhāgavatas or the Pāñcharātras. It was this school which later came to be designated as Vaishṇava and became one of the foremost Brahmanical creeds of India. It will be shown later on that the Vedic Āditya-Vishṇu had very little to do with it in its early formative stage. According to the epic and purāṇic traditions the Bhāgavatas worshipped Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa, the Sātvata or Vṛishṇi chief and some of his relations. The historicity of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa has been doubted by some scholars who explain him as a mythical figure evolved out of a solar deity, a tribal god, or even a vegetation spirit euhemeristically represented in the epics and some of the Purāṇas. These views, however, rest on insufficient data, and other scholars have suggested on good grounds that Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa was a great human hero, who was deified by his followers at an uncertain date, and who became the nucleus of a great Bhakti cult subsequently prevalent throughout the length and breadth of India.[2] It is true that innumerable myths of a supernatural character were associated with him in course of time, and these have largely obscured his origin and raised grave doubts about his historicity. But if we separate all the later adventitious matter from his personality and only take into account the references to him found in comparatively early literature and inscriptions, we can reasonably assume that he was a human being who was apotheosised for certain ideal traits in his character and for his achievements. His case is similar to that of Gautama Buddha who in the early days of Indological research was regarded by some not as a great man but as a god of infinite light (cf. one of his attributive epithets, *Amitābha*).

VĀSUDEVA KṚISHṆA IN THE CHHĀNDOGYA UPANISHAD AND IN SOME EARLY BUDDHIST AND JAINA TEXTS:

One of the earliest references to Kṛishṇa is to be found in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, a major and earlier prose Upanishad attributable to an age previous to that of Buddha. In this work he is represented as a pupil

[1] Hultzsch, *CII.* I: Kalsi R. E. XII (D); XIII (J).

[2] H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, second edition, p. 39/f. Barth, Hopkins and Keith raise these doubts while R. G. Bhandarkar, Grierson, Garbe, Raychaudhuri, Chanda and others accept his historical character.

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of Ghora, a sage of the Āṅgirasa gotra.[1] Kṛishṇa is described here as the son of Devakī (Devakīputra) who learns several precepts concerning the real nature of man's life from his teacher. That this Kṛishṇa is the same as the Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa of the epics and the Purāṇas is clear from the fact that both are described as the 'son of Devakī.' In the 16th *prapāṭhaka* of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, Book III, some facts are stated about one Mahidāsa, son of Itarā (Mahidāsa Aitareya) and the next *prapāṭhaka* deals with Kṛishṇa Devakīputra, and this also appears to demonstrate the original human character of the latter. Some early Buddhist and Jaina texts too show that Vāsudeva was a man. The Ghaṭa Jātaka mentions Vāsudeva as belonging to the royal family of Upper Madhurā (Mathurā); and though the name of the family is not given, there can be little doubt that it is the Vṛishṇi one. The Jātaka gives us a garbled version of a tradition about him current among the Buddhists in early times, and represents him and his brothers as the sons of Devagabbhā and Upasāgara. They were handed over to a man of the name of Andhakaveṇhu and his wife Nandagopā, an attendant of Devagabbhā. The names of the allied tribes, Andhakas and Vṛishṇis, and those of Kṛishṇa's mother and foster-father are thus found in this account.[2] The Jaina text *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* also refers in an interesting manner to Vāsudeva, also named Keśava, who was a contemporary of Arishṭanemi, the 22nd Jina, both princes of the town of Soriyapura (Sauryapura).[3] Keśava was the son of Devakī and king Vasudeva, while Arishṭanemi was born to king Samudravijaya and Śivā. The story narrated in the text is a confused one in which the principal hero is, of course, the Jina Arishṭanemi, but Keśava's (Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa's) dynastic association is correctly reported. Though the references to Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva in these passages from the Buddhist and Jaina texts are much later in point of date than the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, or, for that matter, are far later than the allusions to him which we find in early grammatical texts to be noticed now, their special interest lies in the fact that in their own way they establish the human character of the principal cult-picture of the Bhāgavata or the Pāñcharātra cult.

VĀSUDEVA IN PĀṆINI, PATAÑJALI AND THE TAITTIRĪYA ĀRAṆYAKA

The earliest reference to the deification of the human hero, Vāsudeva, however, is found in one of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*. It is in the *sūtra* IV.3.98 that Vāsudeva and Arjuna are mentioned side by side, in connection with the rule for the derivation of the words denoting their devotees. The affix *vun* comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration' after the words Vāsudeva and Arjuna' (*Vāsudevārjunābhyāṁ vun*). Now, according to the *sūtra* immediately following it, the word

[1] *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, iii. 17
[2] *The Jātakas*, Cowell's trans. IV p. 50 ff.
[3] The *Uttarādhyāyanasūtram*, ed. Jarl Charpentier, pp. 164-9; *SBE.* XLV pp. 122-9

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denoting a worshipper of Vāsudeva could have been derived if the latter was simply a Kshatriya hero of eminence. This *sūtra* lays down that to denote admirers of eminent Kshatriyas (*gotrakshatriya*), *vuñ* should be affixed to the names of such persons. Patañjali in commenting on the former aphorism raises this question and answers it by observing that Vāsudeva in this context is not the name of a Kshatriya, but that of the worshipful one, a god.[1] In one manuscript of the *Mahābhāshya*, R. G. Bhandarkar found *tatra bhagavataḥ* in place of *tatrabhavataḥ* occurring in Kielhorn's edition, and suggested that here is an undoubted reference to the *god* Vāsudeva. In any case, the expression *tatrabhavataḥ* also denotes the idea of great veneration present in the mind of the commentator. That the word Vāsudeva was the more honoured of the two (Vāsudeva and Arjuna), is proved by the first place given to it in the compound *Vāsudevārjuna* for according to Pāṇini's *sūtras* (II. 2.33-34) the compound form should have been Arjuna-Vāsudeva.[2] But the fact that here it is not so indicates the existence of some rule even in the time of Pāṇini, 'that a word denoting an object of more reverence is to be placed first in a compound.'[3] It is also of interest here to note that Pāṇini refers to the allied tribes of the Andhakas and the Vṛishṇis in his *sūtra* IV. 1, 114 (*Ṛishyandhakavṛishṇikurubhyaścha*), and Patañjali after quoting the *vārttika* on it mentions the names of Śvaphalka, Chaitraka and Ugrasena as belonging to the Andhaka, and those of Vāsudeva, Baladeva and Vishvaksena, to the Vṛishṇi group. The same commentator again alluding to *vārttika* 11 on *sūtra* IV. 2,104 (*avyayāttyap*) refers to the followers of Akrūra and Vāsudeva (*Akrūravargyaḥ Vāsudevavargyaḥ*). The story of the fight between Vāsudeva and his maternal uncle Kaṁsa and of the latter's death at the hands of his nephew is also referred to in the *Mahābhāshya*, and was the subject of pantomimic performances in the commentator's time. On these occasions the performers formed themselves into two rival groups representing the Vāsudevabhaktas and the Kaṁsabhaktas, the former overcoming the latter. Patañjali also knew that Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa was the younger brother of Saṁkarshaṇa (another name of Baladeva), for referring to *vārttika* 22 on *sūtra* II. 2,24 (*anekamanyapadārthe*) he cites a verse which means, 'may the strength of Kṛishṇa, the second to Saṁkarshaṇa, increase' (*Saṁkarshaṇadvitīyasya balaṁ Kṛishṇasya vardhatām*). Two other epithets of Saṁkarshaṇa-Baladeva, viz. Rāma and Rauhiṇeya, as well as another epithet of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, i.e. Keśava, were also known to Patañjali.[4] Thus it is clear that part of the tradition concerning Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa and some of his relations and the clans to which they belonged were well known from the late Vedic period onwards.

[1] Kielhorn's edition of Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, II p. 314

[2] The *sūtras* are *ajādyadantaṁ* and *alpāchtaraṁ*; the former lays down that in a *dvandva samāsa*, that which begins with a vowel and ends with a short *a* should be placed first, while the latter says that the word-form containing fewer vowels is to be placed first.

[3] Cf. the Vārttika *abhyarhitaṁ cha* on ii 2. 34, quoted by Patañjali (Kielhorn's ed. I p. 436)

[4] *Mahābhāshya* (Kielhorn's ed. I p. 436; III p. 155

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His apotheosis incidentally referred to by the grammarians just mentioned was already complete when the tenth book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* was composed, for there among the various *gāyatrī-mantras* for the worship of different gods and goddesses we find his special litany in which he is identified with the Vedic Vishṇu and the Brāhmaṇic Nārāyaṇa.[1]

REFERENCES TO THE WORSHIPPERS OF VĀSUDEVA IN THE CLASSICAL LITERATURE

That the worship of Vāsudeva was well established among some sections of Indians is proved by a few passages in the works of Megasthenes, Quintus Curtius, Strabo and other classical writers of ancient times. Arrian quoting from Megasthenes's *Indica* says that 'Heracles is held in especial esteem by the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe possessing two large cities, Methora and Cleisobora, the river Jobares flowing through their country.' R. G. Bhandarkar long ago identified the Sourasenoi with the Sātvatas, and Heracles with Vāsudeva. The two cities of the Sourasenoi are no doubt Mathurā and Kṛishṇapura, so intimately associated with the Kṛishṇa tradition.[2] The Greek form of the tribal name is evidently derived from the word Śūrasena, the land of which tribe was located according to the ancient Indian writers round about Mathurā. Though the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* account of Vāsudeva is somewhat confused, we may find in the city named Sauryapura a reference to this form of the tribal designation. The Greek writers had some reason to identify their divine hero Heracles with Vāsudeva, for this Indian Heracles, according to Arrian, had a very numerous progeny of male children born to him by his many wives. The Indian Heracles is also called Dorsanes, who according to Arrian was the father of Pandaia. Quintus Curtius records that an image of Hercules (Herakles) was carried in front of the infantry of Porus in his battle with Alexander, and that it acted as the strongest of all incentives to make the soldiers fight well. To desert the bearers of this image was in itself a disgraceful military offence and the offenders were punishable with death. Coomaraswamy thinks that this image may have been one of Śiva or of a Yaksha. But 'Hercules' in this passage seems to have designated Kṛishṇa, like 'Herakles' of the other extract, and if Curtius is correct in his statement, Porus and an appreciable section of his soldiers might have been worshippers of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa.[3]

[1] The tenth *prapāṭhaka* of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* is a later addition. These *gāyatrīs* also occur in the *Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Upanishad*, comprised in the tenth book of the *Āraṇyaka*, which has been dated by scholars in the third century B.C. The *gāyatrī mantra* is : *Nārāyaṇāya vidmahe Vāsudevāya dhīmahi tanno Vishṇuḥ prachodayāt.*

[2] Kṛishṇapura has been identified by some scholars with the present village of Gokul on the other side of the river Yamunā, evidently the Jobares of the Greek texts.

[3] McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 208-9. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 42 *n.* 5. Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa as the inspirer of soldiers in Porus's army reminds one of the same god inspiring the unwilling Arjuna to fight for victory (cf. the

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THE WORSHIP OF THE VĪRAS

The passages quoted above from the early texts, both indigenous and foreign, leave little doubt about the existence of Vāsudeva's cult even some time before Alexander's invasion of India. Pāṇini's reference to the worshippers of Vāsudeva and Arjuna brings out another interesting point in connection with it. The manner in which the great grammarian puts these names in his *sūtra*, proves, it is true, that the former was the more honoured of the two. But it is possible that the latter also had some cult importance at his time, for his worshippers are also mentioned. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, Arjuna, the interlocutor, appears in the rôle of the greatest devotee of Vāsudeva, and there is no evidence here to suggest the existence of an associate cult centring upon him. But did such a cult ever exist? If it did, its growth must have been arrested by the phenomenal rise of that of his relation, Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva. Traces, however, of the worship of Arjuna seem to be preserved in some epic passages, where Arjuna and Vāsudeva are described as Nara and Nārāyaṇa, who along with Hari and Kṛishṇa are represented as the sons of Dharma and Ahiṁsā. It is said in one of them that 'the two heroes, Vāsudeva and Arjuna, who are great warriors, are the old gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa; this is the tradition.'[1] Nara and Nārāyaṇa were also great divine sages, *mahāpurushas* practising austerities in the holy Badarikāśrama.[2] In the list of the 39 *avatārs* given in the *Sātvata*, one of the oldest and most authoritative of the Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās, they are described as the 31st and 32nd incarnations of Vishṇu. Thus, the epic tradition shows that Nara and Nārāyaṇa, or for the matter of that Arjuna and Vāsudeva, were great heroes as well as sages; the sage-like character of one of them at least may be traced to the Vedic tradition about the Ṛishi Nārāyaṇa, the seer of the Purushasūkta. Now, hero worship was certainly at the root of the development of the Vāsudeva cult, as it was also the basis of some other cults of India, like those of Buddha and Mahāvīra. It can be demonstrated with the help of some early texts and inscriptions that the worship of Vāsudeva Kṛishṇa and some of his relations as hero-gods (*Vīras*) was prevalent some time before and even some time after the tenets of the Pāñcharātra cult were formulated and systematised.

The worship of the divine heroes (*Vīras*) was at first one of the most important features of the cult, and the number of them came to be somewhat stereotyped at one of its early evolutionary stages. Arjuna who was a Kaurava found no place in this list though it contained the names of Saṁkarshaṇa or Baladeva, Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, Pradyumna, Śāṁba, and Aniruddha, all of whom belonged to the Vṛishṇi clan and were closely related to one another. Both Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva were the sons

conception of Kṛishṇa Pārthasārathi in the *Bhagavadgītā*).

[1] *Mahābhārata*, Udyogaparvan, 49, 19.

[2] Ibid. Śāntiparva, Nārāyaṇīya Parvādhyāya ch. 344 f.

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of Vasudeva by different wives (Rohiṇī and Devakī), Pradyumna and and Śāṁba were the two sons of Vāsudeva, Pradyumna born to Rukmiṇī and Śāṁba to Jāṁbavatī, while Aniruddha was the son of Pradyumna. The epic and purāṇic tradition proves clearly that they were originally human beings who were raised to the position of gods. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, one of the oldest of the Purāṇas, says that the gods who were human by nature (*manushyaprakṛiti*) were Saṁkarshaṇa and the four others just mentioned, and that they 'were celebrated as the five heroes of the clan,' evidently the Vṛishṇi clan (*pañchāite vaṁśavīrāḥ prakīrtitāḥ*). This list of the divine Pañchavīras should not be confused with the other epic lists of Vṛishṇi heroes, *atirathas*, *mahārathas* etc., sometimes including a few of the above five, who were primarily great warriors. Thus, Rauhiṇeya (Saṁkarshaṇa-Baladeva), Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva and Śāṁba who is like Śauri in battle, along with Chārudeshṇa, his brother, Chakradeva, and Sātyaki are the seven *atirathas* among the Vṛishṇis, while the seven *mahārathas* of the same clan are Kṛitavarman, Anādhṛishṭi, Samīka, Samitiñjaya, Kaṁka, Śanku and Kunti. Most of these heroes had none of the cult significance which the aforesaid five Vṛishṇivīras undoubtedly possessed. This is fully borne out by earlier epigraphic data, one of which refers to their images. The Mora Well inscription of the time of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa (early first century A. D.) refers to the enshrinement in a stone temple by a lady named Toshā, of foreign extraction, of the images of the five holy Vṛishṇivīras (*bhagavatāṁ Vṛishṇīnāṁ pañchavīrāṇāṁ pratimā*). It will be presently shown that with the exception of Śāṁba, the fourth in this list, they constitute the four primary *Vyūhas* or emanatory forms of the highest god (Para Vāsudeva).[1]

THE ESSENTIAL TENETS OF THE BHĀGAVATA CULT

To understand the nature of the hero worship (*vīravāda*) in the early Bhāgavata cult in its relation to the developed tenets, some idea is necessary of the essentials of the latter as adumbrated in a few of the authoritative Pāñcharātra Saṁhiṭas. The earliest of these treatises seem to have been composed in the first centuries of the Christian era when the bulk of the *Mahābhārata* along with its 'Nārāyaṇīya' section must have taken its present shape. The one God Vāsudeva, the highest object of worship to a *bhāgavata*, was conceived in his five fold aspects, *Para*, *Vyūha*, *Vibhava*, *Antaryāmin*, and *Archā*. *Para* is the highest aspect of the Lord, the next two being his emanatory and incarnatory forms respectively; his *antaryāmin* aspect characterises him as the inner controller of the actions of every individual, the *archā* form referring to his concrete images regarded by the Pāñcharātrins as his auspicious bodies (*śrīvigrahas*). Much of this can be traced in the *Bhagavadgītā* which gives

[1] *JISOA.* x pp. 65-8

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the first systematic exposition of the *ekāntika dharma* centring on Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, the one object of devotion to Arjuna, corresponds to his *para* aspect while the *vibhava* and *antaryāmin* aspects are also described in its several sections.[1] But the *vyūha* concept of the Lord does not seem to have been developed when this work was composed. The ideology underlying the *vyūhavāda* mainly centred upon the topic of 'pure creation' (*śuddha-sṛishṭi*) i. e. the creation of the six ideal *guṇas*, *jñāna*, *aiśvarya*, *śakti*, *bala*, *vīrya* and *tejas*. According to this notion Lord Vāsudeva as the highest god wills his consort Śrī Lakshmī in her dual aspects of being and acting (*bhūti* and *kriyā*) to create the ideal *guṇas*; thus from the Lord's will (*ichchhāśakti* or the efficient cause), and Lakshmī's twofold forms (*bhūtiśakti* and *kriyāśakti*, i.e. the material and instrumental causes) originate the sixfold ideal qualities which are at the root of all creation, pure or subtle and gross or material, in all the later stages. The *guṇas* come under two principal groups of three each, the first three (*jñāna* or knowledge, *aiśvarya* or lordship and *śakti* or potency) forming the first group of *viśrama bhūmayaḥ* (stages of rest), and the second three (*bala* or strength, *vīrya* or virility and *tejas* or splendour), the second group of *śramabhūmayaḥ* (stages of action). When the individual qualities of opposite groups pair together as *jñāna* with *bala*, *aiśvarya* with *vīrya*, and *śakti* with *tejas*, a further advance is made in the process of creation; they are thus divided into three separate pairs (the word *vyūha* is derived from the root *vi-uh* meaning to separate or pull asunder). Regarded in their totality as well as by pairs, they are materials or instruments of *śuddha-sṛishṭi*, (the body of the highest god Para Vāsudeva, constituting all the *guṇas*), and in the bodies of the three *vyūhas*, Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, each of the three pairs of qualities are manifest. From Para Vāsudeva is supposed to emanate Vyūha Vāsudeva, who possesses the full measure of all the six qualities (*shāḍguṇyavigrahaṁ devaṁ*); Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha then emanating each one from its immediate predecessor. Though in each of these three primary emanations, two qualities apiece are pre-eminently manifest, they participate in the four other qualities also, but only in an incipient manner. It will not be necessary here to trace the development of this ideology further, but it is interesting to note that even at this stage Śāṁba was left out of the list of emanatory forms. It should also be noted that in the *vyūha* doctrine, Vāsudeva was invariably given the order of precedence, his elder brother enjoying only a secondary position as an emanatory aspect of his younger brother.

THE INTRODUCTION OF VYŪHA DOCTRINE IN THE CULT; THE ELIMINATION OF THE WORSHIP OF ŚĀṂBA

The question may now be asked, at what period was the *vyūha* worship

[1] *Bhagavadgītā* chh. x & xi (Vibhūti-yoga and Viśvarūpadarśanayoga) characterise in a very interesting way his *para* form; vv. 5-9 in ch. iv may

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introduced in the Bhāgavata cult? The earliest reference to the *vyūha* doctrine is found by some scholars in the *Brahmasūtra* passage (II, 2, 42), but it must be noted that it is only in the commentaries thereupon of Śaṅkarāchārya and Rāmānuja that the tenet is clearly mentioned. In Patañjali's time it may have reached an early formative stage, for that great commentator perhaps refers to it in his note on Pāṇini's *sūtra*, VI. 3, 5; in explaining the form *ātmachaturtha* (not *ātmanā chaturtha*), he cites the passage *Janārdanastvātma-chaturtha eva* ('with Janārdana himself as the fourth') and takes it as a *bahuvrīhi* compound (*ātmā chaturtho'sya*). R. G. Bhandarkar, however, who was the first to draw the attention of scholars to the passage, was not sure about it.[1] In any case Patañjali uses the compound Rāma-Keśava in his commentary on Pāṇini, II. 2, 34; and elsewhere in his *bhāshya* he describes Kṛishṇa as second to Saṁkarshaṇa. It thus appears that Patañjali was more aware of the worship of the Vīras, than of the *vyūhas*. The extant inscriptions also prove that in the second to the first century B.C., and even as late as the beginning of the first century A.D., the Vīravāda was the more prominent. The Besnagar inscription (*c.* 2nd century B.C.) of Heliodorus, the ambassador of Antialcidas, the Indo-Greek king of Taxila, to the Śuṅga king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra of Vidiśā, refers only to Devadeva Vāsudeva, the chosen god of Heliodorus—a convert to the Bhāgavata creed—and makes no mention of other personal deities of the cult. But the Nāgari inscription of king Sarvatāta (also of the same period) tells of his erecton of stone walls round the shrines of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva. The order in which the two names are placed in the last record probably shows that in this context, they are not two of the *vyūhas*, but two of the prominent Vṛishṇi-vīras. Had they belonged to the category of the former, the form of the compound in the inscription should have been *bhagava(d)bhyāṁ Vāsudeva-Saṁkarshaṇābhyāṁ* in place of *bhagava(d)bhyāṁ Saṁkarshaṇa Vāsudevābhyāṁ*, for (as has been shown above) according to the Pāñcharātra *vyūhavāda*, Saṁkarshaṇa was an emanatory form of Vāsudeva. The *vyūha* doctrine may have been only of recent growth in the second century B.C., and thus not stereotyped at that time when the practice of Vīra worship was more in vogue. This seems to be borne out by the absence of any reference to it in the *Bhagavadgītā*, a work which comparatively recent scholarship dates in the third to the second century B.C. This view seems to be further corroborated by the Nānāghat cave inscription of Nāyanikā, queen of Śrī Śātakarni, the third in the purāṇic list of the Śātavāhana kings. Among the various gods invoked, there occur the names of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva in the correct dynastic order. When, however, even a law book like the *Vishṇusaṁhitā* of a much later

be regarded as the first systematic account of the Hindu idea of *avatāra* (*vibhava*-incarnation), and v. 61 in ch. xviii defines the Lord as the internal controller (*antaryāmin*) of every being (*Iśvarassarvabhūtānāṁ hriddeśe'rjuna tishṭhati, bhrāmayan-sarvabhūtāni yantrārūḍhani māyayā.*)

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 13

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date refers to the *chaturvyūhas* (67.2), Vāsudeva is named first, and Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha are mentioned after (*Vāsudevāya Saṁkarshaṇāya Pradyumnāy-Āniruddhāya*). It should be noted that there is no place for Śāṁba in this list; it is clear that along with the growing importance of the doctrine of the *chaturvyūhas*, he gradually lost favour with the Bhāgavatas, and all sorts of opprobrium were heaped on him. But, as has been already shown, Śāṁba's image was still being enshrined in the first century A.D. along with those of the four other Vṛishṇi-vīras. Varāhamihira when he gives us a description of the image of Śāṁba in these words—*Śāṁbaścha gadāhastaḥ*, is evidently following the early tradition by which this Vṛishṇi hero was an object of worship. Very few other, comparatively late, extant iconographic texts furnish details of the image of the forgotten hero-god. The elimination of the worship of Śāṁba from the Pāñcharātra cult may be ascribed to his mythical association with the Iranian sun-cult and its introduction into India, and to the story of his having been born to Jāṁbavatī, the non-Aryan wife of Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva, for according to the epic and purāṇic tradition she was the daughter of the Ṛiksha king (the Mahāummaga Jātaka says that she was a Chaṇḍāla woman), and that, too, through the grace of Śiva, the principal deity of a rival cult. It is also possible that his identity was gradually merged in the cult picture of the north Indian sun-worship which owed much of its reorientation to Iranian influence.[1]

The above-mentioned inscriptions of a comparatively early date testify to the existence of the Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa cult in different parts of India. More evidence of the same kind must have been lost, and had all the inscriptions been extant they would have presented us with a more complete picture of the wide prevalence of the cult. The regions of India which were more intimately associated with it were Mathurā, the Śūrasena country and Vidiśā in Central India. Several fragmentary inscriptions of the first century B.C. have been discovered at modern Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā) in Bhopal, which refer to the excellent temple of the Bhagavat (*bhagavato pāsādottama*). The structure thus defined evidently denotes a Vāsudeva shrine, and it is presumable that many such temples were in the locality from a period much earlier than the first century B.C. It was evidently in front of such a one that the Yavana *dūta* Heliodorus, himself a *bhāgavata* by faith, erected that noble column, the Garuḍa-dhvaja. The Garuḍa capital of the inscribed columns is missing, but another Garuḍa-shaped capital of a shaft has been discovered there. Two other crowning pieces of columns whose shafts are missing, found at the same place, show its association with the Bhāgavata cult. These are shaped, one as a *tāla* (fan-palm) and the other as a *makara* (crocodile), and these *tāla* and *makara-dhvajas* were undoubtedly dedicated to two of Kṛishṇa's kinsmen (also his emanatory forms), Saṁkarshaṇa and Pradyumna, whose separate shrines may have

[1] *PIHC.* 1944, Madras, pp. 82-90

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stood there. It may be mentioned incidentally that a second *tāla-dhvaja* capital was found at Pol Pawaya (ancient Padmāvatī) in Gwalior, probably indicating the existence of another Saṁkarshaṇa shrine in the locality. Two other massive stone sculptures of the third to the second century B.C., discovered by Cunningham at Besnagar within sixty yards of each other, may be described, one as an image of the goddess Śrī-Lakshmī intimately associated with the Bhāgavata cult, and the other as a banyan capital containing the *ashṭanidhis* over which she was the presiding deity; they should not be regarded as a Yakshiṇī and a Kalpadrum capital.[1] The traditional association of Mathurā with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, is well known from early indigenous and foreign texts; archaeological finds also significantly corroborate the fact. One of the earliest images of Saṁkarshaṇa (Balarāma), now in the Lucknow Museum collection comes from Mathurā, and has been dated in the second century B.C. The number of snakehoods of the deity with the drinking vessel and ploughshare in his hands shows his association with the Nāga cult as well (Balarāma is sometimes regarded as an incarnation of Ananta Nāga, a Pārshada or companion of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu) and likewise his bucolic character. It was perhaps this aspect of the god which commended his separate worship to a certain section of people who are described by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* as a class of ascetics 'with shaved head or braided hair'. More than one inscription of the first century A.D. have been found in the Mathurā region, connected with the Vāsudeva cult. One has already been mentioned and its importance in the history of the cult has been shown. Another of the same period, i.e. the time of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa, records the erection of a *toraṇa* (gateway), *vedikā* (railing) and *chatuhśāla* (quadrangle) at the *mahāsthāna* ('great or very sacred place') of Bhagavān Vāsudeva.[2] It was again at the same place that one of the earliest reliefs illustrating the story of Kṛishṇa-Janmāshṭamī and dating back to the second century A.D. was discovered. It is true that in the early centuries of the Christian era the Mathurā region was full of the adherents of other creeds like Buddhism, Jainism, and of the Nāga cult, as proved by the numerous inscriptions and sculptures of the Śaka-Kushāṇa period which have been found there; but the cult of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa also throve there, and was to prove much stronger in later times. The Purāṇic story of the subjugation of Kāliya Nāga by Kṛishṇa may indicate the preponderance of his cult over the Nāga cult. A few other archaeological finds also demonstrate that it spread to other parts of India from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. The coins (copper) of Vishṇumitra (*c.* first century B.C.) of the enigmatic Mitra dynasty of Pañchāla (modern Rohilkhand region) with the figure of Vāsudeva-Vishṇu on them, a nicolo seal-matrix, the device on which shows a foreign king standing with folded

[1] J. N. Banerea, *Development of Hindu Inconograph*,[2] pp. 104-5; *JISOA.* ix 1941, pp. 141-6

[2] R. P. Chanda, *Archaeology and the Vaishṇava Tradition*, (*MASI.* no. 5) p. 171

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hands before a four-armed composite god made up of Vishṇu, Śiva and Sūrya, and the Nānāghat and the Chinna Ganjam inscriptions of the time of Śrī-Śātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Śrīyajña Śātakarṇi, show that the cult reached the far distant corners of India.[1]

GROWTH OF THE BHĀGAVATA CULT: WAS IT INFLUENCED BY CHRISTIANITY?

The cult of the Bhāgavatas or the Pāñcharātras had thus come to enjoy high recognition all over India by the end of the third century A.D. It had to contend with many rival creeds like Ājīvikism, Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism, and different forms of animism before it was able to overshadow them. From its predominating position, it actually influenced the religious thought or speculations of some of its rivals in one way or another. It was at one time held by scholars like Kern and Bühler that the Ājīvikas were a sub-division of the Bhāgavatas. Their views, however, were based on inaccurate interpretation of literary data, and D. R. Bhandarkar has proved that the two sects were widely different and had nothing in common.[2] The Jainas, nevertheless, had a great respect for the founder of Bhāgavatism, for they held Vāsudeva to be a near relation of Arishṭanemi, the twenty-second Tīrthaṁkara[3] and included Vāsudeva and Baladeva among the 63 Śalākā-Purushas, or eminent personalities, who had influenced the history of the world in various ways. Such was the respect paid by the Nirgranthas to the two Vṛishṇi heroes that they multiplied their number, and in the list of these 63 great men they counted nine Vāsudevas, nine Baladevas and nine Prati-Vāsudevas. The Jaina *Aupapātika Sūtra* also mentions Baladeva and Vāsudeva, and characterises the former as one of the eight great Kshatriya teachers. It should be noted that according to the epic tradition, 'the Sāttvatavidhi (the tenets of the Sāttvatas or the Bhāgavatas) were sung by Saṁkarshaṇa at the end of the Dvāpara and the beginning of the Kali Yuga.'[4] In many of their texts, both early and late, the Jaina authors refer collectively to 'the five great heroes (of the Vṛishṇi clan) with Baladeva at their head' (*Baladevapamokkhā pañchamahāvīrā*), and it has already been shown that these were none other than Saṁkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Śāṁba and Aniruddha.[5] The Jainas,

[1] Banerjea, op. cit., pp. 143-4 (for some Bhāgavata emblems on early coins, cf. ibid. pp. 144-6); for the Nānāghāt and Chinna Ganjam inscriptions, cf. D. C. Sarkar, *SI.* I pp. 1 86, Raychaudhuri, op. cit. p. 161

[2] *IA.* 1912, pp. 286-90

[3] *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* ch. xxii

[4] *Mahābhārata* vi. 66, 40; *Dvāparasya yugasyānte ādau Kaliyugasya cha; sāttvataṁ vidhimāsthāya gītaḥ Saṁkarshaṇena vai.*

[5] Lüders wrongly identified these five Vṛishṇi heroes with Baladeva, Akrūra, Anādhṛishṭi, Sāraṇa and Viduratha, on the information supplied to him by Alsdrof; *EI.* XXIV pp. 94 f. The error was corrected by the present writer in *JISOA.* X pp. 65-8

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again, insisted on the doctrine of Ahiṁsā (non-violence) which had been one of the cardinal maxims of the Bhāgavatas, for it was one of the great moral principles taught by Ghora Āṅgirasa to Kṛishṇa Devakīputra, and it was included in the list of the divine qualities (*daivī sampad*) enumerated by the author of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is no wonder that Keith has remarked 'the (Jaina) faith is deeply permeated with Hindu influences, and especially with influences of Kṛishṇa worship.'[1] There is also every reason to believe that early Bhāgavatism exercised a great influence on Buddhism. The same tenet of non-violence was one of the most prominent injunctions of the Buddhist faith. The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, one of the most characteristic Buddhist works of the early period (*c.* first century A.D.), contains a good many passages that have parallels in the *Gītā*, a much earlier work. The *Mahāyāna-śraddhot-pāda*, ascribed to Aśvaghosha, a contemporary of Kanishka according to the Buddhist tradition, also contains definite traces of the influence of the *Bhagavadgītā*.[2] Various scholars like Macnicol, Senart and Poussin have held the view that the Bhāgavatas influenced the Buddhist tenets to a great extent from a very early period. These creeds other than Bhāgavatism, were non-Brahmanical. The relation of Bhāgavatism, however, with Śaivism, one of the already evolved creeds of Brahmanical origin, was at first not very friendly, and this feeling of rivalry, though never bitter at any time, endured until a very late date. The different redactions of the Great Epic, and many mythological stories narrated in the epic and purāṇic literature are distinctly reminiscent of this sectarian rivalry and antagonism. Nevertheless texts are not wanting which show definite attempts at a *rapprochement*. The author of the *Gītā*, in a very characteristic manner, says that Vāsudeva was the same as Śaṅkara, the best of the Rudras (*Rudrāṇāṁ Śaṅkaraśchāsmi*) and this attitude persisted to quite a late period.

The problem whether Christianity, one of the most important *bhakti* cults originating in Asia, had anything to do with the origin and development of Bhāgavatism in India was at one time debated with a great deal of earnestness by many eminent scholars, both European and Indian. Many scholars of the nineteenth century held the view that the great *bhakti* cult of India was born of the early contact of India with Christianity; but it must be said that their approach to the question was not altogether scientific, for most of them were relying on inconclusive and ambiguous textual data belonging to a much later period, and very few of the earlier authoritative archaeological data were utilised. The latter definitely prove, as has been briefly shown above, that the cult was of indigenous origin, and in its earlier stages had nothing to do with Christianity. R. G. Bhandarkar, however, was of opinion that the conception of the cowherd (Gopāla) Kṛishṇa in Bhāgavatism, and especially the stories connected with the childhood of Kṛishṇa, were directly

[1] *JRAS.* 1915, pp. 842-3

[2] Raychaudhuri, op. cit., pp. 124-7

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inspired by the contact of the early Bhāgavatas with foreign Christian immigrants into India, like the Ābhīras. But the analogy of the concept of Gopāla Kṛishṇa with that of Christ the Shepherd, and the resemblance (only partial) of stories connected with the childhood days of Kṛishṇa (as narrated in the interpolated and other later sections of the Great Epic), with those associated with the early life of Jesus Christ can be explained otherwise, without assuming that this element in the composite character of the cult-god was in any sense a borrowing from Christianity.[1]

The central cult-deity of the Bhāgavatas, however, had acquired a definitely composite character by the beginning of the Christian era. This can be demonstrated with the help of early literary as well as archaeological data. The cult began, as we have seen with the deification of a human hero, Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, and a few of his kinsmen, but in course of time it absorbed the veneration rendered to a few other Vedic and Brahmanical deities like the solar god Vishṇu of the Vedas and the cosmic god Nārāyaṇa of the Brāhmaṇas. This absorption was one of the most potent factors contributing to the growth of Bhāgavatism. The Vedic Vishṇu, one of the Ādityas, famed for his 'three steps' (*tri-vikrama*) was associated with an act of deliverance and grace (according to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* story he was instrumental in recovering the universe from the Asuras for the gods). Thus he could be easily merged into the Bhāgavata cult which may, indeed, have already imbibed indirectly some solar elements. Lord Kṛishṇa says that he had in ancient times imparted the Yoga, which he was then expounding to Arjuna, to Vivasvān (the sun god) himself from whom it reached the mortals by stages (*Gītā*, IV, 1-4). The Ṛishi Ghora Āṅgirasa, from whom Kṛishṇa Devakīputra learnt some doctrines, was himself a priest of the Sun. This sage, after explaining the *Puruṣa-Yajñavidyā* (in which certain actions and stages in the life of man are compared with the various parts of a Vedic sacrifice) went on to tell Kṛishṇa of the imperishable and unchangeable deity, the true essence of life. Finally Ghora quoted two Ṛigvedic verses which extol the greatness of the sun in the following terms, 'having beheld the glory of the First Cause—that exquisite light, high above all darkness—and having beheld it also in our own hearts, we attain to that god of gods and noblest of all lights, the noblest of all lights.'[2] Thus the identification of Āditya Vishṇu with Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa was a necessary step in the development of the cult. Nārāyaṇa, the other prominent god-concept to be taken over is found mentioned for the first time in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*,[3] where he is credited with the

[1] Raychaudhuri has successfully refuted the views of scholars advocating the influence of Christianity on the origin and development of Bhāgavatism; cf. op. cit., 2nd ed. pp. 128-60

[2] *Chhand. UP.*, 3. 17

[3] xii, 3, 4, 1; xii, 6, i.

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performance of a Pāñcharātra Sattra (a sacrifice continued for five nights) which won for him not only superiority over all beings but also enabled him to pervade all the world (cf. the Vaishṇavite idea of divine immanence and transcendance). It may be suggested *en passant* that the Pāñcharātra, one of the early names of the Bhakti cult, had its origin in this Brahmanical story. The *Taittīriya Āraṇyaka* (X. II, 1) refers to Nārāyaṇa, as Hari, 'the Deity Eternal, Supreme and Lord'. The *Mahābhārata* records a number of myths about this god, which illustrate various traits present in the ideology centering upon him. R. G. Bhandarkar traces the principal idea underlying Nārāyaṇa to two Ṛigvedic verses (X, 82, 5 and 6) which mention the great unborn 'on whose navel stood something in which all beings stood'. This idea of Nārāyaṇa was developed in the period of the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas, and was identified with the Supreme soul itself during the epic period.[1] It was, therefore, quite appropriate that this great god should be identified with the Lord Kṛishṇa of the *Gītā*, who was the greatest of the great, the resort and shelter of all. Moreover, as Raychaudhuri has surmised, Nārāyaṇa and his votaries may well have had some solar associations. Thus, the amalgamation of Nārāyaṇa's worship with the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa was also a necessary stage in the development of the Bhāgavata cult. This non-Vedic cult was not at all deprecated by orthodox believers in Vedic rites; in fact, it is possible that they encouraged and strengthened it as an ally against such heterodox cults as Buddhism and Jainism, whose widening influence had already grown to be a menace, The doctrine of incarnation which, as has been shown above, was first systematically though briefly expounded by the *Bhagavadgītā*, was helpful in this process of amalgamation, and these allied god-concepts were regarded as so many *avatārs* (incarnations) of Vishṇu-Vāsudeva. It should also be noted that many of the early *bhāgavatas* like Sarvatrāta, performed Vedic sacrifices like the *aśvamedha*. The cults of Vāsudeva, Vishṇu, and Nārāyaṇa seem to have been amalgamated some time before the Christian era, as both early literary and the early archaeological data agree in indicating. In the *Gītā*, Kṛishṇa is several times addressed by Arjuna as Vishṇu and the association of Devadeva Vāsudeva with the sun-bird Garuḍa is alluded to in the Heliodorus inscription. This shows that the identification of the two gods was already well established by that time. The Nagarī inscriptions also suggest that Nārāyaṇa worship was merged with the cult of the Bhāgavatas by the second century B.C.

ŚAIVISM

RUDRA-ŚIVA, THE CENTRAL CULT-PICTURE OF ŚAIVISM

The cult centring upon Śiva, or better still Rudra-Śiva, had also evolved long before the Christian era. Unlike the original cult-picture of

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 30-1

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Vaishṇavism, this god-concept (or the amalgam of such concepts) was mythical in character. The Vedic god Rudra with his dual nature of a terrific and at the same time pacific deity was identified with the pre-Vedic divinity who came to be known chiefly as Śiva to the late Vedic and subsequent ages. The worship of some such god conveniently described as the prototype of Śiva-Paśupati, seems to have been well established among the Indus valley people. It is highly probable that from the amalgamation of this and allied god-concepts of the pre-Vedic, Vedic and post-Vedic ages, the Śaiva cult gradually emerged. 'Śiva', as the name of the cult-god, however, was somewhat late in making its appearance in literature; the word itself is originally found in the sense of 'auspicious' in several early Vedic texts, being mainly used as one of the attributive epithets of various Vedic divinities. It is only in the later Vedic literature that Śiva is occasionally used as a proper name. For instance the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* uses it several times as one of the various names of the god Rudra whose glory is extolled in that work. Śiva, or again Rudra-Śiva, is also the Great God, Mahādeva or Maheśvara, forms which occur in the *Śāṅkhyāyana*, *Kaushītakī* and other Brāhmaṇas; the same forms are also found in the *Śvetāśvatara*, a treatise which mixes many theistic elements with the older pantheism of the Upanishads. The *Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa*, again, ascribes the name Iśāna along with the epithet Mahān Deva to the god. Weber pointed out long ago that this attribution 'involves quite a special prominence of the deity as compared with the other gods and indeed indicates a sectarian worship.'[1] Aufrecht also declared on the basis of myths concerning the origin and growth of Rudra-worship that 'the period of the Brāhmaṇas was one when the old polytheism was in a condition of decline and the new faith, which presents itself in Indian religious history as Śaivism, was gaining ground.'[2] It may be noted here that Rudra's rise to the position of the supreme god had already been effected in the *Atharva Veda* where various epithets such as Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva and Iśāna are attributed to him. With the addition of the name of Aśani in the *Śatapatha* and *Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇas* to the other seven, we get Rudra's eight names, each four of which typify his two aspects, destructive and benign. The theistic Upanishad *Śvetāśvatara* calls Rudra sometimes 'Eka Deva', the 'One God', another sign of his great prominence. These references, however, do not necessarily imply the existence of an exclusive sectarian worship of Rudra or Rudra-Śiva. It will be interesting to take into account here the evidence of the early Buddhist works which also contain the same information. Śiva is mentioned as a *deva* or *devaputta* in the *Chullavagga* and the *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, though there is no reference here to his worshippers. The passage in the *Niddesa* already quoted referring to the various religious systems prevailing in the centuries before the Christian era speaks of the worshippers of Deva along with those

[1] *Indische Studien*, II p. 302

[2] A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 26

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of Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Sūrya, Indra, Brahmā and others. The adorers of Rudra-Śiva, though not specifically named in the text, seem to be described as those who paid their exclusive homage to the 'Deva'. 'Deva' sometimes denoted the god Rudra-Śiva alone, both in early and later periods, and it can be presumed that the Deva-worshippers of the *Niddesa* passage were the same as the worshippers of Rudra-Śiva.

THE 'SIBAE' OF THE ANNALISTS OF ALEXANDER'S INVASION ŚIVAPURA OF THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA AND MAHĀMĀYŪRĪ

The annalists of Alexander's invasion refer to a people called the Sibae who lived in the Panjab near the confluence of the Hydaspes and the Acesines (Jhelum and the Chenab). Lassen justifiably suggested that they were the same as the Śibis or the Uśīnaras so frequently mentioned in Indian literature. The Sibae are described by Curtius, Diodorus and other classical writers as dressed in the skins of wild beasts, having clubs for their weapons, and branding with the mark of a club their oxen and mules; the Macedonian Greeks took them to be the descendants of Heracles and his companions, who invaded India in the remote past. Strabo rightly discountenances this connection. The Panjab tribe from the way in which it is described may possibly be associated with Śiva. The existence of the Śibis or the Śivas in this region some centuries before the Christian era is also attested by Patañjali who while commenting on the first and the third *vārttikas* on Pāṇini's *sūtra*, IV, 2, 104 (*avyayāttyap*) refers to the *udīchyagrāma* (northern village) Śivapura or Śaivapura.[1] The *Mahāmāyūrī*, one of the five great mantra-formulas of northern Buddhism, composed before the fourth century A.D. (it was translated into Chinese four times between the fourth and the eighth centuries A.D.), refers to the tutelary deity Śiva, who was the principal object of worship in the *āhāra* (province) of Śivapura; Lévi long ago connected this Śivapura with the one just quoted from the *Mahābhāshya*.[2] The evidence of the Buddhist text thus shows that the Śibae or the Śibis, the inhabitants of the Śivapura-Śibipura region, were mainly the worshippers of Śiva. The alternative form 'Śaivapura' in the *Mahābhāshya* may also be noted in this connection.

RUDRA AND ŚIVA IN THE ASHṬĀDHYĀYĪ AND THE MAHĀBHĀSHYA

Pāṇini records several names of Rudra such as Bhava, Śarva, Rudra and Mṛiḍa in one of his sūtras (IV. 1, 49). Though Śiva is not included here, Pāṇini's *sūtra śivādibhyo'ṇ* (IV. 1, 112) refers indirectly to his followers or worshippers. The aphorism means that 'the affix *aṇ* comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words Śiva etc.' The form Śaiva thus

[1] Kielhorn's edition, II. 293 [2] *JA.* v, 1915, pp. 37, 70

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derived means a descendant of Śiva, but also denotes, secondarily, a worshipper of Śiva. Patañjali refers to Śiva as well as Rudra several times in his commentary. Rudra is twice described as the god who is offered animals in sacrifice for which animals are procured; in two other passages, the medicinal herbs of Rudra are called auspicious (*Śivā Rudrasya bheshajī*).[1] These characteristics clearly remind us of the Vedic Rudra, the dire god for whom animals were sacrificed and who was at the same time the healer of diseases, as Pāṇini's Rudra, Bhava, Śarva and Mṛiḍa invoke the god of the Śatarudrīya, the later Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas. The god Śiva, however, is twice mentioned by the same commentator. Once, while commenting on Vārttika No. 2 on Sūtra, VI, 3, 26 (*devatādvandve cha; vārttika* 2, *Brahmaprajāpatyādīnāṁ cha*), he refers to such compounds as Brahma-Prajāpatī, Śiva-Vaiśravaṇau and Skanda-Viśākhau and incidentally mentions that these compounds of divine names are not to be found in the Vedas. All these gods, with the exception of Prajāpatī are non-Vedic and thus are naturally not to be found in the Vedas. The second time that Śiva is named by Patañjali is in referring to the images of the gods Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha.[2] The association of Skanda and Viśākha with Śiva in this passage is probably because his mythology was already much developed and his worship a common practice; for his images and those of his sons (Skanda and Viśākha were perhaps at that time two entities, later merged into one) were in great demand.

PATAÑJALI'S REFERENCE TO THE ŚIVA-BHĀGAVATAS

Patañjali's reference to the Śiva-bhāgavatas is of unique interest, for it is the first unambiguous mention of a Śaiva sect. Pāṇini's *sūtra*, V. 2, 76 (*ayaḥśūladaṇḍājinābhyāṁ ṭhakṭhañau*) lays down that the affixes *ṭhak* and *ṭhañ* come respectively after *ayaḥśūla* and *daṇḍājina* (in the sense of 'one who strives to gain something by that'). Patañjali says that a Śiva-bhāgavata was an *āyaḥśūlikaḥ* i.e. 'one who carried an iron lance'. He observes that because this type of sectary seeks to obtain his end by violence, which should be got by mildness, he is called '*āyaḥśūlikaḥ*'.[3] Though he makes no observation on the word *daṇḍājina* it is apparent that a shaft (*daṇḍa*) and a hide (*ajina*) were also the characteristic marks of a Śiva-bhāgavata who was both an *āyaḥśūlika* and a *dāṇḍājinika*. The carrying of an iron lance and a staff and the wearing of a hide

[1] Kielhorn, ibid. I, pp. 331, 424; III pp. 14, 403. The Gṛihyasūtras refer to the *Śūlagava* sacrifice, in which a bull was pierced with a spear, his *vapā* (omentum) was offered to Rudra in the outskirts of the village. One characteristic of the Vedic Rudra was that of 'a healer of diseases' by means of various medicinal plants. The epic and purāṇic Śiva was also a healer, and the same tradition also refers to human sacrifices in honour of the god Rudra-Śiva (cf. the story of Jarāsandha).

[2] Commentary on *sūtra*, V. 3, 99 (*jīvikārthe chāpaṇye*). Patañjali here refers to the Mauryas using the images of gods to extort money from their subjects; Kielhorn, ibid. II p. 429

[3] Kielhorn, ibid. II. pp. 387-8

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were the sectary's outward badges of devotion, and these characteristics seem to have been deprecated by orthodox people so that *dāṇḍājinika* came to be explained as *dāṁbhika*, i. e. 'a proud hypocrite' by later commentators. Patañjali appears to have had a poor opinion of these sectaries because they were prone to use violent means where peaceful measures would have served.[1] The violence (*rabhasa*) by which a Śivabhāgavata, according to Patañjali, sought to gain his end distinctly reminds us of the fourth topic, i. e. the *vidhi* or means by which a Pāśupata pursued his goal of *duḥkhānta* (cessation of misery). Mādhavācharya gives us a glimpse of the system in his *Śarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, and its study clearly shows some of its features were violent.[2]

THE PĀŚUPATAS—THEIR ORIGIN AS DETERMINED BY ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND LITERARY DATA—A LATER PHASE OF THE ŚIVA-BHĀGAVATAS

Now the question arises—were the Śivabhāgavatas the same as the Pāśupatas? The *Mahābhārata* (Nārāyaṇīya section) includes the Pāśupata school among the five systems, namely Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Pāñcharātra, Veda and the Pāśupata; referring to their founders, it says 'Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha, the consort of Umā, the lord of spirits and the son of Brahmadeva, taught the Pāśupatajñāna' (Śāntiparvan, chs. 64-7). This statement may or may not contain a reference to a human founder of the religious system centering upon Śiva; but as D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out long ago on the basis of textual (purāṇic) and epigraphic data, the Pāśupata system was founded by Lakuliśa, the 28th or the last incarnation of Śiva.[3] The Mathurā Pillar inscription of Chandragupta II, dated Gupta Era 61 (A. D. 381), the importance of which for the history of the Śaivas will be further discussed in the next volume, helps us to ascertain the approximate date of Lakulīśa in a very interesting manner. It records the erection of two images called Kapileśvara and Upamiteśvara (really two Śivaliṅgas named after Kāpila and Upamita, the teacher and the teacher's teacher of the donor), in the *gurvvāyatana* (abode of the teachers), by one Uditāchārya, the Māheśvara (Pāśupata) teacher; the latter is described in the record as tenth in the apostolic succession from Kuśika (*Kuśikād-daśama*). Now this Kuśika was no other than the first of the four immediate disciples of Lakuliśa (Kuśika, Mitra, Garga and Kaurushya), who, according to epigraphic and purāṇic data, were the founders

[1] Patañjali's comment on the preceding aphorism (V. 2, 75-*Pārśvenānvichchhati* should be considered in this connection. He observes that a Rājapurusha (a royal officer is a *pārśvaka*, i.e. 'one who endeavours to obtain anything by devious means which should be sought by straight measures' (*Ya ṛijunopāyenānveshṭavyānarthān - anṛijunopāyenānvichchati sa uchyate pārśvakaḥ*).

[2] The tenets of the Pāśupata school and its various offshoots like the Kāpālika, Kālāmukha etc. which are described as '*atimārgika*' or 'schools that are away from the path or go astray', will be discussed in the next volume.

[3] *JBBRAS.* XXII p. 151; cf. *ASIAR.* 1906-7

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of four lines among the Pāśupatas. Allowing, say, twenty-five years to each of Udita's ten apostolic predecessors including Lakulīśa, we get a date for the latter in the first half (probably the early part) of the second century A. D.[1] In that case, Lakulīśa could not have been the founder of the school of the Śiva-bhāgavatas alluded to by Patañjali, for the simple reason that the latter is almost unanimously assigned a date in the middle of the second century B. C. But the affinity of the Śiva-bhāgavatas with the Pāśupatas does not necessarily imply that the originators of the two Śaiva orders were one and the same. It might show, on the other hand, that an order not dissimilar to the Pāśupata in some of its religious practices was in existence long before the time of Lakulīśa, the reputed founder of the Pāśupata sect. It is also probable that what Lakulīśa really did was to systematise an already existent Śaiva order, much as Basava at a much later date organised the Vīraśaivas, a sect existing in some form long before his time. This is suggested by the purāṇic description of him as the 28th or last incarnation of Śiva. In this avatār Śiva incarnated himself as a Brahmachārin, entering a dead body lying in a cremation ground of Kāyāvatāra or Kāyāvarohaṇa (modern Karvan in the Kāthiāwār peninsula). Lakulīśa composed a work called *Pañchārthavidyā*, now lost but quoted by Mādhavāchārya, as follows: 'He (a Pāśupata) should bathe thrice a day, he should lie upon dust (or ashes). Oblation is an observance divided into six members.'[2] The Pāśupata vow is summarily described in the *Atharvasiras Upanishad*, a sectarian work devoted to the exaltation of Rudra's glory. It describes the *Pāśupata vrata*, which consists of besmearing the initiate's body with ashes simultaneously with the muttering of the mantra, 'Agni is ashes, Vāyu is ashes, water is ashes, dry land is ashes, the sky is ashes, all this is ashes, the mind, these eyes are ashes.' By the performance of this *vrata*, the devotee of Pāśupati or Rudra-Śiva has his bonds loosened and is delivered from the fetters of his individual existence. This is *paśu-pāśa-vimokshaṇa* and it is one of the principal characteristics of the Pāśupata sect.[3] It is possible that this sectarian Upanishad was later than the time of Lakulīśa who also enjoined on his followers the besmearing of their bodies with ashes.

One of the principal characteristics of the Śiva-bhāgavatas was, as has been shown above, the carrying of an iron lance. Mendicant monks carrying a bamboo staff are mentioned by Pāṇini in his aphorism, VI. 1, 154 (*maskaramaskariṇau veṇuparivrājakayoḥ*). In the course of his comment thereon Patañjali observes that a mendicant carrying a bamboo (staff) always says, 'No works are to be done by you men, for it is peace which is your highest end' (*mā kṛita karmāṇi, mā kṛita karmāṇi*

[1] *EI.* XXI pp. 1-9

[2] *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, Cowell's Trans. p. 108

[3] J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, IV p. 358. '*Agnir'ityādinā bhasma grihītvā nimṛjya aṅgāni saṁspṛiśet tasmād vratametat pāśupatam pāśu-pāśa vimokshāya*'. Muir was not quite correct in translating the last word as 'for the removal of animal bonds'; R. G. Bhandarkar's translation (op. cit., p. 122) has been adopted here.

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śāntirvaḥ śreyasītyāhāto maskarī parivrājakaḥ). The Maskari-Parivrājakas described by Pāṇini and his commentator have been identified by scholars with the Ājīvikas, one of the early exponents of whose tenets was Maṅkhali or Makkhali (Maskari) Gosāla, the third of their celebrated teachers, the first two being Nanda Vachchha and Kisa Saṁkichchha. The Ājīvikas, as a sect, thus existed some time before the sixth century B. C., and their beliefs and practices were peculiar. Their true affiliation to any of the known sects had been in doubt even from a very early period. They were sometimes associated with the Jainas and sometimes with a particular section of the Buddhists. It is not a fact that the Ājīvikas were wholly merged in the Jainas some time after the beginning of the Christian era, for their separate existence in Southern India as late as the thirteenth or the fourteenth century A. D. is clearly proved by epigraphic data. It is interesting to note that neither the Buddhists, nor the Jainas, were inclined to associate themselves with this order. Both equally looked down upon it. It is highly probable that some sections of the Ājīvikas were originally associated with one of the Brahmanical sects. Reference has already been made to Kern and Bühler's suggestion that they were worshippers of Nārāyaṇa, a suggestion shown by D. R. Bhandarkar to be untenable. Bhandarkar surmised that the Ājīvikas were neither Buddhists nor Jainas even in later times, but formed a distinct sect.[1] The same scholar has suggested in one of his latest works that the expression *bābhanesu ājīvikesu* in the Pillar Edict VII of Aśoka means 'Brahmanical Ājīvikas' who were not simply Śramaṇic but also Brahmanic. The non-Brāhmaṇical Ājīvikas were probably connected in some way or other with the Jainas, and the Brahmanical Ājīvikas were represented by the Maskarī-Parivrājakas. The latter seem to have been the more important, and most probably they represent the Ājīvikas for whom Aśoka excavated the rock cut-caves at Barābar.[2] It may be conjectured here that these Brahmanical Ājīvikas, or rather a section of them, were the predecessors of the Lakulīśa Pāśupatas, or for the matter of that of the Śiva-bhāgavatas of Patañjali. Maskari Gosāla, is said to have indulged in shameless words and actions, like holding a mango in his hand, drinking, dancing, improperly soliciting the potter-woman Hālāhalā (at whose residence at Śrāvastī he was living for some time just before his death), and sprinkling himself with the cool muddy water from a potter's vessel. All these deeds were committed by him, according to the Jaina *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, in the delirium of fever which put an end to his life. But these apparently insane and indecent acts characteristically remind us of several measures included in the *Pāśupata-vidhi* to bring about righteousness. Among these are enumerated dancing, showing oneself to be in love by means of amorous gestures at the sight of a beautiful young woman (*śriṅgaraṇa*), doing a thing condemned by all (*avitatkaraṇa*), and speaking nonsensical and absurd things (*avitadbhāshaṇa*). The

[1] *I.A.* XII, 1912, p. 289

[2] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., pp 177-8

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carrying of an iron lance and the wearing of an animal's skin, the peculiar sign of a Śiva-bhāgavata, and the recourse to violent means (*rabhasa*), as briefly hinted by Patañjali, are perhaps other indications of practices which were all *atimārgika*, i. e. 'away from the path' or 'going astray' in the opinion of the other sections of Indians who thought themselves sane. Thus, Utpala, while commenting on v. 19 of Ch. 59 of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* says that the images of Śambhu (Śiva) are to be installed by the ash-besmeared Pāśupatas according to the rites mentioned in the *Vātulatantra*, i. e. the 'code of lunatics'. The practice of besmearing their bodies with dust and ashes was also one of the peculiar customs of the Ājīvikas who according to the evidence of the Jātakas (I, 390 and 493) covered their bodies with dust and did such things as 'eating the ordure of a calf', 'painful squatting on the heels', 'swinging in the air like bats', 'reclining on thorns' and 'scorching themselves with five fires'. The far earlier *Majjhima Nikāya* (II, Tevijja-vacchagottasutta) also refers to the Ājīvikas, describing them as a particular class of religious householders, who indulged in many other difficult ascetic practices. Buddhaghosha, in his *Samantapāsādikā* (I, p. 44), speaks of the 'ash-besmeared' *parivrājakas* and other Brahmanical ascetics (*Bāhmaṇānāñcha Bāhmaṇa-jātīyapāshaṇḍānāñcha pāṇḍaraṅga paribbājakādīnām*).[1] In these *pāṇḍaraṅga parivrājakas* one might perhaps recognise the Ājīvikas. These similarities in practice between a class of ancient Ājīvikas and the Śiva-bhāgavatas and the Pāśupatas seem to support the suggestion made above. Jarl Charpentier, arguing on different lines, came to an almost identical conclusion when he observed, 'that *Ājīvikas* originally had nothing to do with Gosāla especially, but was a much older name designating a sect to which he originally belonged and afterwards transferred to his disciples.' This sect flourished in Eastern India in pre-Buddhistic times and was Śaiva in character, Gosāla's father Maṅkhali also belonged to it.[2]

ŚIVA-WORSHIPPERS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF NORTHERN INDIA

It has already been shown that the annalists of Alexander's invasion probably refer to a class of Śiva-worshippers in the Panjab when they mention the 'Sibae' and a few of their characteristic traits. Thus it may be argued that the Śaiva sect was not only flourishing in Eastern India in the pre-Christian period, but also existed in the extreme north of India. That it also flourished in the north-western region is indirectly proved by a statement of the Greek author Hesychius, who says that 'the bull was the god of Gandhāra'. The coins of many Indo-Greek rulers,

[1] I am indebted to Śrī Sailendranath Mitra, M. A., of the Pali Department of the Calcutta University, for these references to Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Pillar Edict passage and to *Samantapāsādikā*.

[2] For Charpentier's data and his conclusion, cf. *JRAS.* 1913, pp. 669-74

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specially of the later period, bear the figure of a bull on one side, and this bull was no other than Śiva in his theriomorphic form. This theriomorphic divinity was one of the tutelary divinities of Pushkalāvatī (lit., 'the city of lotuses'), the old capital of Gandhāra, as is proved by a gold coin of the Indo-Scythian series, which contains the figure of a bull with the legend *tauros* and *ushabhe* beside it in Greek and Kharoshṭhī characters. The long-continued worship of Śiva in this locality, right up to the seventh century, is proved by Hiuan Tsang's statement that 'outside the west gate of the city of Pushkalāvatī was a Deva-temple and a marvel-working image of the Deva'; the 'Deva' here undoubtedly refers to Śiva. The prevalence of Śiva-worship in Gandhāra, the Panjab, and several other parts of Northern India in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era is also supported by further archaeological and literary data. The *Mahāmāyūrī*, a Sanskrit Buddhist text which seems to have been composed before the fourth century A. D., refers to several localities in the extreme north of India where Śiva was the principal object of worship. Numismatic evidence also clearly shows that Śiva in his anthropomorphic, theriomorphic, phallic, and other symbolic forms was highly venerated by a large number of people in these regions.[1] The Panjtar (Silimpur) inscription bearing the date 122 (*c.* A. D. 64), probably refers to the existence of a Śaiva sanctuary (Śivathala-Śivasthala) below the Mahāban range in North-Western India. A bronze seal of the first century B. C. unearthed by Marshall in the course of excavations on the Sirkap site of ancient Takshaśilā contains the figure of Śiva, and the Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī legends (*Śivarakshitasa*) beside it declare that it was the personal seal of one Śivarakshita; thus its owner was a devout worshipper of Śiva, as his name 'one protected by Śiva' alone would suffice to indicate. We do not know who this Śivarakshita was; he might have been an Indian or a foreigner adopting an Indian name. But the popularity of Śaivism among a section of the foreign immigrants into India is revealed by other archaeological data. Gondophares, the Indo-Parthian ruler, (*c.* first half of the first century A. D.), very often describes himself in his coin-legends as *devavrata* or *sudevavrata*,—one vowed to 'deva' or 'sudeva'; I have shown elsewhere that the 'deva' and 'sudeva' of these coin-legends would be no other than the god 'Śiva'.[2] The word *vrata* here again reminds us of the Pāśupatavrata and Mahāvrata of the sectarian Śaivas. That a great Kushāṇa monarch reigning shortly after this Indo-Parthian king was a devoted Śaiva sectary has been recognised by all. He was Wima Kadphises, whose coins bear either Śiva, Śiva and bull, or one of the emblems of Śiva, a trident-battle-axe. This unusual constancy of reverse device undoubtedly proves his credal affiliation which is further substantiated by the characteristic epithet of *mahiśvara* in his fuller coin-legend—*Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Vima Kaṭhphisasa tratara*, '(Coin) of the great king, the king of

[1] Banerjea, op. cit., pp. 125-41 [2] Banerjea, op. cit., p. 133

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kings, lord of all the worlds, the *Mahiśvara*, Vima Kaṭhphisa, the saviour.' Long ago R. G. Bhandarkar found in it a reference to the name of the sect, *Māheśvara*, which was a synonym of the Pāśupata.[1] That other foreign chiefs or potentates were also devout worshippers of Śiva is very interestingly proved by a fragmentary relief of the first century A. D. in the collection of the Curzon Museum, Mathurā, which shows two foreigners dressed in the long coat, tall headgear and heavy boots of the Kushāṇas, reverently approaching the phallic emblem of Śiva with vine wreaths in their hands.[2] The vine-motif reveals the connection of the foreigners with the north-western region, and the partly realistic Śiva-liṅga disproves R. G. Bhandarkar's contention that the worship of the phallic emblem of Śiva was unknown even in the time of Wima Kadphises. Again, D. R. Bhandarkar's view that 'up to the time of the Kushāṇa king Vāsudeva, Śiva worship had not come to be identified with Liṅga worship' is contradicted by this relief as well as by other archaeological data shortly to be discussed.

ASSOCIATION OF PHALLICISM WITH THE CULT OF ŚIVA-ITS PREVALENCE IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN INDIA

R. G. Bhandarkar is partly correct, however, in saying that the element of phallicism 'must have crept in early enough among ordinary people who were in closer communication with the uncivilised tribes, and gradually made its way to the higher classes, of whose creed it subsequently became an article.' Relying on references to the worship of Śiva-liṅga appearing comparatively late in the epic literature,—it is only in the 'Kṛishṇa-Upamanyu-samvāda parvādhyāya' of the Anuśāsanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* that a clear reference to phallicism in association with Śaivism is found,—he surmised that liṅga-worship became a part of Śiva-worship at a comparatively late period. There is, however, unmistakable archaeological evidence to show that this element had long been connected with the cult of Śiva, or the prototype of Śiva, in the Vedic and even pre-Vedic period. The terra-cotta and faience phalli, some of which are very realistic in character, found in some quantity in the Indus-valley sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, have been explained by Marshall and others as cult objects, and the ithyphallic feature (*urddhvaliṅga—penis erectus*), of the prototype of Śiva-Paśupati on the Mohenjo-Daro faience seal shows that it was the cult of this father-god with which they were associated. It may be mentioned *en passant* that it is probably these very people of the Indus having such cult objects for their ritual worship who were the originals of the *śiśnadevas* reviled in some of the Ṛigvedic verses. Coming to the historic period, reference may be made to some uninscribed cast coins (provenance unknown) and several die-struck coins hailing from Ujjain and Taxila, all belonging to the pre-Christian period

[1] R. G. Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 117 [2] *JISOA.* IV 1936, p. 130 pl. xxiii fig. 1

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(third to second century B.C.). The Ujjain coins are specially interesting in this connection, for some of them portray Śiva in human form with bull in front of him on one side and his phallic emblem in front of a tree (*sthala-vṛiksha*) on the other. These coins prove beyond doubt that Śiva was being worshipped in that region as early as the third to the second century B.C. in his anthropomorphic, theriomorphic as well as phallic forms.[1] An interesting sculpture of the first century B.C. discovered by Gopinath Rao still worshipped in a remote village of the Madras Presidency (Guḍimallam a few miles from Renigunta in the North Arcot district) lends support to the view that the association of phallicism and Śiva worship had long been well established. The very large and beautifully carved, but extremely realistic, Śiva-liṅga has a well proportioned two-armed figure of Śiva carved on its surface just below the nut. The sex mark is distinct behind the diaphanous loin-cloth of the god who carries in his two arms a *paraśu* (battle-axe) and a *mṛiga* (an animal, here a goat or a ram), and stands on a malformed dwarf, evidently the Apasmārapurusha of the later texts.[2] Many realistic Śiva-liṅgas of the first to the third century A.D. have been seen by the present writer, and they demonstrate the continued association of phallicism with Śiva worship in these centuries.[3] It will be shown in the next volume how this feature established itself as one of the most important aspects of Gupta and post-Gupta Śaivism, till it became the convention of the Śaivas to instal invariably a Śiva-liṅga in the main sanctum of a Śiva temple. It is true that reference to the connection of liṅga worship with Śiva worship is found only in the latest sections of the Great Epic, but this can be explained by the supposition that the formal recognition of the practice by an orthodox section of the people was a little tardy. The extreme realism of the early Śiva-liṅgas was possibly the reason for this apparent aversion in some quarters, and may also explain the gradual conventionalisation of these cult objects.

OTHER RELIGIOUS SYSTEMS : ŚĀKTISM

The evidence available for the beginnings of the other Brahmanical creeds is certainly not of the same nature and importance as what has been collected and discussed above. The five well-known Brahmanical sects (*Pañchopāsakas*) were the Vaishṇava, Śaiva, Śākta, Saura and Gāṇapatya. They centred respectively on the worship of Vishṇu (Vāsudeva-Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa), Śiva (Rudra-Śiva), Śakti (the female principle, conveniently called Durgā-Pārvatī), Sūrya, the sun god, and Gaṇapati, the elephant-headed and pot-bellied divinity, 'the lord of obstacles'. There was also another band of devotees in ancient India

[1] Banerjea, op. cit., pp. 167-8, pl. I, figs. 9, 10, 13, 14

[2] T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II (i) pp. 65-8, pl. II.

[3] *JISOA.* III pp. 36-44, pl. vii, figs. 1-9; Banerjea, 'The Phallic Emblem in early and mediaeval India'.

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whose special object of veneration was the war-god Subrahmaṇya or Kārttikeya, but who were curiously enough not included in the orthodox list of the five sects. It is probable that the exclusive worship of this god, confined perhaps only to a few war-like Indian tribes, had been largely discontinued by the time that the list of the five Brahmanical sects was compiled, being gradually merged with the cults of Śakti and Śiva. There is also reason to believe that most of these sects, barring the two discussed above, were comparatively late in their evolution and systematisation, though the worship of their cult pictures in a general way had been current among Indians for a long time.

Śaktism was one of such cults. The worship of the mother-goddess must have been in vogue in India from a very early date. The Indus-valley remains in the shape of ring-stones and terra-cotta figurines probably symbolising the female principle seem to indicate that it enjoyed some prominence among the early Indian settlers. But the evidence of the Vedas confronts us with the fact that sacrifices were performed mostly in honour of the different gods, the names of comparatively few goddesses being mentioned in the hymns. The female deities are sometimes collectively named as the 'wives of the gods' (e.g. in the passage *devānāṁ patnīn yajati*), but the two goddesses that stand out prominent in the hymns of the *Ṛigveda* are Ushas, the goddess of the dawn, and Vāk, the goddess of speech. The former evokes in a very interesting way the poetic fervour of the Vedic seers, while the latter, in the famous 'Devī Sūkta' (R. V. x. 125) personalises the goddess of speech in a sublime manner. Vāk described as the author of the hymn appears in it as an object of love and adoration to the Vedic seers. But still we do not find in the early stratum of the Vedic literature the names of such goddesses as Durgā, Kālī, Ambikā, Umā, and others who singly as well as collectively became afterwards the central deity of the Śākta cult. It is only in the late Vedic literature that we find stray mention of these deities and these only in contexts which do not prove that they were of any great importance to the higher sections of the Indians.[1] Many of these texts again are of decidedly late date, probably not before the third century B.C. The two Durgā *stotras* of the *Mahābhārata*, however, undoubtedly testify to the importance of the goddess-worship which certainly by the time they were composed had come to enjoy a very prominent position in the social order. An analysis of these eulogies, one occurring in the Virāṭaparva and the other in the Bhīshmaparva, reveals that various elements went to the composition of the cult-goddess, some of which

[1] *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (iii, 57) describes Ambikā as Rudra's sister; the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (i. 6, 10, 4-5) also does the same. The *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (x. 18) calls her the consort of Rudra. The latter work (x.I) invokes Durgā, also styled Vairochanī, the daughter of the sun or fire; in the same work (x. 1, 7), the goddess is also called Kātyāyanī and Kanyākumārī. The *Kena Upanishad* (iii. 25) refers to Umā, the daughter of Himavat (Haimavatī) as the personified Brahmavidyā. In the *Muṇḍaka Upanishad* (1. 2, 4) occur Kālī and Karālī two of the names of Durgā as the names of two of the seven tongues of Agni.

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were decidedly non-Aryan in character, as was the case also with her mythical consort Śiva. These sections of the Great Epic were presumably composed after the beginning of the Christian era, and it was probably at that time that the Śākta cult was standardised and systematised. It is in the Gupta and post-Gupta inscriptions that we find a clear mention of the cult and allusions to its sectaries, though its shadowy beginnings can be traced to a far remoter period. The history of the evolution of this cult should thus find a proper place in the next volume.

THE SAURAS—THE SUN-WORSHIPPERS

The sun, the celestial luminary, was an object of great veneration to numerous Indians from a very early time. The Vedic hymns are replete with references to his various aspects, and one of the Upanishadic passages identified him with Brahma, (*asāvādityo Brahma*), the highest religious entity of the time. But these glorifications of the sun-god and his various aspects do not mean that his worshippers adored him exclusively. The *Niddesa* passage quoted above in connection with the early history of the two major cults may refer to a body of Indians whose special objects of worship were the sun and the moon (Sūrya and Chandra). The *Dīgha Nikāya* (Mahāsamaya Suttānta, p. 288) mentions the goddess Sūryavarchchasā, the daughter of Timburu, who may be the same as Suvarchchasā, one of the wives of Sūrya, named in the Brahmanical texts. It has already been shown that some elements of sun-worship must have been present in the evolution of Vāsudevism, and there is reason to believe that sun-worship of a universal character had influenced many of the orthodox and even the heterodox cults of India in their origin and evolution. But here again clear and definite proofs are wanting for the existence of the Sauras in India before the Christian era. There can be no doubt, however, that bands of exclusive worshippers of the sun-god flourished in different parts of India in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, as is clearly proved both by epigraphic and literary data. The sun-cult that flourished in parts of Northern and Western India bore distinct traces of an alien influence which must have infiltrated from Eastern Iran in company with the Śaka-Pahlava invaders of these Indian regions. The sect of the exclusive sun-worshippers that flourished in the south, however, were remarkably free from any exotic impress, their cult being a natural outgrowth of the general worship of Sūrya prevalent among most of the Indian people even from the prehistoric period. But the story of the growth and development of the sect or sects of the Sauras must also be discussed in its proper place in the next volume.

WORSHIPPERS OF KĀRTTIKEYA AND GAṆAPATI

In the epic and purāṇic mythology, Kārttikeya and Gaṇapati are usually described as the two sons of Śiva and Pārvatī, though there are different

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versions of their origin. The association of Kārttikeya with Śiva was perhaps known even in the time of Patañjali, for images of Skanda and Viśakha, which are his two other names or the names of his two aspects, are mentioned by the great grammarian along with those of Śiva. But Patañjali never alludes to any sect centring its worship upon him. There is, however, some reason to believe, that certain warlike tribes of ancient India, e.g. the Yaudheyas, a Kshatriya tribe 'living by their weapons' (*āyudhajīvī*), exclusively worshipped this god. The Yaudheyas were a very old tribe whose separate existence in parts of Southern Panjab from the fourth century B.C. to the early fourth century A.D. is avouched both by literary and archaeological evidence. The earliest coins of this tribe probably refer to the Śūlagava sacrifice performed in honour of Rudra for the possession of wealth and prosperity (*bahudhana, bahudhānya*); but the coins that they issued in the first century B.C. or the first century A.D. contain the figure of the six-headed Brahmaṇyadeva (Subrahmaṇya-Kārttikeya) and his principal cognisance, a cock or a peacock (*barhiketu*), and a legend which states that they were the issues of 'Brahmaṇya also called Kumāra the divine lord of the Yaudheyas' (*bhagavato svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya*). They appear to indicate that the Yaudheyas had dedicated their state to the god of their choice and that they regarded him not only as their spiritual but also as their temporal ruler. It may be mentioned in support of this view that the seal of a ruling chief of the third or early fourth century A.D. found by Marshall in the course of his excavations at Bhita contains the significant legend which he translated as 'of the illustrious Mahārāja Gautamīputra Vṛishadhvaja, the penetrator of the Vindhyas, who had made over his kingdom to the great lord Mahāsena i.e. Kārttikeya' (*Śrī Vindhyabheda mahārājasya Maheśvara-Mahāsenātiśṛishṭarājyasya Vṛishadhvajasya Gautamīputrasya*). The *Mahābhārata* incidentally refers to the principal town of the Yaudheyas, also known as the Mattamāyūrakas, which was the specially favoured residence of Kārttikeya (Sabhāparva, 32, 45); Rohitaka is described here as full of great treasure, beautiful, rich in cattle and paddy (*bahudhanaṁ ramyaṁ gavāḍhyaṁ dhanadhānyvat*), and beloved of Kārttikeya, (*Kārttikeyasya dayitam*). The late Professor Birbal Sahni during his explorations in modern Rohtak (ancient Rohitaka) in Southern Panjab found a large number of coin moulds of the Yaudheyas, the legend on which described them as '*bahudhānyaka Yaudheya*'. The figures of Kārttikeya or his different aspects described variously as Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena found on the coins of Huvishka show that this god was held in great veneration by a section of Indians in the second century A.D. A red sandstone pillar of the same period found at Laha Bhagat near Kanpur (U.P.) with its detatched cock capital as well as the cock-crested pillar devices on certain Ayodhyā coins of the first or second century A.D. also show that his worship was in full vogue in parts of Northern India at the time.[1]

[1] *ASIAR.* 1929-30, pp. 132-3, pl. xxxi figs. *b*—*g*; the pillar bears a fragmentary inscription *Kūmāra vara*...in characters of the second century A.D.

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It will be recounted in the next volume how the cult of Kārttikeya was merged in that of Śiva.

The cult of Gaṇapati, the elephant-headed and pot-bellied divinity, undoubtedly came into being sometime after A. D. 300, and thus the history of its evolution is reserved for the chapter on the Brahmanical sects in the next volume.

(D) *RELIGIOUS AND PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT*
A. JAINISM

Early Jainism was *par excellence* an ethical religion. It was a search for the means to a salvation which consisted in this—to free oneself from bondage to Karma by the fullest unfolding of the perfection inherent in man. The way propounded was the famous *Tri-ratna*, 'the Three Jewels' of Jainism—right faith (*samyag-darśana*), right knowledge (*samyag jñāna*) and right conduct (*samyag charitra*).

By the commencement of our period Jainism has developed into an influential epistemological and metaphysical system. Jaina philosophers emerge whose task it is to strengthen Jainism by logical argumentation. The ablest of them is Umāsvāti (or Umāsvāmi as he is known in orthodox Jaina circles) whose *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* has been described as 'the fountain-head of Jaina philosophy'.[1] Umāsvāti is regarded by J. L. Jaini as the most famous disciple of Kundakunda who flourished probably 'at the beginning of the Christian era'.[2] The *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra* is equally highly revered both by the Digaṁbara and Śvetāṁbara sections of the Jaina community. 'It is deservedly the text-book of the religion of Tīrthaṅkaras *par excellence*. How great and authoritative it is recognised to be, will be further evident from the fact that it is perhaps the most commented-upon book in Jaina literature. No less than 31 commentaries of it are known to be extant now.'[3] We may therefore hold the Jaina religious and philosophical thought as expounded in Umāsvāti's writings to be representative of the age we are considering.

The philosophy expounded in this work may be best understood by a reference to the climate of thought that prevailed at the time. The spirit of *vairāgya* (non-attachment) and the ideal of *ahiṁsā* (non-injury) practised by the Niganṭhas must have endeared them to the people. The quality of the lives of these unfettered souls was largely responsible for the spread of Jainism among the populace.

Vedic ritualism and the cult of sacrifice divorced from purity of moral conduct had created a revulsion and a moral weariness among certain sections of the people. A feeling of revolt, within the Brahmanical fold itself, against such a cult was largely responsible for the defection of

[1] J. N. Farquhar, *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 136.
[2] A. N. Upadheye, Intro. to Kundakundacārya's *Pravacanasāra*, p. xxii
[3] J. L. Jaini, *The Sacred Books of the Jainas*, II p. viii

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several Brahmins who went over to Buddhism and Jainism. That this was the general feeling of the age is attested by the *Vāsishṭha Dharma Sūtra* (vi. 3, *c.* 300-100 B. C.)[1] which states that the Vedas do not purify one who is devoid of good conduct *āchārahīnaṁ na punanti vedāḥ*. Thus the trend of thought in the period commencing about 300 B. C. did not favour the perpetuation of a religion of punctilious ritualism divested of ethical content. The *Yājñavalkya smṛiti* 'composed during the first two centuries of the Christian era or even a little earlier' (Kane) mentions (i. 122) that non-injury, truthfulness, non-stealing, cleanliness, self-restraint, charity, discipline, kindliness and tranquillity are the sole means of attaining Dharma for one and all (*sarveshāṁ*). Here the stress is laid entirely on qualities of personal character and not on ritualistic punctilio.

From the fifth century B. C. to the first century A. D. the propagators of Jainism seem to have contented themselves with preaching and delivering discourses to whoever cared to listen. Their discourses, however, seem to have been collected in a work known as *Arhat-pravachana-saṅgraha-paramāgama-sāra*. *Āgama* is knowledge derived through the words of one who is trustworthy, and one who is interested in our welfare, an *āpta*, an absolutely reliable person. Knowledge thus derived is also called *śruta jñāna*. This is the source of knowledge known as Testimony (*śabda*) and great importance is attached to it in Jainism. In Jaina logic, *Āgama*, *Śabda* and *Śruta Jñāna* are used as synonymous terms and refer to one and the same source of transcendental knowledge.

Another collection of works embracing ancient Jaina sacred literature is known as 'Dvādaśāṅga Sūtra' in Prākṛit. One of these works, the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, mentions twelve Aṅgas in all as the canon of the Jainas 'taught, produced and declared by the *śramaṇas* and the *nirgranthas*.'[2] The constant refrain of the Aṅgas is the excellence of ascetic life, the means to be employed for its full realisation, and the obstacles which beset the path and which need to be overcome.

Jaina asceticism is uncompromisingly antithetical to Chārvāka hedonism and materialism. The Chārvāka's denial of validity to any *pramāṇa* other than *pratyaksha* drew vehement criticism from the Jainas. The Jaina philosopher laboured hard at his logic in order to vindicate *anumāna* and *śabda* as valid and valuable sources of knowledge. That the soul of man was more than the tabernacle of the body in which it was temporarily housed had to be vindicated against the *lokāyata* (Chārvāka) onslaught. Curiously enough Jainism had to fight also on another front. Buddhism had many things in common with Jainism, particularly concerning man's moral perfection; but on the metaphysical side Jainism had to defend the *Ātma* doctrine as against the *Anātma* doctrine. The Buddhist doctrine of Nirvāṇa, the extinction of the *skandha* (the self of other systems) was met by the Jaina doctrine of the limitless expansion of the

[1] Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I p. 59 [2] *SBE.* XLV, *Jaina Sūtras*, p. 345

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self. But in both there was an undercurrent of spiritual isolationism or loneliness of the soul on its upward journey. The Mahāyāna Buddhism found a cure for this in the Bodhisattva ideal, but the Jaina was content to contemplate the *Kevalin* in all his solitary grandeur. The *Kevalin* is a characteristic concept of Jainism.

The Tīrthaṅkaras or the path-finders were those who attained *kevala jñāna* or absolute knowledge. Hence they were called *kevalins*. Heinrich Zimmer gives a very accurate explanation of this important concept.[1] 'The noun *kevalin*, furthermore, is a term used specially to denote the Jaina saint or Tīrthaṅkara. Cleansed of *karmic* matter, and thereby detached from bondage, this perfect one ascends in complete isolation to the summit of the universe. Yet, though isolated, he is all-pervading and endowed with omniscience; for since his essence has been relieved of qualifying individualizing features, it is absolutely unlimited. Referring to the Tīrthaṅkara and his condition, the word *kevalin* thus expresses the two meanings of "isolated, exclusive, alone", and "whole, entire, absolute", both being ideas pertaining to the sphere of beatitude in perfection. This is strongly suggestive of the mystic teaching of Plotinus that the final stage in the mystic way is "the flight of the Alone to the Alone".'

According to Umāsvāti's Tattvārtha Sūtra 29, *kevala jñāna* is the full perfect knowledge which is the soul's characteristic in its pure and undefiled condition. It characterises the soul when entirely liberated from the bondage of matter. On its upward path, the liberated soul is said to rise upward and upward like a balloon.[2] It rises and rises and ever rises. The psychic point or the life monad, called the soul, continuously expands in ever widening circles until it reaches infinite knowledge, power and bliss.

In Jaina cosmology, we have the picture of a universe which is crammed with a multiplicity of things (*dravya*), all of them undergoing constant modification (*paryāya*). Being and Becoming are aspects of one and the same thing. Here we have the co-existence of change and changelessness, both predicates capable of being ascribed to the same substance. Things are called *dravya* owing to their very susceptibility to modification (*paryāya*)—'*dravanti gachchhanti*' is the formula. The modification is called *paryāya* because of the vicissitudes of being and non-being happening to one and the same object—*paryeti prāpnoti utpatti-vināśau*. To take an example: gold retains its goldness but cannot remain without taking some form or the other, in the condition of the ore, smelted or shaped into bangle, ring, goblet, crown and an infinite number of other things. Its 'goldness' does not perish, however, in the midst of all this metamorphosis.

The substances in the universe that are undergoing modification fall into two main categories: the *jīva* and *ajīva*—animate substances and

[1] H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, ed. J. Campbell, pp. 305 f.

[2] See Zimmer, op cit., p. 258 for the traditional illustration of an empty gourd.

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inanimate substances. The *jīva* is the enjoyer and the *ajīva* is the enjoyed. The *jīva* is the actor and the *ajīva* is that which is acted upon. *Ajīva* is of two main classes, those devoid of form (*arūpa*) as motion, rest, space, time, and those having form as *pudgala* or matter. It is the concourse of the *jīva* and the *ajīva* that sets the world going and keeps it going. The enslavement of the *jīva* by the *ajīva* and the consequent contamination or defilement is the curse of existence. Owing to this association with matter, what was refined becomes gross, what was light becomes weighed down, what was free becomes bound. To remain eternally bound to *pudgala* is inherently impossible to the *jīva*. It has an inherent dynamism which makes it struggle to recover its original freedom. The process by which the inert *ajīva dravya* insidiously creeps into the *jīva* is called *āsrava*, the influx or accretion of *karma*. The *jīva* attracts to itself particles which settle down on it as wet cloth attracts dirt which settles upon it. Whether the *karmic* particles are of the meritorious (*puṇya pudgala*) or sinful (*pāpa pudgala*) kind depends on the nature of *karma* embarked upon. The more the evil deeds we commit the deeper do we get entangled in the *ajīva dravya* and the good deeds that we perform lead to the progressive thinning and refinement of gross matter that enwraps man's personality until it becomes rarefied and fine and as subtle as the *jīva dravya* itself (*sūkshma sūkshma*).

The world of Becoming (*saṁsāra*) in Jainism is looked upon as a vale of tears and consequently a vale of soul-making. It involves suffering, struggle, anxiety, despair, fresh endeavour, heroic fortitude and final achievement. The journey's end is reached when the soul of man wrenches itself away from all the *karmic* fetters and is able to soar up on its heavenward journey in sublime solitariness (*kevali*). This vein of thought is expressed in the words of the *Chhāndogya Upanishad*: *smṛitilaṁbhe sarvagranthīnāṁ vipramokshah* (7. 26. 2)—the unloosening of all knots will be there then. To become a *nirgranthi* is the acme of human existence. This results from *karma kshaya*, i.e. when the agglutinated *karma* is washed out by a strenuous life of physical and moral purity.

The distinctive doctrine of Jaina logic is known as *syādvāda*, also as *saptabhaṅgī naya* or the seven forms of predication about Reality. It attained a crystallized shape in this period. Kundakunda mentions *syādvāda* in his *Pañchāstikāya* and *Pravachanasāra*, and Umāsvāti mentions the *nayas* in his *Tattvārtha sūtra*. Evaluating *syādvāda* Prof. Dhruva says: '*Syādvāda* is not a doctrine of mere speculative interest, one intended to solve a mere ontological problem, but has bearing upon man's psychological and spiritual life.'[1] The chief purpose here is to arrive at right belief and right belief is only a means to the attainment of liberation. Sūtra 2 of *Tattvārtha Sūtra* says that belief or conviction in things ascertained as they are, is right belief. *Tattva* means 'thatness', a thing as it is. *Artha* is that which is ascertained. The first *sūtra* of Umāsvāti's

[1] Dhruva, *Syādvāda mañjarī*, with Intro. and notes.

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work lays it down that 'Right belief, right knowledge, right conduct, these constitute the path to liberation—*samyagdarśana jñāna charitrāṇi moksamārgaḥ*.'[1]

According to *syādvāda* or *anekāntavāda* no one can claim absolute incontrovertible knowledge of reality. Each one knows reality from his own perspective or angle of vision. It is right so far as it goes. But fallacy creeps in the moment one claims for it the character of 'indisputable' and 'unassailable'. One must recognize that it is not the whole truth, and will have to be on guard therefore against claiming absolute certitude for one's partial knowledge of things. When a man realises that Truth has several faces not all of which are known to him, he is apt to grow tolerant of other points of view. As Jaini says 'two seemingly contrary statements may be found to be both true, if we take the trouble of finding out the two points of view from which the statements are made.'[2]

The Jaina system of philosophy and religion is predominantly pragmatic and humanistic. It is regarded by many as an anthropocentric philosophy of life. The test of truth in Jainism as in modern pragmatism is in its workability and feasibility in action. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra's *Kriyā Vāda*[3] is perhaps the matrix out of which was born the later doctrine of *arthakriyākāritva* (leading to useful activities), the earliest mention of which in Jaina literature seems to have been made by Akalaṅkadeva (A.D. 750) in his commentary *Ashṭaśati* on the *Āptamīmāṁsā* of Samantabhadra.[4]

Knowledge, according to the Jaina point of view, is not to be pursued for its own sake but for the sake of life and liberation. 'The whole of Jainism,' says Jaini, 'follows the maxim: Do not live to know, but know to live.'[5] The mind will have to be cleared of its cobwebs before it is able to perceive clearly and distinctly the goal of human life. The factors that becloud the mind are frequently emotive in character (*kashāya*). They arise out of our passions and prejudices: attachment (*rāga*), aversion (*dvesha*), affection (*rati*), and infatuations (*moha*); the four passions: anger, pride, deception, and greed affect the soul and then the soul is in a state to receive *karmic* matter. The attraction of *karmic* matter thus brought about is *āsrava*. The mind must be disciplined to see things clearly and in the right perspective. The mind is associated with a body which acts as a drag on its free spontaneous activity. The *Tattvārtha Sūtra* states[6] that 'the soul, owing to its being with passion, assimilates matter which is fit to form *karmas*. This is *bandha*, bondage.' While the seventh chapter of this work expounds ethics in the light of psychology, the ninth expounds Jaina asceticism in the light of

[1] Umāsvāti, *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*, Eng. trans. J. L. Jaini, *SBJ*. II
[2] *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 117
[3] B. C. Law, *Mahāvīra: His Life and Teachings*, p. 8.
[4] H. M. Bhattacharya, 'The Jaina conception of Truth and Reality,' in his. *Studies in Philosophy* (1st. Ser.) p. 28
[5] *Outlines of Jainism*, p. 112
[6] Ch. viii, Sūtra 2

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psychology and psycho-physiology. Perfect knowledge (*kevala jñāna*), says the last and tenth chapter of the work, is gained by destroying the *mohanīya*, deluding *karmas*. *Moksha* or liberation is described as freedom from all *karmic* matter, owing to the non-existence of bondage and to the shedding of all the *karmas*. The purpose of the entire work of Umāsvāti is to delineate in the clearest possible terms the goal (*moksha*, liberation) of human life and the path (*mārga*) that leads to it constituted of the holy trinity of Right Belief, Knowledge and Conduct. Bodily discipline, dietetic regulations, rules of routine, fasting and penance are all preparatory to the mastery of the soul over the body. This is the rationale of Jaina asceticism. The pampered body is the least fitted to carry us across the stream of *saṁsāra*. The *Tīrthaṅkaras* or the pathfinders who have shown us the way have crossed the ocean of *saṁsāra* by the only boat that is available to man, namely, conquest over the lusts of the flesh.

The chastening of man, his journey through the world and his final liberation are the theme of Jaina philosophical and religious thought. The Jainas hold that 'Man is the measure of all things' in a far more profound sense than Protagoras, the great sophist. There is no extra-cosmic deity in Jainism to be worshipped. A man has only to turn inwards in order to discover that he is himself the deity in the making. Perfection lies inherent in him waiting to be made manifest. The obscuration of this is due to the *jīva*'s association with *pudgala*. The perfectibility of man is the melioristic gospel that saves Jainism from falling a prey to undiluted pessimism. Evil exists and is very real but can be overcome by soul-force. This is the hope that springs eternal in the human breast. Ethical sordidness in any form is entirely alien to the spirit of Jainism. The true Jaina would rather be a 'Socrates dissatisfied' than a 'pig satisfied'. To spurn pleasure, to eschew bodily comfort, and to withstand the tempestuous lusts of the flesh do not come easily to any man. But the greatness of man lies in his capacity to overcome the limitations of bodily nature by the aspirations of his spiritual nature. He is a denizen of two worlds. His body belongs to the realm of matter and his soul belongs to the realm of the spirit. When the *karmic* body is shuffled off, he reaches the home of his spirit.

A word may be said about the position of Jainism in the evolution of Indian religio-philosophical thought. Common points have been discovered between Jainism, Sāṁkhya and Buddhism; common differences, also, with the Vedic religion. In view of some of the peculiar tenets of Jainism the postulate has been advanced[1] of a 'great Magadhan religion, indigenous in its essential traits, that must have flourished on the banks of the Ganges in Eastern India long before the advent of the Aryans into Central India.' The influence of pre-Aryan religious beliefs and practices

[1] A. N. Upadheye, Intro. to Kundakundacārya, *Pravacanasāra*, p. xiv

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on later Vedic thought and on subsequent religious and artistic developments is generally admitted and has been increasingly stressed in recent years. But the criteria for differentiating Aryan and pre-Aryan elements are by no means clear or settled, and so far as Jaina thought is concerned, the suggestion of Charpentier[1] still seems to mark the furthest limit of what we may affirm, viz. that 'it represents, probably, in its fundamental tenets one of the oldest modes of thought known to us, the idea that all nature, even that which seems to be most inanimate, possesses life and the capability of reanimation; and this doctrine the Jainas have, with inflexible conservatism, kept until modern times.'

B. BUDDHISM

The period of our study marks the heyday of Buddhist philosophy. The words of the Buddha now begin to be conned carefully and to receive elaborate comment. Varied interpretations of the words of the Master give rise to various schools of thought. The first great schism in original Buddhism is said to have taken place about one hundred years after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. It was a schism of Buddhism into the Mahāsāṅghika and Sthavira schools. These schools subdivided themselves into a number of minor sections. Twenty of them are mentioned by Vasumitra in his '*Treatise on the points of contention by the different schools of Buddhism*' referred to by Suzuki in his *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*'. The main schism arose out of a controversy regarding the theory and practice of *vinaya*, or rules for the order. The conservative party came to be called 'Sthaviras' or Elders, and the dissenters Mahāsāṅghikas or members of the great congregation.[2]

This reference to the early schools is here introduced merely to underline the fact that the later divisions of Buddhism known as Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna are only a development of the incipient division of doctrine first manifested among the Mahāsāṅghikas and Sthaviravādins. The Sthaviravāda school developed into Hīnayāna and the Mahāsāṅghika school into Mahāyāna.[3]

Apart from his words, the personality of Buddha himself is now made the subject of varied interpretation.[4] Was he a man among men or was he a superhuman being entering the world of men to save souls, erring and suffering souls, out of compassion? Being the Lord of Compassion, the solicitude he feels for erring humanity endears him to mankind. Humanity in its helpless condition lifts up its hands in prayer to the Buddha. Buddha is the refuge. Self-surrender (*saraṇāgamana*) and adoration (*paṇipāta*) mark the attitude of the *upāsaka*. Buddha, whose very essence is

[1] *CHI.* I p. 161
[2] See Yamakami Sogen, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, p. 99
[3] For a full treatment of the subject see Ryukan Kimura, *A Historical Study of the terms Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna and the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.*
[4] The Doctrine of Trikāya in Mahāyāna Buddhism.

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wisdom and love, becomes the saviour of mankind, a Bodhisattva, and a pattern for all to follow who strive to attain Buddhahood. The Bodhisattva waits and watches patiently for every man to approach him in a spirit of humility and self-surrender. '*Buddhaṁ śaraṇam gachchhāmi*'—'I resort to the Buddha', becomes the cry of every soul longing for liberation from pain and sorrow. Buddha is the healer and the consoler and takes up the burden of man's salvation on himself. A religion that had forsworn a personal god makes of Buddha a god and places him on the throne which had lain vacant for nearly two centuries. The metaphysical agnosticism professed by the Buddha now yields to a theistic cult known as the Mahāyāna Buddhism which was elaborated by some of the best minds that India ever produced.

Speaking of the emergence of Mahāyāna as a new development in Buddhism, Radhakrishnan says: 'The Hīnayāna protests against the Mahāyāna as an accommodation of the pure teaching to the necessities of human nature. Anyway, while it stands as an example to the world of realising the highest through knowledge, the Mahāyāna requires us to take part in the world, evolving new social and religious ideals. The absence of the supernatural and the consequent lack of any scope for imagination, the morbid way of solving the central problems of life, the reduction of Nirvāṇa to extinction and ethical life to a monastic asceticism, made the Hīnayāna a religion for the thinking and the strong in spirit, while a new development had to arise for the emotional and the worshipful.'[1]

It is mainly on points of religious doctrine that Buddhism divided into the two schools of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. This fission brought about a further explication in the light of a fresh interpretation of some of the basic concepts of Buddhism, of which the concept of Nirvāṇa was one.

The death of the Buddha is called Nirvāṇa. The term 'Nirvāṇa' literally means 'the state of a fire blown out'. It connotes the extinction of something. When a fire is blown out, nothing is left to be seen. What is it that is extinguished? It is perhaps the ego, the 'I' which is the source of the possessive 'mine'—the source of lust (*rāga*), wrath (*dosa*) and greed (*moha*)—that is finally extinguished. With this, all *dukkha* will cease. Such a simple interpretation as this is in consonance with the 'four noble truths' (*chatvāri ārya satyāni*) of original Buddhism. The four principles as paraphrased by Stcherbatsky are: life is a disquieting struggle, its origin is in the evil passions, eternal quiescence is the final goal, and there is a path by which all the energies co-operating in the formation of life become gradually extinct.[2] But a further question arises now. Is the individual to be concerned with the extinction of his own misery, that is only *his* salvation or is it also his obligatory duty to help others to find *their* salvation too? The Hīnayāna interpreted the words of the Master 'Be a lamp unto yourselves' to mean that each individual is the architect of his own deliverance. Nirvāṇa is to be sought for in order to put an end

[1] *Indian Philosophy*, I p. 592

[2] *Buddhist Logic*, I p. 7

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to the individual's own miseries. The Mahāyāna school, however, held that the condition of one's own salvation was to work for the salvation of others. The object of Nirvāṇa, in this school of thought, is to obtain perfect wisdom (*prajñā pāramitā*) with which the liberated can strive for the salvation of all beings in misery. It is very difficult to say which view truly represents the view of the Buddha. As Suzuki suggests, 'The probability is that Buddha himself did not have any stereotyped conception of Nirvāṇa, and, as most great minds do, expressed his ideas outright as formed under various circumstances, though of course they could not be in contradiction with his central beliefs, which must have remained the same throughout the course of his religious life.'[1]

The unintentional ambiguity of the original verbal gospel of the Buddha occasioned one striking result deeply significant for the development of philosophical thought in India. Some of the most acute thinkers, mainly in the interest of religion, applied themselves to investigations into the realm of mind which yielded a Logic, a Psychology and a Metaphysic of no mean order. Out of the Hīnayāna arose the metaphysical schools of Buddhism known as the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāshika schools, and out of the Mahāyāna the Mādhyamika or Śūnyavāda school and the Yogāchāra or Vijñānavāda school. Sautrāntika, Vaibhāshika, Mādhyamika and Yogāchāra are thus the most prominent of the systems of Buddhistic thought. In the chronological order the Vaibhāshikas arose in the third century after the *parinirvāṇa*, the Sautrāntikas in the fourth. The Mādhyamika school came into existence five hundred years after the *parinirvāṇa*, while Asaṅga, the founder of the Yogāchāra school, is as late as the third century of the Christian era.[2]

Both the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāshika schools are regarded as *Sarvāstivāda* schools, i.e. schools of Buddhist Realism. They maintain that all things mental and non-mental are real. Our perception of external objects depends on the actual existence of those objects outside of us. If it were not so, we could perceive anything at any place at will. The difference between the two schools is expressed by the terms *bāhyānumeya vāda* and *bāhya pratyaksha vāda. Bāhyānumeya vāda*, which is the Sautrāntika view, maintains that we infer the existence of an external object through the idea or representation of it we have in our minds. This view may be called Representationism. *Bāhya-pratyaksha-vāda* of the Vaibhāshika school is the view that external objects are directly perceived by us as they are. If objects are not capable of being directly perceived by us, to infer their existence through the ideas that we have of them would not be possible. This view may be described as Naive Realism.

As Stcherbatsky sums it up 'the standpoint of the Hīnayāna is thoroughly

[1] D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*. pp. 49-50

[2] The historical order of the rise of these schools here accepted is based on Yamakami Sogen's *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*.

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realistic' and 'roughly speaking a real external world is assumed in Hīnayāna, denied in Mahāyāna and partly reassumed in the logical school.'[1] Stcherbatsky suggests, following the Buddhists themselves, that the history of Buddhism in India may be divided into three periods, and the period under review here being the second one, the philosophy of the Mahāyāna school must occupy the central place.[2] This is the period of Buddhistic Idealism. The foremost thinkers belonging to this school are Aśvaghosha, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. Of them Zimmer says, 'Nāgārjuna (*c.* A.D. 200), the founder of the Mādhyamika school of Buddhist philosophy, which is the supreme statement of the Mahāyāna view, was by no means a vulgarizer but one of the subtlest metaphysicians the human race has yet produced. While Asaṅga and his brother Vasubandhu (*c.* A.D. 300), the developers of the Yogāchāra school of the Mahāyāna, likewise merit the respect of whatever thinker sets himself the task of really comprehending their rationalization of Nāgārjuna's doctrine of the Void. And Aśvaghosha, the haughty contemporary of Kanishka (*c.* A.D. 100), can have been no truckler to barbarians even though his epic of the life of the Buddha, *Buddhacharita*, is graced with many unmonkish charms.'[3]

The Mādhyamika or Śūnyavāda (Doctrine of the Void) school is illusionism pure and simple. According to this school everything is unreal. Both mental and non-mental phenomena are illusory and unreal. According to Nāgārjuna, 'There is neither being, nor cessation of it; there is neither bondage nor escape from it.' The Yogāchāra or Vijñānavāda school resembles the subjective idealism of the West. Berkeley's formula *esse est percipi*, to exist is to be perceived, would find ready assent among the Yogāchāras. Reality of an external world apart from its being perceived is unthinkable. The only thing real is mind. The so-called external world is an idea of the mind. While the existence of the external world can be denied, it is impossible to deny the existence of mind. It would lead to self-contradiction. The very existence of thought as an activity of mind proves the existence of mind. Nāgārjuna's doctrine of the Void (*śūnya*) is paradoxically stated by him thus: 'It cannot be called void or not void or both or neither, but in order to indicate it, it is called the Void.'

Nāgārjuna's notion of the Void was not the end of the whole story. He had a deep metaphysical purpose concealed in it. This was an attempt to discover the nature of Ultimate Reality. The phenomenal world as we know it cannot be real. It is riddled with self-contradictions. Whatever is real must be free from self-contradiction. The categories known to our frame of thinking as space, time and causality and the division of subject and object of knowledge appear to be self-stultifying. They may serve a pragmatic purpose. The business of transitory life may require it. *Saṁsāra* has only an empirical reality and cannot be ultimately real. Subject to constant flux the world of our pragmatic need is and yet is not.

[1] *Buddhist Logic*, I p. 525
[2] Ibid. p. 7
[3] H. Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, p. 510

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Nothing is there permanent to which one can hold. To perish perennially is of its very texture, if 'texture' could be ascribed to it all. This is *saṁsāra*. Nirvāṇa is an escape from this momentariness. It is a quiescence where the fret and fever of life will cease. But it can only be described in negative terms. We can only go to it by the *via negativa*. As no positive description can be given of it, it is for all practical purposes void, sheer emptiness. But when one attains it, what seemed unreal so long would come to be the real of reals. It is an ineffable and incommunicable state. That is why Buddha remained silent. His silence was not the silence of ignorance, but the silence where no speech can possibly intrude. This is the experience that Buddha received under the Bodhi tree. He was the awakened, for he woke up from the slumber of *saṁsāra*. This is a state that everyone can reach provided he treads the path of the Buddha. Discipline of the senses and discipline of the mind are the stepping stones to it. He who is attached to Nirvāṇa must detach himself from everything else. Nirvāṇa is a jealous mistress. All earthly fetters must be shaken off before one can embrace her.

This line of thought, which has continued in the later philosophers who started with the premises of Nāgārjuna, landed Buddhism in mysticism. Logic became futile in the face of this. Discursive Reason showed its feet of clay. To quote Stcherbatsky: 'The only source of true knowledge is the mystic intuition of the Saint and the revelation of the new Buddhist scriptures in which the monistic view of the universe is the unique subject. This is a further outstanding feature of the new Buddhism, its merciless condemnation of all logic, and the predominance given to mysticism and revelation.'[1]

On the side of religion, Mahāyāna Buddhism led to a theistic system very similar to the theistic systems of Śaivism and Vaishṇavism, preaching a loving devotion to a personal god whom the devotee loves with all his heart and whose spontaneous grace he awaits. On the metaphysical side it led to a school of thought closely akin to the conception of an Absolute with regard to which all determination would prove to be negation. The mind is unable to grasp it and words fail to express it. Reason and language only apply to the finite and nothing can be said of the infinite.

Personal verification alone can convince one of the reality of such a Nirvāṇa. 'Come and See' (*chipassiko*) is the motto of this philosophy. This interpretation of Nirvāṇa is borne out by a passage from *Netti Pakaraṇa* quoted by B. C. Law in his *Concepts of Buddhism* (pp. 76-7). 'Well expounded by the Master is the doctrine which bears the desired fruit here and now which has "come and see" for its motto, which assuredly leads to the goal, the truth whereof is to be experienced by the wise, each individually for himself, namely, the one which consists essentially in subduing the haughty spirit, the perfect control of thirst, the upsetting of the very storage of creative energy, the arrest of the course of

[1] *Buddhist Logic*, p. 10

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saṁsāra as regards the fate of an individual, the rare attainment of the state of the void, the waning out of desire, the dispassionate state, the cessation of all sense of discordance, the *nibbāna*,.'

As to this condition the Buddha speaks the language of all the mystics of the world when he says: 'This condition is indeed reached by me which is deep, difficult to see, difficult to understand, tranquil, excellent, beyond the reach of mere logic, subtle and to be realized only by the wise (each individually for himself).'[1]

In the Buddhism of this period, Reality acquires a new definition. This definition is expressed in the concept known as *pratītya samutpāda* or Dependent Origination. The very interdependence of elements in this universe is a denial of the ultimate reality of the elements accepted by common sense as real. But as Stcherbatsky states: 'the new Buddhism did not repudiate the reality of the empirical world absolutely, it only maintained that the empirical reality was not the ultimate one. There were thus two realities, one on the surface, the other under the surface. One is the illusive aspect of reality, the other is reality as it ultimately is.'[2]

Nāgārjuna confesses in the *Mādhyamika Śāstra* that 'the teaching of the Buddha relates to two kinds of truth, the relative, conditional truth, and the transcendent, absolute truth.'[3]

Another characteristic feature of the Buddhist philosophy of this period is the concept of *ālaya-vijñāna* or the 'store-house consciousness'. It is a Yogāchāra doctrine. Asaṅga and Vasubandhu attempted to evolve a complete system out of it. The concept of *ālaya vijñāna* opens up a realm of Buddhist depth-psychology. It has much in common with the Freudian 'unconscious' and represents the 'fantasy-making' and the projection of one's own subjectivity into an external world. According to this view what we call an objective world is really a projection or illusive manifestation of the mind called *ālaya-vijñāna*. The concept of *ālaya-vijñāna* is based on a study in the inner workings of the human mind calculated to help us to realize the forces and conditions that lie within us, that either favour or retard our progress towards the final goal of Nirvāṇa.

The Buddhism of this period is an intertwining of the strands of religion, philosophy, psychology and ethics. Anagarika B. Govinda well puts it: 'If, therefore, we speak of Buddhist philosophy, we should be conscious that this is only the theoretical side of Buddhism, not the whole of it. And just as it is impossible to speak about Buddhism as a religion without touching upon the philosophical aspect, in the same way it is impossible to understand Buddhist philosophy without seeing its connection with the religious side. The religious side is the way which has been established by experience (just as a path is formed by the process of walking), the philosophy is the definition of its direction, while the psychology consists

[1] B. C. Law, *Concepts of Buddhism*, p. 77
[2] *Buddhist Logic*, I p. 9
[3] Quoted by Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I p. 658

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in the analysis of the forces and conditions that favour or hinder the progress on that way.'[1]

C. HINDUISM

Contemporaneous with the development of theistic Buddhism we come across varieties of theistic thought in Hinduism emerging in this period. The notion of a personal God with whom most intimate relations could be established by the devotee is at the focus of religious consciousness. The deities, Vishṇu and Śiva, come to the forefront and Brahmā the Creator is thrust into the background. He becomes so subordinated, for example, to Vishṇu that he springs from his navel and is reared up on a lotus stalk.

The most important epics—the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*—glorify the heroes Rāma and Kṛishṇa and treat them as the incarnations of Vishṇu, the benignant and merciful God. He is not only the God of mercy but also the God of beauty. The notion of *soundarya* strikes the new note. This ravishes the heart of the devotees. Of Rāma it is said that the Ṛishis wished they had been born women to react to this god of beauty as only women can do. The aesthetic aspect of Rāma is kept in proportion by the idea of Rāma as a morally perfect hero. He is said to be *guṇavān* and *vīryavān*, full of excellence and valour. He is *dharmajña*, knows what *dharma* is. He is *satyavākya* and *dṛiḍhavrata*, always truthful in speech and firm to carry out his resolves. The idea of God the beautiful, the ravisher of hearts, finds its acme in the *Bhāgavata purāṇa*.

So far as the religious philosophy of the *Mahābhārata* is concerned, we observe the gradual relaxation of the idea of Non-duality, of an indeterminable Absolute which had been propounded by Yājñavalkya. A certain dualism becomes inevitable for the generation of *bhakti* or loving devotion to God. The world as a process of evolution in which the unmanifest becomes manifested takes the place of a crude theory of creation *de novo* which is altogether given up. Yoga which meant physico-psychological discipline leading to the stilling of all mental activity now becomes a method of setting oneself *en rapport* with the Divine who is the Inner Ruler, Immortal, both in the soul of man and in the universe outside of him. The concept of Antaryāmi or immanent deity comes to be reconciled with the notion of a transcendent deity. God is in the universe but yet transcends it in the sense that the universe does not exhaust his content. He is always ten inches ahead (*daśāṇgulam*). Yoga becomes a way of life, a method of communion with God but is not, however, a mere 'ascesis' or repression of desires or the forcible expulsion of disturbing thoughts. Desires have full play here; only they have to tend Godward. Out of such ideas arose the schools of the Bhāgavatas who believed in the chastening of emotions and the

[1] *The Psychological Attitude of Early Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 12

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sublimation of desires. All the warmth of deep human affection is imported into the relation between God and man.

Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa becomes the Bhagavān, a deity who possesses six beatific qualities,[1] *jñāna*, *śakti*, *bala*, *aiśvarya*, *vīrya* and *tejas*.

The new aspects of this religion are love and grace, reconciliation of the immanence and transcendence of God and finally the avowal that the path of deliverance lies through the heart's devotion rather than through the laborious travail of cerebration. *Bhakti* is an easier path of deliverance than *jñāna*. These terms acquire a new connotation in this context not excepting 'karma' which has its meaning happily stretched to compass all the activities of man, 'the daily round, the common task'. These are discharged in a spirit of dedication to the Lord, in a spirit of disinterested devotion (*nishkāma karma*) which does not barter or hanker after a requital of the love that pours out of the heart of the devotee. No reciprocity is demanded for there can be no barter in true love. Life regulated in the light of this ideal becomes consecrated, and every little act is elevated to an act of worship.[2] This is the philosophy of *Bhakti* that finds the most majestic expression in the treatise, the *Bhagavadgītā*, sandwiched in the *Mahābhārata*. Karma, thus rendered becomes *kaiṁkarya* (service), a term and an ideal that played an important part in the later development of South Indian Vaishṇavism.

To fortify this position from the attacks of other Vedāntins who were absolutists, there sprang up currents of philosophic thought out of which sprang the famous Vedāntic systems of Viśishṭādvaita and Dvaita.

The cults of Vishṇu and Śiva had a common content so far as the *Bhakti* element was concerned and even on the side of philosophy they tended to be more *dvaitic* than *advaitic*. The *Bhagavadgītā*, which probably was composed at this time, was a wonderful confluence of currents of philosophic and religious thought. Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Pūrva Mīmāṁsā conceptions are translated here into a different world which has a close bearing on man's need for a personal God. The *Purusha* and the *Prakṛiti* here become the *kshetra* and the *kshetrajña*. Dharma ceases to be merely the punctilious performance of religiously prescribed duties aiming at the attainment of perishable results. It is discarded (*sarvadharmān parityajya*) in favour of an act of self-surrender or self-abnegation when the entire burden of obtaining deliverance for the individual soul rests on God himself. The worshipper casts his burden as it were on God himself (*bharanyāsa*).

Another interesting departure from the accustomed sense of a term is that illustrated by the term *saṁnyāsa*. This ceases in the *Gītā* to be 'ascesis' but becomes not renunciation of action or mere meditation or contemplativeness, but the inculcation of a spirit of renunciation in action

[1] See articles on the Bhāgavatas by G. Grierson in *IA.*, 1908, XXXVII Sept. & Dec.

[2] *Svakarmaṇā tam abhyarchya siddhim vindanti mānāvāḥ* (*Bh. Gītā*)

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reminiscent of the Upanishadic injunction '*tena tyaktena bhuñjīthāḥ*', participation in renunciation. It presupposes a detached enjoyment of life and not an abandonment of life. When Arjuna asks Kṛishṇa '*saṁnyāsasya mahābāho tatvamichchhāmi veditum*' (I desire to know the meaning of the principle of *sanyāsa* or renunciation) Kṛishṇa clinches the whole issue by replying '*Kāmyānāṁ karmaṇāṁ nyāsaṁ saṁnyāsaṁ kavayo viduḥ*' i.e. *sanyāsa* is the laying aside of action the object of which is to covet a perishable result. This asserts the Gītā doctrine of the categorical imperative and the abandonment of the hypothetical imperative both in religion and morals. This marks the culmination of religious and ethical thought during this period.

PHILOSOPHICAL SŪTRAS

The spontaneous flow of fresh religious and philosophical thought was, it might be said, dammed and canalised in several ways in order to irrigate varied fields of philosophical speculation; and this process gave rise to the *sūtra* or aphoristic style of writing. As Farquhar remarks, the *sūtra* 'was little more than an index of topics which, committed to memory, enabled the student to carry the instructions of his teacher in his mind.'[1]

Vedic authoritarianism hastened to crystallise concepts in two sets of *sūtras* or aphorisms, one trying to preserve the concepts of Vedic ritualism and the other tending to cherish the Upanishadic teachings. The former gave rise to the *sūtras* of the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā school and the latter to the Uttara Mīmāṁsā or Vedānta *sūtras* which later received elaborate comment from Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhvāchārya, the propounders respectively of the later Vedāntic schools of Advaita, Viśishṭādvaita and Dvaita.

The period under review saw the emergence of *sūtras* of the other four systems of Indian Philosophy as well, namely Nyāya, Vaiśeshika, Sāṅkhya and Yoga. These were the rationalistic, though orthodox, systems of Indian Philosophy which accepted *Śabda* only as a confirmatory *pramāṇa* and not as originative in its character. They began with an empirical endeavour to study the facts of experience with a view to discover principles of coherence which gave meaning to these facts. The *sūtras* presuppose a period of discussion and deliberation long anterior to their definite formulation. The authors are known just by their names. Zimmer says: 'The founders, actual or supposed—Kapila, Patañjali, Jaimini, Vyāsa, Gautama and Kaṇāda—should probably be regarded as schools rather than as individuals. Nothing is known of them but their names. Their *sūtras* stand at the beginning of a copious literature of commentators, yet are themselves but the last terms of a long foregoing period of discussion, each of them including arguments against all others. Moreover, without the commentaries the texts would be

[1] *Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 124

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unintelligible. They are not the self-sufficient works of independent thinkers, but mnemonic "threads" (*sūtras*) for the guidance of oral teaching in the ancient Indian style of the *guru* and his *adhikārin*.'[1]

The range of the period during which the original *sūtras* of the six systems (*shaḍdarśana*) were formulated has been taken to be as wide as from 500 B.C. to A.D. 500. A historical survey of the thought contained in these *sūtras* may now be attempted, the *sūtras* being considered in their logical order for convenience.

The two important logical systems of thought that are closely related to each other and supplement each other are the Nyāya and Vaiśeshika *darśanas*, expounded respectively in the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama and the *Vaiśeshika sūtras* of Kaṇāda. The *Nyāyasūtras* consist of five books of two chapters each, and the *Vaiśeshika sūtras* of ten books of two chapters each. The philosophy of the *Nyāyasūtras* may be summarised thus: the goal of individual life is salvation. Salvation is liberation or final deliverance from all that hampers its right to a joyous existence. Salvation can only result from a knowledge of the things that really matter. There are sixteen topics about which full knowledge must be obtained. This is the knowledge that liberates. Nyāya is so called because it 'goes into' these topics and investigates thoroughly their nature. Incidentally, Nyāya developed a technique of controversy (*vāda vidyā*) which was adopted by all the later philosophical thinkers. Nyāya studies the tools of thinking and of the attainment of truth. It lays bare the obstacles to thinking and distinguishes carefully straight thinking from crooked thinking (*hetvābhāsa*). The Nyāya accepts four means of proof, viz. perception, inference, comparison (or analogy) and scripture. It also gives a place to the intuition of seers (*yogi-pratyaksha*) which has the same characteristic of immediacy as that of sense perception. The existence of God, however, is proved by the following argument: from effects we infer causes. Anything that produces an effect must exist. 'The choir of heaven and the furniture of the earth' and the multifarious products we witness around us must have an omniscient Being as the cause of their creation. They are produced effects in the same way as pots are produced effects. It is thus that the Creator of the world is inferred. A characteristic of a produced effect is that it is made up of component parts. Anything that is formed of component parts must have an agency for its formation. The existence of a creator is inferred here merely on the ground that the world is a produced effect.

According to the Nyāya school, the function of logical reasoning is to support right knowledge. Logic is like a fence or a hedge reared up to protect the seedlings of great truths. The Nyāya dialectic takes into account three processes with which logical reasoning is closely associated. They are discussion (*vāda*), controversy (*jalpa*) and cavil (*vitaṇḍā*). Discussion is that carried on by a student with his teacher with the object of

[1] *Philosophies of India*, p. 605

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discovering truth. Neither victory nor defeat is the aim here. These motives, however, arise as aims in controversy and cavil which are sophistical practices pure and simple.

The discovery of right answers to our honest questions ought to be the work of the intellect. Having discovered these answers and having attained sincere conviction about the goal of deliverance and the means to it, one should prepare oneself to sail to the unknown. When the enquirer reaches the other shore, the shore of final release, he experiences non-sensuous eternal bliss. This state is also described as cessation of consciousness and a release from pain without any presence of positive pleasure, for there can be no pleasure without pain. These two descriptions imply a schism in the Nyāya school itself as to the nature of *moksha* or *apavarga*. The Nyāya philosophers are of the view that this controversy cannot be settled by mere logic.

The authorship of the *Vaiśeshika sūtras* is ascribed to Kaṇāda who is also called Kaśyapa. Kaṇāda means 'atom-eater'. He was perhaps so nicknamed because he was so totally absorbed in his atomic theory that it was considered to be his daily food. The philosophy of the *Vaiśeshika sūtras* is substantially the same as the philosophy of the Nyāya. The logic of the Vaiśeshika is the logic of the Nyāya, but while Nyāya developed the epistemological side of this compound philosophy, Vaiśeshika developed its cosmological side.

The *Vaiśeshika sūtras* consider that the beatitude of final release (*moksha*) results from a clear knowledge of six categories (*shaṭpadārtha*) within which God, individual souls and the whole of this cosmos are comprised. The six categories are substance (*dravya*), quality (*guṇa*), action (*karma*), generality (*sāmānya*), particularity (*viśesha*) and co-inherence (*samavāya*). Of substance again nine classes (*nava dravyāṇi*) are enumerated: earth (*pṛithivī*), water (*ap*), light (*tejas*), air (*vāyu*), ether (*ākāśa*), space (*dik*), time (*kāla*), soul (*ātma*) and mind (*manas*). Earth possesses the quality of smell (*gandha*), water has taste (*rasa*), light has illumination (*prabhā*), air has touch (*sparśa*) and ether has sound (*śabda*), as its appropriate quality (*guṇa*). Space is indicated by ideas of 'here' and 'there' and time by means of the ideas of 'now' and 'then'. The existence of soul is proved by self-consciousness or the 'I-idea'. *Manas* is the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*) of the soul. Qualities inhere in substances, so that they are never perceived apart from them. *Samavāya* is the category that indicates the fact of intimate and internal relation of substances and qualities. These six categories of things comprise all the objects of knowledge. The whole world is made up of them. The realisation of their likenesses and differences (*viśesha*) is the means of attaining salvation.

The *ātman* (self) is located within material substances. It is of two different kinds. One is the individual soul and the other is the supreme soul. The gods, men and the lower animals are all individual souls, and the great God is the other kind of *ātman*.

The individual who faithfully performs the duties enjoined on him by

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the Deity is freed from the bondage of *saṁsāra*. He who shirks these duties will ever be tethered to human bondage. The scriptures are the revelations of the commandments of God which man is enjoined to obey.

In the state of *moksha* the instruments and the earthly habiliments of the soul will cease to function. All pain is destroyed. When a person grows weary and disgusted with his life of *saṁsāra*, he longs for final liberation and in proportion to the intensity with which he longs for it and the efforts he puts forth in that direction, he approaches nearer and nearer to the goal of final beatitude.

The doctrines of the Sāṅkhya are ascribed to Kapila. The oldest account of the Sāṅkhya is found in the *Sāṅkyapravachana sūtra* which consists of six chapters. Kapila teaches that the final liberation of the individual soul is attainable only through knowledge of ultimate principles. This knowledge consists of a discrimination (*viveka*) of the manifest (*vyakta*) and the unmanifest (*avyakta*). This discrimination yields the knowledge of the individual soul (*purusha*). The knowledge of the individual soul leads to the cessation of the three miseries (*duḥkhatraya nivṛitti*). The three miseries are *ādhyātmika*, *ādhibhautika* and *ādhidaivika*. The *ādhyātmika* misery consists of bodily and mental ailments. The *ādhibhautika* is caused by external agents e.g. germs, insects and other pests. The *ādhidaivika* is that which is caused by cataclysmic natural phenomena like floods, earthquake, volcanic eruption, heat waves, cold waves and other disturbances of the kind over which we have no control.

By obtaining the knowledge of the *ātman* or the individual soul, the above-mentioned miseries cease to afflict us. The freedom which results to the soul from other means than the knowledge of *ātman* is illusory freedom. The attainment of heaven by ritualistic merit is not to be accounted real freedom, for it is tainted by the three strands (*guṇas*) that constitute the warp and woof of human existence *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*.

Knowledge of the twenty-five principles enumerated by Sāṅkhya is said to lead to the knowledge of the *ātman* or self. The twenty-five principles are the *Purusha* (individual soul), *Prakṛiti* or primordial nature, the great principle of intellect (*mahat*), the principle of egoity (*ahaṁkāra*). To these are added the sensations of sound, touch, colour, taste and smell, and the sense organs—the ear, the skin, the eye, the tongue, the nose, and again speech, hands, feet, the organ of evacuation, the organ of reproduction, and *manas*; and finally earth and water, light, air and ether. This world is made up of the principles enumerated above.

Everything in the world is a product of *Prakṛiti*. *Prakṛiti* is one, eternal and non-intelligent. The *ātman* is characterised by passivity and indifference, but somehow comes to be influenced by the three qualities of *Prakṛiti*. Through the association of *Prakṛiti* with *Ātman* possessed of consciousness, there arises creation. *Prakṛiti* (Nature) is blind without *Ātman* (Spirit), and *Ātman* (Spirit) is inactive without *Prakṛiti* (Nature).

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It is only by the co-operation of the blind *Prakṛiti* and the lame *Purusha* that life's road becomes visible and passable. The taciturn and tranquil *Purusha* becomes restless and active under the operation of *Prakṛiti*. Creation starts out of this primal interaction. *Prakṛiti* is characterised by the equilibrium of the three qualities of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. When *sattva* predominates it gives rise to happiness and love, tranquillity and modesty, health and lightness of body, patience and forgiveness, courage, magnanimity, self-restraint and the illumination of knowledge. When *rajas* is chief, there flares up wrath, greed, egotism, worldly activity and boastfulness. When *tamas* lifts up its dark heavy hood, it produces drowsiness, sloth, stupidity, ignorance and carelessness.

The *mahat* or the great principle of intellect is produced out of the *Prakṛiti*. Out of *mahat* emerges the principle of egoity (*ahaṁkāra*). Out of these are produced the five redumentary principles (*tanmātras*). These are subtle elements out of which are produced the five cognitive senses (*jñānendriya*) and five conative senses (*karmendriya*) and the five elements (*pañchabhūtas*). The *manas* is regarded as the eleventh organ. Out of other things derived from the quality of *tamas* the elements, namely earth, water, light, air and ether have been generated.

This account of the manifested universe is known as *Pariṇāmavāda* in Saṅkhya philosophy. The essence of it is, in the words of Dr. Radhakrishnan, that '*Prakṛiti*, which contains within itself the possibilities of all things, develops into the apparatus of thought as well as the objects of thought'.[1]

The Sāṅkhya regards the world as also subject to periodical dissolution. At such times, the individual souls are absorbed into *Prakṛiti* and become possessed of subtle bodies. Under the influence of the qualities of *Prakṛiti* and of their own *karma* the individual souls assume various physical forms at the time of creation. In fact, the whole of this cosmos exists in a subtle (*sūkshma*) form in *Prakṛiti* and becomes manifest in creation. There is no creation *de novo*. It is only the unmanifest becoming manifest, the *avyakta* becoming *vyakta*. Sāṅkhya repudiates the *asatkārya vāda*, i.e. things coming into existence out of nothing. '*Ex nihilo nihil fit*' is the essential Sāṅkhyan creed of causality. If it is possible for an entity to come into existence out of non-entity, anything can come out of anything. Even things like horns on a hare would become possible. If the oil pressed out of sesamum seeds does not already exist in the sesamum, then it must be possible to squeeze it out of a handful of sand. This is how Sāṅkhya refutes the *asatkārya vāda*.

Sāṅkhya philosophy is pluralistic in character and admits of a plurality of individual souls. If the soul of all beings, it argues, is the same and only one, then all would have to die at the same time or be born at the same time. Or when one man saw anything, all would have to see the same thing at the same time. Hence the plurality follows as a logical

[1] *Indian Philosophy*, II p. 266

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consequence, and the idea of non-duality in regard to *ātman* becomes inadmissible.

So far as man's activity in the world is concerned the Sāṅkhya specifies two kinds of injunctions in accordance with which he has to act. The first are injunctions inculcating such duties as tend to turn men away from worldly activity and bestow on them the final freedom of the soul. The other kind of prescribed duties leads men to worldly activity. The ritualistic sacrifices, enjoined in scripture are all intended for the attainment of certain desired objects. The ritualistic duties pertain to active worldly life in as much as they impel men to live the life of worldly activity.

By righteousness men rise high; by unrighteousness they sink down. The final release of the soul results exclusively from knowledge. It is by ignorance that man incurs the bondage of *saṁsāra*.

The Sāṅkhya system of Kapila is regarded as non-theistic or *niriśvara Sāṅkhya*. It took a theistic form in the philosophy of the *Yoga sūtras*, which is also termed *seśvara Sāṇkhya*, to which we shall now turn.

The *Yoga sūtras*, as is well known, are ascribed to Patañjali. He is looked upon as the promulgator of the science of Yoga. The knowledge of the twenty-five principles of the Sāṅkhya is the metaphysical foundation of the Yoga system. The Yoga repudiates the view that mere theoretical knowledge of the principles will bring about the emancipation of the soul. It is only by the practice of the technique of Yoga that one can attain to that condition. It is by Yoga only that one can cleanse oneself of the stain of evil that clings to the body. The mind also can be cleansed by following the path of Yoga—a path which leads to freedom from attachment to worldly objects. Man's life is subject to five afflictions (*pañchakleśāḥ*),—ignorance, desire, aversion, egoity and anxious attachment. Ignorance is practically at the root of the other afflictions. It is the superimposition of the idea of the self on the body which is non-self (*anātmanyātmabuddhi*).

The body is composed of the five elements of nature. But the owner of the body is the self that is different from it. The sense of proprietorship of progeny and property—the sense of 'mine'—is wholly due to the lack of knowledge that the self is different from the body. When this ignorance is destroyed and when a man is freed from the desire and aversion which are due to that ignorance, he becomes fit for the practice of Yoga to attain the final freedom of the soul. Yoga is that self-abiding of the soul consequent upon the controlling of the activities of the mind—(*Yogaḥ chitta-vṛitti-nirodhaḥ*). When the mind is controlled, the self abides in its native condition. In life, man should apply himself practically to such work as leads him to the practice of Yoga. The practical application consists in *tapas* (penance), in the silent repetition of *mantras* (prayer formulas), and in firm love and devotion to God. Sloth and sickness, vacillation of mind and want of faith, deluded perception, cheerlessness of mind, ardent attachment to the objects of the senses, defects in

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breathing and other functions of the body, these and similar evils can be destroyed by earnest devotion to God (*īśvarapraṇidhāna*). The purification of the mind as a means to the successful practice of Yoga is accomplished through the continued exercise of friendliness and right feelings generally. The feeling of friendliness must be exercised in relation to the virtuous and that of pity in relation to persons in distress. One must cultivate indifference in relation to those that are sinful.

Devoted service, association with the good, the repeated endeavour to live the life of holiness, the mental comprehension of the inner soul—by means of these and other similar endeavours the mind of the *yogin* becomes purified and is enabled to conceive correctly the nature of things in the world.

When that which is harmful to the practice of Yoga is removed, there arises the illumination of knowledge. The constituents of Yoga are eight in number (*ashṭāṅga yoga*). They are internal self-control (*yama*), external regulation (*niyama*), bodily postures (*āsana*), control of breath (*prāṇāyāma*), withdrawal of the senses from outside objects (*pratyāhāra*), fixity of attention (*dhāraṇa*), meditative concentration (*dhyāna*) and attentive self-realisation (*samādhi*).

The five elements of internal self-control (*yama*) are: to abstain from inflicting injury (*ahiṁsā*), truthfulness (*satya*), abstention from stealing (*asteya*), celibacy (*brahmacharya*) and freedom from acquisitive covetousness (*aparigraha*). The elements of external regulation (*niyama*) are: cleanliness (*śaucha*), happy contentment (*santosha*), austerity (*tapas*), the repetition of religious hymns and the worship of the Lord. Celibacy leads to the acquisition of energy and physical and mental purity and strength. The whole constitution becomes purified. By the successful practice of *samyama* or restraint the *yogin* attains the expansion of the vision of wisdom.

Before the lower steps have been achieved no attempt should be made on the higher. The Yoga technique insists on the principle of gradualness in the acquisition of yogic self-realisation. The ascent is slow, and difficult, and each step must be firmly secured before setting foot on the next. By the constant practice of Yoga, the colour of the *yogin's* body acquires a beautiful hue. He gradually wins to the possession of many extraordinary powers and perfections. The perfect *yogin* gains release from the debility of old age. Soon after, with the aid of renunciation, freedom from the recurrence of rebirths (*saṁsāra*) results to the *yogin*. He is then liberated. The last *sūtra* states; 'The dissolution of qualities in their source, when nothing remains to be achieved, is liberation; the revelation of the power of self, the foundation of the beauty of self.'[1]

The author of the *Mīmāṁsāsūtras* was Jaimini. His date is uncertain, and is put somewhere between 600 and 200 B.C., (this period being

[1] iv. sutra 37—Patañjali, *Aphorisms of Yoga*, Eng. trans. Purohit Swāmi.

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generally known as the sūtra period). The word *Mīmāṁsā* is derived from the root *man* which means to consider, examine or investigate. The examination that is undertaken here is the examination of the Vedas. The *Mīmāṁsāsūtras* concern themselves with the correct interpretation of Vedic ritual and texts. The philosophy of the *Mīmāṁsāsūtras* is summarised in the following paragraphs.

The contents of the Vedas are divisible into four kinds: *vidhis* (or mandatory injunctions), *arthavādas* (or explanatory disquisitions), *mantras* (metrical hymns) and *nāmadheyas* (or names of sacrifices etc.). Man becomes subject to bondage if he performs *karmas* that are prohibited in the scriptures. The Vedas teach us what our duties are and what they are not. They also teach us that the *ātman* or self is different from the intellect, the senses, and the body, and is all-pervading and unchanging. The Vedas are not personal productions. They are possessed of an intrinsic authoritativeness. Sacrifices are to be performed as they are enjoined by the mandatory injunctions in the Vedas. What duty is and what it is not fall exclusively within the scope of the authority of the Vedas. The *karma* which is enjoined exclusively by the Vedas yields the salvation of final deliverance. One should perform the daily obligatory (*nitya*) and the occasionally obligatory (*naimittika*) works to avoid the sinfulness that will otherwise arise. Those who solely and faithfully adhere to them, will also attain unsurpassable good at last. The ritualistic act leaves behind its own invisible result called *apūrva* which will come to maturity in this or another life, without the intervention of an extra-cosmic Deity.

Finally we have the *Vedānta sūtras* the authorship of which is ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa who is regarded as identical with Vyāsa ('compiler'). Of all the *sūtras*, the *Vedanta sūtras* have exercised the greatest influence on the course of Indian philosophic thought. The predominant influence of the *Vedānta sūtras* has overshadowed the *sūtras* of other systems of Indian philosophy. As the very first *sūtra* indicates (*athātho Brahmajijñāsā*), the enquiry into Brahman, (i.e. ultimate reality) constitutes the subject matter of the *Vedānta sūtras*. The *sūtras* are mostly based on Upanishadic texts the import of which is Brahman.

The self (*ātman*) is different from the intellect, the senses and the body. The true knowledge of Ultimate Reality cannot be obtained by means of mere works. Works, by means of their inherent power, impart an inward leaning to the mind (*chittaśuddhi*). Having fulfilled their purpose, they disappear like clouds at the end of the rainy season. Nescience (*avidyā*) in respect of the self (*ātman*) is a view of things contrary to the true knowledge of the nature of the self revealed in the Vedānta texts.

According to the view of those who truly know the self, the self is what remains untouched by any qualities such as that of being an agent. On the other hand, those who take their stand on the sections of the scriptures which deal with ritualistic works, *karamakāṇḍa*, as well as those who rely upon the sections which deal with deities, *devatākāṇḍa*, cannot avoid

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treating the self as an agent or doer. The soul does not possess the characteristic of Brahminhood and of other such class distinctions.

That which shines forth after all the five sheaths (*pañchamayakośa*) of the soul are one after another declared to be 'not this, not this', is the supreme Brahman.

The body is merely *annamaya* (made up of food) and cannot be the *ātman* as the Lokāyatas declare. The *prāṇa* (or the principal vital air) also cannot be the *ātman*, because it is aerial and non-intelligent like the external air of the atmosphere. The senses also cannot be the *ātman* because, like a lamp, they are mere instruments of knowledge. The *manas* (faculty of attention) is not the *ātman* because it is unsteady and does not exist during dreamless sleep. Since dreamless sleep culminates in happiness, this happiness alone constitutes the essential nature of the self (*ātman*). The *prāṇa* supports the sheath of the self which is made up of food ; the *manas* supports the sheath of the self which consists of *prāṇa* ; and the Supreme Self who is Existence-Knowledge-Bliss (*sachchidānanda*) supports the sheath made up of the *manas*. When the *ātman* abides in the *manas*, which is itself swallowed up by the darkness of ignorance, then the self is known to be in the state of dreamless sleep, which is called *prajñā* and is indicated by the characteristic of *ānanda* (bliss).

The self in its essence consists solely of intelligence (*chidghana*). Only characterised by limiting conditions (e.g. when abiding in the body) does it become the doer and the enjoyer, affected by desires and tainted in its nature by egoity and the like. Hampered by these limiting conditions and enveloped in bondage, the *ātman* nose-led by its *karma* wanders about from body to body and attains different worlds such as the world of *pitris*. Through the performance of prohibited works it goes to hell and similar unpleasant places. Through the acquisition of philosophic wisdom, it attains union with Brahman.

As the self can be known only by intuitive experience and is incapable of being realised by study, logic, or by any similar discipline, it transcends speech and thought. The path marked out by the *Vedānta sūtras* is the path of religious discipline to be followed by those who have renounced all worldly attachments.

The *sūtra* period is the seed-bed for the full flowering of systems nourished and trimmed by hosts of commentators whose genius for system-making evokes our admiration. The systems of philosophy surveyed here have the common aim—to find a remedy for the ills of life and to secure eternal peace by the eradication of ignorance and suffering.

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CHAPTER XIV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS (POST-MAURYAN)

AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL-REARING

THE conditions of agricultural production in the Maurya age seem to have continued, unchanged, in the centuries immediately following. As before, the bounties of nature were reinforced by the efforts of man. 'A double rainfall in the course of each year' had been noted by Megasthenes; the *Milindapañha* (114) tells us that there were three regular rains in the year besides others which were occasional. This abundance did not, however, prevail everywhere. In a Mahābhārata passage (II, 5, 76-78) the construction of large and full tanks at proper distances, so as to make agriculture independent of rainfall, finds mention among the duties of the righteous king ; the allowance of seeds and provisions and the grant of agricultural loans at low rates of interest to the cultivators are also enjoined on him. The process of cultivation was well understood. From the *Milindapañha* (416) we learn that rice-fields were provided with water-courses as well as embankments for storing water and bringing the crops to maturity. Another passage in the book (360) describes the successive agricultural operations as consisting of removing weeds, thorns and stones from the soil, ploughing, sowing, irrigating, fencing, watching, reaping and threshing. The records of this period bear ample testimony to the richness and variety of India's agricultural products. The crops mentioned in contemporary Indian works include a remarkably large variety of cereals and other produce. What is more, the medical works of Charaka and Suśruta contain elaborate classifications of cereals, fruits, and vegetables accompanied by descriptions of the characteristic qualities of each of them. Among India's agricultural crops Pliny(xii 4, xviii 10, 13) mentions rice, barley and sesamum ; he also refers to cotton and other fibrous plants ('trees which bear wool' and 'trees from which they make a kind of linen cloth') as well as sugar, the last being more esteemed than the Arabian product. Indian authors refer to a fine variety of rice (*śāli*) fit for use by kings. They also tell us how sugarcane was passed through presses to extract the much prized juice. The attention given to the rearing of garden produce in this period is illustrated by other facts. Among the duties of the wife of a city-bred man of fashion, the author of the *Kāmasūtra* mentions (iv 1, 29) that of collecting the seeds of vegetables and of medicinal herbs, and planting them in the proper season. The growth of mangoes in parks and of sugarcane in plantations is incidentally mentioned in the Jaina *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* (ii 7. 2. 2).[1]

[1] Lists of agricultural products:—(*i*) Rice, barley, sesamum, beans, mustard, wheat, etc. : *Mbh.* xiii 111. 71 ; (*ii*) Fine rice (*śāli*) ordinary rice (*vrīhi*), barley, millet,

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Aromatics, spices and other plant products known to the earlier times were grown extensively during this period. In a list of the precious articles with which the earth is filled, the *Milindapañha* (382) includes camphor, aloes, *tagara* (a perfumed shrub), sandal-wood and saffron. Red sandal-wood, of which several varieties including *gośīrsha* ('cow's head') are known to Kauṭilya, is singled out for praise in a number of texts. In Pliny's list of Indian plant-products (xii 41, xxiv 14) are included pepper, costus, lycium, bdellium, the macair (bark) and cardamom. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as in Kauṭilya, the Malaya hill (the Western Ghats below the Kaveri) is directly mentioned as a source of sandal-wood. Again, the sandal-wood of Banaras finds special mention in the *Milindapañha*. Indirect references in the *Mahābhārata* suggest that Kāmarūpa (the Brahmaputra valley) supplied sandal-wood as well as aloe-wood, while *kāleyaka* (a variety of fragrant wood) as obtained from the north-eastern Himalayas. The *gośīrsha* and other varieties of sandal-wood are said to be the products of Ṛishabha hill in the southern direction in the parallel topographical lists of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Buddhist *Saddharma-smṛityupasthāna-sūtra*. On the other hand we learn from a story in the *Divyāvadāna* that *gośīrsha* sandal-wood had to be imported into Western India where it was sold at a fancy price as a curative for fever.[1] To judge from the list of India's exports in the *Periplus*, a large number of aromatic and other plants was cultivated extensively (no doubt in their natural habitats) to meet the heavy Roman demand at the ports. It would thus appear that costus, lycium and spikenard were extracted from the slopes of the high Himalayas, while nard and bdellium were found in the north-western plains of India. Pepper, according to the *Periplus*, was grown in the district of Cottonara (Koṭṭanāḍu, the territory around Quilon and Kottayam), while cinnamon was cultivated in the interior of the Malabar ports. The fertile district of Ariaca (Kāthiāwār and the adjoining mainland), according to the same authority, produced wheat, rice, sugarcane and

kudrusa grain, beans, wheat, sesamum, vetch: *Miln.* p. 267; (*iii*) Fine rice, ordinary rice, barley, husked rice, sesamum, beans, peas etc.: ibid. pp. 106-7. Cf. *Sūtra.* i 263 etc. Classifications of plant-products etc.: *Charaka*, Sūtrasthāna, xxvii 5-10, 26-33; *Suśruta*, Sūtrasthāna, xlvi 5-52, 142-297, 312-44. 370-1. Red *śāli*, food for kings (*Miln.* 252). *Śāli* rice, fit food for kings unlike the *kumudabhaṇḍikā* variety of Aparanta which is fit only for hired labourers and slaves: ibid. 292. *Śāli*, chief of all foodgrains: ibid. 166. Sugar-cane presses: *Suśruta.* Sūtrasthāna, xlv 157-8, *Miln.* p. 166, *Utt. Sū.* xix 53. Sugar-cane juice, the best of juices: *Sūtra*, i 6. 20.

[1] Gold jars filled with sandal-juice from the Malaya and Dardura hills presented by Chola and Pāṇḍya kings: *Mbh*, ii 52, 33. Malaya and Dardura as sources of sweet-scents: *Rām.* ii 91. 24. Anointing with Kāsi sandal-wood in enumeration of layman's toilet; *Miln.* pp. 243-348. Sandal-wood and aloe-wood (from Kāmarūpa?) given as tribute by *mlechchha* kings of the Bengal sea-coast: *Mbh.* ii 30, 28, Sandal-wood, aloe-wood and *Kāliyaka* (*kāleyaka*) (from the Himalayan country?) given as tribute by Kirāta chiefs: ibid. ii 52, 10. For Kauṭilya's refs. see *KA.* ii 11. with commr's identifications. *Gośīrsha* etc. found in Ṛishabha hill: *Rām*, iv, 41, 39-40 and *Saddharma-smṛityupasthāna-sūtra*, quoted *JA.* 1918, II p, 54. Story of *gośīrsha* being imported into Suppāraka and sold for the king's treatment: *Divy.* pp. 30-1

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sesame oil. Cardamom, then as now, was cultivated in Malabar and Travancore, while the macair tree grew on the slopes of the lower Himalayas and on the hills of Southern India.[1]

The rearing of animals, like the cultivation of land, is included among the traditional occupations of the Vaiśya in the Smṛitis. From the *Periplus* we know that in the latter half of the first century A.D. Ariaca pastured huge herds of cattle, and obtained dairy products in sufficient quantities for export to East Africa. Of other domestic animals, horses of the best breeds were imported, as in Maurya times, from the North-West and the adjoining regions. But an important local breed appears to have been known to Eastern India. Stud bulls are referred to by Manu (ix 150) in connexion with his rules for division of a father's property among his sons.[2]

INDUSTRY

It is a curious fact that the occupations of the artisan and the craftsman are assigned in the *Manu-Smṛiti* to Śūdras only in times of distress.[3] Nevertheless, various industries were pursued in this period as before with conspicuous success.

Indirect references in the *Mahābhārata* suggest that the preparation of costly skins and furs was, as in the time of Kauṭilya, a valued industry in the north-western Himalayas as well as Eastern India.[4] In the *Mahābhārata* ivory products of Eastern India are also mentioned. At the time of the *Periplus*, Daśārṇa (Eastern Malwa) gave its name to a species of ivory well known to the Greek traders of the west coast. Earlier, the ivory-workers of Vidiśā, the capital of East Malwa, recorded their donation on a gateway of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī. Ivory was used for making hair-combs, dice, and other small objects as well as

[1] For the sources of bdellium, costus, lycium, nard and spikenard, cinnamon, cardamom, Indian copal and macair, see Schoff, *Per.* tr. pp. 80, 84, 164, 168, 169, 170, 188, 216. Costus is the cut-root of a tall perennial of a mountain species, nard is a root of ginger-grass, spikenard is a leaf or flower of a tree of a mountain species, while lycium and bdellium are gum-resins (ibid.).

[2] Cattle of Ariaca and their products: *Per.* secs. 14, 41. Horses of fancy colours and distinguished breeds obtained as tribute from Ṛishikas, neighbours of Kāmboja as well as north-western kings: *Mbh.* ii 27. 27-8. Horses presented by the king of Prāgjyotisha and other eastern kings: ibid. ii 51, 15, 34

[3] Industrial occupations of Śūdras: *M.* x. 99-100

[4] 'Skins of heavenly origin', presented by people of North Harivarsha or trans-Himalaya: *Mbh.* ii 28, 16. Skins of the *kadali* variety of deer in fancy colours presented by the king of Kāmboja: *Mbh.* ii 49, 19. Blankets made of the soft fur of animals living in holes, and of the hair of cats (all inlaid with gold-thread) among presents of the king of Kāmboja: ibid. ii 51, 37. Skins of *raṅku* deer and sheepskins among the presents of Bāhlīkas: ibid. 51, 27-8. Valuable skins presented by the Kirātas. The Kirātas (Kirrhadoi) are located by Ptolemy between the mouths of the Ganges and the Tokasanna (i.e. Naaf river, S. Lévi). But *Rām.* iv 40, 25f. places them in the east beyond the Lauhityā (Brahmaputra) river and on Mt. Mandara (Mt. Maindros of Ptolemy, the modern Yoma mountain to the east of Arakan.)

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ornamental sword-hilts, armour and the like.[1]

The manufacture of textiles seems to have been in the same flourishing condition as under the Mauryas. The enumeration of textile fabrics in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina works of this period is almost as extensive as in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. The list comprises stuffs of cotton, linen (*kshauma*), *dukūla* (made from the fibres of that plant), silk (from the cocoons of silkworms), *patrorṇā* (washed silk?), of sheep's wool and the hair of other animals, as well as cloths embroidered with patterns or with gold-thread. We even hear of cloth woven wholly of gold-thread. Very fine varieties of cottons, linens and woollens are mentioned. A pair of cotton garments worth one thousand *kārshāpaṇas* is mentioned in a story. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* and other works, linen and woollen garments often figure as highly prized objects, while hemp held the lowest place in the list of textiles.[2] In Kauṭilya's time Vaṅga (East Bengal) was famous for its fabrics of *dukūla*, linen and cotton, Puṇḍra (North Bengal) for *dukūla* and *patrorṇā*, Banaras for linen and cotton, and Magadha for *patrorṇā*; while Madhurā (the capital of the Pāṇḍya kingdom), Aparānta (Konkan), Kaliṅga, Vatsa (the territory around Kauśāmbī) and Mahisha (Mysore?) were other renowned centres of the cotton industry. Kauṭilya likewise mentions two varieties of rain-proof woollens as products of Nepal, while the Jātakas refer to the wool of Koṭumbara in the Panjab. References in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Milindapañha* the *Divyāvadāna* and other works prove that the lower Ganges basin,

[1] Swords with hilts of purest ivory presented by the king of Prāgjyotisha (*Mbh.* ii 51. 16). Armour of ivory presented by eastern kings (ibid. 51, 32). Ivory of Dossarene (Daśārṇa or Eastern Malwa) called by the same name (*Per.* sec. 62). Donation by the Vidiśā ivory-workers (Lüders, *List*, no. 345; *EI.* II 278). Ivory play-dice, hairpins etc. at Sirkap Taxila (*ASIAR.* 1928-29, p. 57 ; 1929-30, p. 95). Ivory dice and decorated piece at Rairh (*Excavs. at Rairh*, p. 43). Indian ivory statuette (handle of metal mirror ?) discovered at Pompeii in 1938 (*ABIA.* 1938, Intro. pp. 1-5)

[2] Enumerations of textile fabrics :— *Patrornā*, silk, in two varieties *dukūla*, cotton, wool, linen etc.: *Mbh.* xiii 111, 104-6 ; woollen and cotton yarns of three grades, embroidered cloth, cloth made of hair, silk cloth and cloth made of bark : *Y.* ii 179-80; cloth of hemp, linen, silk and wool : *M.* x 87; *Y.* iii 36, 38 ; fabrics made of camel-hair, linen, hemp, cotton etc. : *Bṛihatkalpa-Sū.* iv ; silk in three varieties (*paṭṭāṁśuka*, *kauśeya*, *dhautapaṭṭa*), linen, a fabric of mixed wool and *dukūla*, fabric woven from the fibre of the *phalaka* plant, cloth woven from gold-thread, upper garments inlaid with gems and gold: *Divy.* p. 316. Fabrics of wool, silk, hemp, cotton and *arkatūla* as examples of cloth begged for by monk or nun; stuffs of blue-cotton and two other varieties of coton, of fibres of various plants, of silk (in two varieties), of goats' hair and the fur of animals, of deerskin (in three colours) as well as the skins of tigers and panthers, embroidered fabrics and those woven of gold-thread mentioned as examples of very expensive clothes forbidden to monks and nuns : *Āchāra. Sū.* ii 5, 1. 1-5). Very fine varieties of cotton, linen and woollen stuffs : *Miln.* p. 105. The story of a pair of cotton garments worth 1000 *kārshāpaṇas*: *Divy.* p. 276. Woollen and linen fabrics presented by king Janaka to his daughters at their marriage : *Rām.* i. 74, 4. Queens of Ayodhyā dressed in linen for receiving brides on their arrival : ibid. i 77, 12. Linens taken as tribute by people of North Harivarsha : *Mbh.* ii 28. 16. 'Hempen cloth will be regarded as the best in the Kali Age' : ibid. iii 190. 19. Hempen cloth worn by weavers at work: *Divy.* p. 83.

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Banaras, Koṭumbara, and Aparānta, as also the Tamil kingdoms in the far south were still famous for the production of textiles of different kinds. The *Periplus* mentions several seats of cotton manufactures which agree in part with Kauṭilya's list. Thus we learn that muslins of the finest sort (of Vaṅgā and Puṇḍra?) were called Gangetic. Muslins in large quantities were produced in the region of Masalia (Kaliṅga?). Argaru (Uṛaiyūr, the old Chola capital) gave its name to a local variety of muslin. Muslins, coarse dyed cloth ('molochine' or 'mallow cloth') and much ordinary cloth (for stuffing) were carried to the great marts of Ujjayinī (from Vatsa?) and Tagara (from Mahisha?) for export abroad. Ariaca produced great quantities of cotton cloth out of its coarse variety of raw cotton, also for foreign export. Some cotton cloth appears to have been manufactured in the Upper Indus basin for export by way of the Indus.[1]

Compared to the wealth of material available in the *Arthaśāstra*, we have only the scantiest information about the condition of the mining and metallurgical industries during this period. Still Pliny observed (xxiv 17) that India had neither brass nor lead, but exchanged precious stones and pearls for them. It was no doubt because of this scarcity that copper, tin and lead had to be imported into Barygaza and the Malabar ports in the latter half of the first century A.D. On the other hand, according to the testimony of the *Periplus*, the manufacture of Indian iron and steel was so advanced in quality and quantity that they were exported from Ariaca (Kāthiāwār and the adjoining inland country) to East Africa. Indian gold was almost as scarce as copper, tin and lead. The ant-gold said in a Mahābhārata passage (ii 52. 2-4) to have been presented by the Khaśas and other tribes (living by the Śailodā river between the mountains Meru and Mandara) is no doubt identical with that which, according to the equally absurd story of Megasthenes (Strabo xv 1. 44), was obtained by the Derdai (Daradas). Following Tarn's plausible interpretation of the parallel passage from Megasthenes,[2] we may suppose that the ant-gold of the epic was likewise nothing but Siberian gold, of which the source was concealed by the middlemen engaged in the trade. The existence of a second source of gold supply from Eastern India is suggested by certain references in the *Mahābhārata* and an equally vague statement in the *Periplus*. Almost certainly this supply was obtained from the countries beyond India's eastern frontier (Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra etc.) which were significantly known by the titles of Suvarṇadvīpa and Suvarṇabhūmi. Some gold,

[1] Seats of textile manufactures : *KA*. ii 11. Cloths and woollens taken as tribute from *mlechchha* kings of the Bengal seaboard : *Mbh*. ii 30, 28. Fine cloth inlaid with gems presented by Cholas and Pāṇḍyas : ibid. ii 52. 34. Shops at Sāgala stored with Kāśi and Koṭumbara cloth : *Miln*. p. 2. Shops at Suppāraka stored with Kāśi cloth : *Miln*. p. 222. Kāśi silk and cloth of Aparānta in enumeration of textiles : *Divy*. p. 316 above quoted. For Koṭumbara as place-name, see *Miln*. p. 331. 'Gangetic muslins', muslins of Masalia, 'Argaritic muslins', muslins from Ujjayinī, muslins of Upper India *Per*. secs. 38, 39, 49, 51, 59, 62, 63

[2] *Greeks*, pp. 106-8

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however, may have been obtained then, as in later times, from the river-washings of the Chota Nagpur plateau and Assam. In the light of these facts we may easily explain the huge imports of gold coins in the first and second centuries A.D., attested alike by the contemporary Roman writers and the surviving specimens, especially those from South India. Gold bullion was exported, according to the *Periplus*, from the Persian Gulf by way of Eastern Arabia to Western India.[1] Metal-work of all types including the manufacture of precious metals was pursued during these times with energy and success. Tongue-scrapers, as we learn from the medical work of Charaka, were made of gold, silver, lead, copper and bronze or bell-metal; surgical instruments, says Suśruta, should be of damasked steel (*śaikyāyasa*). The *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* mentions bowls made of iron, tin, lead and brass. The manufacture of metals, was according to the Smṛitis of this period, as in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the subject of State regulation.[2] In the descriptions of cities, the literary works of this period invariably mention goldsmiths, silversmiths and other workers in metals as an element of the population.[3] Contemporary specimens of metalware intended for everyday use and of ornaments have been recovered from various sites, the former usually being made of iron, copper, brass, and the latter of bronze, gold, and silver.[4]

In the first centuries after Christ the phenomenal increase in the Roman demand for India's pearls and gems was facilitated by the direct voyages of the western merchants to India. In the first century A.D. according to the author of the *Periplus*, pearl-fisheries were operated off 'Colchi' (Koṛkai on the Tāmraparṇī river in the Pāṇḍya kingdom) and off the 'Coast country' (i.e. Cholamaṇḍalam), which correspond respectively to the Gulf of Manar and the Palk Strait. Both were evidently State monopolies, for while the

[1] Imports of copper, lead and tin: *Per.* secs. 49, 56. Export of Indian iron and steel: ibid. 6. Gold given as tribute by *mlechchha* kings of the Bengal seaboard: *Mbh.* ii 30, 27. Gold presented by Kirātas: ibid. 52. 12. Gold mines said to exist in lower Ganges: *Per.* sec. 63. Gold exported from the Persian Gulf to Barygaza: *Per.* sec. 36. On Suvarṇabhūmi etc. and on Roman gold coins: see below. On the Śailodā river: see Lévi, *Études Asiatiques*, II pp. 40-3

[2] Instruments etc. in *Charaka-saṁhitā*: Sūtrasthāna, v. 71; *Suśruta*, Sūtra sthāna viii 29. Bowls etc.: *Āchārā, Sū.* ii 6, 1. Legal rates of decrease in smelting of metals: *M.* vi 71, *Y.* ii 178

[3] Workers in gold, silver, lead, tin, copper, brass and iron among the population of typical city: *Miln.* p. 331. Goldsmiths among the population of Ayodhyā: *Rām.* ii 83, 12f.

[4] The following may serve as examples: (*a*) Bhita: Copper, brass, iron and gold objects: *ASIAR.* 1911-12, pp. 89-92; (*b*) Rairh: Bronze bangles, lead and bronze ear-pendants, bronze and gold finger-rings, bronze containers of unguents, bronze mirror, gold beads etc.: *Excavations at Rairh*, pp. 41-3 with pls.; (*c*) Taxila: Gold-ear-ring with pearls, gold beads etc. at Dharmarājika *Stūpa* site; gold and silver ornaments, silver vessels, iron vessels and utensils, bronze and copper vessels etc. at Sirkap; gold ear-rings, ear-pendants, bangles, medallions as well as silver anklets, goblets, cups, bowls, plates and saucers at Sirkap; gold and bronze ornaments, iron implements etc. at the Bhir mound (Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*. 3rd ed., pp. 50 93-4, 97, 146). The gold work from the Bhir mound is remarkable for the fine finish and delicately granulated and filigree designs (ibid.).

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former was worked by condemned criminals, the output of the latter was required to be sold only at the State capital. Another site of pearl-fisheries mentioned in the *Periplus* lay in the lower Ganges. Pearls, we are told were brought down the Ganges river through a great port on its banks to the south. Corroborative references to the pearl-fisheries of the extreme south are found in Ptolemy and in Tamil works of the period. The lower Ganges fisheries are suggested by indirect references in the *Mahābhārata*. A third fishery is located by Pliny at Perimula (Semylla, modern Chaul on the west coast). Pliny also gives a long list of Indian precious stones and calls India the great producer of the most costly gems. This list, of which several items are obscure or ambiguous, includes diamond, beryl (and its imitation), opal, sardonyx, onyx, carbuncle, carnelian, amethyst, hyacinth, and agate. Beryls, says Pliny, were rarely found outside India, while Ptolemy in the following century specifically mentions Pounnata, an inland city in the South, as their source. Diamonds, according to Ptolemy, were obtained from the town of Kosa, from the territory of the Sabarai and from the mouth of the river Adamas. These places have been respectively identified with the Berar territory extending to the river Varadā, the region of Sambalpur and the Sank branch of the Vaitaraṇī river. According to the *Periplus*, agate and carnelian were worked from the rocks of the Deccan trap for export to the West. Ptolemy records that Mt. Sardonyx (i.e. the Satpura range) was the place where the precious stone of that name was found.[1] While so many gems were of Indian origin, it was natural that the gem industry should reach a high level. Indeed the enumeration of gems in the works of this period is remarkably long and varied. The list of beads and other articles of precious and semi-precious stones found on sites belonging to this period is equally varied. The science of testing gems is recognised in a Divyāvadāna story as part of the regular training of merchants' sons, and included by Vātsyāyana in a list of sixty-four fine arts (*aṅgavidyās*). The skill of the Indian gem-cutter is exhibited in the surviving specimens of purely Indian art belonging to the Kushāṇa and later periods. The Tamil literature of the Śaṅgam age bears witness to the flourishing condition of the gem industry and the jeweller's trade in South India at this time. This was doubtless partly due to the great stimulus imparted by the foreign demand in the early centuries of the Christian era. Not without reason did Pliny give the epithet 'gem-bearing' to India and her rivers.[2]

[1] Pearl-fisheries off Colchi and the 'Coast country'; *Per.*, sec. 59. Pearls in lower Ganges : ibid. 63. Pearl-fisheries in the Kolkhic Gulf : Ptolemy, vii 1. 10. Pearls given as tribute by *mlechchha* kings of the Bengal coast : *Mbh.* ii 30, 39. Pearls at Perimula : Pliny, vi 54. Indian gems : Pliny, xxxvii. Beryl at Pounnata : Ptolemy. vii 1. 86. Diamonds at Kosa etc.: Ptolemy, vii 1. 17 ; 65 ; 71; 76 ; 80 ; Agate and carnelian : *Per.*, secs. 48, 49, 51. Mt. Sardonyx : Ptolemy, vii 1. 20

[2] Sapphires (two varieties), wishing-stone, beryl, sun-stone, moon-stone, diamonds, topaz, ruby and five other stones which cannot be identified : *Miln.* p. 118. Shorter list repeating *Vin.* iii 238 : *Miln.* p. 267. Similar lists in *Kalpa-Sūtra, Lives of the Jinas*, 45 90 ; *Āchār. Sū.* ii 15. 10; *Uttarā. Sū.* 36, 75. Examples of jewellery found

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INLAND AND COASTAL TRADE

Money-lending and trade, along with agriculture and animal-rearing, are declared to be the occupations of the Vaiśya by Manu (i 90, ix 326-7), and Yājñavalkya (i 119). In this context Manu acquaints us (ix 329-33) with the technical knowledge that was expected from the Vaiśyas. Trade relations form the subject of some well-known titles of law in the Smṛitis, such as 'rescission of sale and purchase', 'sale without ownership' and 'partnership'. The policy of state-control of trade recommended in the Smṛitis of this period is in line with that of Chandragupta Maurya's administration described by Megasthenes and treated with remarkable completeness in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*. Prices of commodities, we are told (*M.* viii 401-3; *Y.* ii 251), are to be fixed by the king at stated intervals after considering all the relevant factors: he is also to arrange for the stamping and periodical inspection of weights and measures. Combinations of merchants for purchase at a lower price or sale at a higher price are to be punished with a heavy fine (*Y.* ii 250). In the completer account of Kauṭilya these functions are entrusted to a number of officials called *paṇyādhyaksha*, *śulkādhyaksha*, and *pautavādhyāksha*.

'Early Buddhist literature shows that India had developed an extensive system of inland trade borne along recognised routes. These were marked by successive stages, and helped to link up the different parts of the country. Two of these routes were of outstanding importance. They were, firstly, the SW-NE. route joining Pratishṭhāna by way of Māhishmatī, Ujjayinī, Vidiśā and Kauśāmbī with Sāketa; and, secondly the E-NW. route which ran mostly by river from Champā by way of Bānarās to fixed stations up the Ganges and Jumna, whence land tracks led to the north-west frontier and to the lower Indus. Another route led eastwards from Śāketa to Rājagṛiha by way of Vaiśālī and Pāṭaliputra. A route from Champā must have led to the mouths of the Ganges, for we hear of merchants journeying from Champā and even Banaras to Suvarṇadvīpa (or Suvarṇabhūmi), 'the El Dorado of the East', evidently trans-shipping at a convenient port down the river. By the time of Chandragupta Maurya, a great 'Royal road' had been built, linking Pushkalāvatī beyond the Indus with Pāṭaliputra, the imperial capital, and thence leading to the mouths of the Ganges. This first Indian Grand Trunk Road is recalled in the itineraries recorded in the *Rāmāyaṇa*

on ancient sites:—Beads and gems of ruby, crystal, banded agate, jacinth, sardonyx, garnet, amethyst, carnelian, aquamarine, green jasper, onyx, mother of pearl, yellow quartz in relic chamber of *stūpa* B (*temp.* Maues and Azes I) around Dharmarājika *Stūpa* at Taxila (Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed. p. 43): Beads of gold, carnelian, rock crystal, chalcedony, amethyst, turquoise, lapis lazuli, beryl, aquamarine on site of Rairh (*c.* third century B.C. to second century A.D.) (K. N. Puri, *Excavations at Rairh*, p. 41 and pl. xxiii), *Rūpyaratnaparīkshā* included in the list of 64 *aṅgavidyās* (*Kāma.* i 3.16). Training of merchants' sons: *Divy.* pp. 26, 100. Indian types of gems inscribed (in Kharoshṭhī characters) and uninscribed, of Kushāṇa and later periods, in Pearse collection (*ASIAR.* 1928-9, pp. 137-8 with pls.). Gem-bearing India: Pliny, xxvii 76.

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and other works. More precise indications are found in the *Periplus*. In the first place, two trade-routes from the north-west frontier, the terminus of the old Maurya Royal Road, are mentioned; one led down the Indus to 'Minnagara', capital of Indo-Scythia and its port of Barbaricum, and another joined the 'Caspapyrene' (Kashmir), 'Paropanisene' (sub-Hindukush), and 'Cabolitic' (Kabul) countries by way of 'Poclais' (Pushkalāvatī) to the famous emporium of Barygaza. In the second place Ujjayinī, the focal point of the great SW-NE. route mentioned above, was linked with Barygaza. To the same famous port went the routes from the great Deccan marts of Tagara (Ter in Naldrug district of Hyderabad) and Paethana (Pratishṭhāna), which were themselves connected with other routes reaching eastwards to the Kṛishṇā-Godāvarī delta. A great trade was borne simultaneously along the western and the eastern coasts. From the Chola ports, as the *Periplus* tells us, country craft sailed up to Malabar, while very large vessels made the voyage to the mouths of the Ganges, the terminus of the E-NW. route above mentioned.[1] We can make up a complete list of the great marts on or near the coast from the authentic accounts in the *Periplus* and the *Geography* of Ptolemy. The chief names in this list beginning from the mouths of the Indus, are Barbaricum (in Scythia ruled by Parthian princes), Barygaza (in 'Ariaca'), Supara, Calliena and Semylla (further south), Naura, Tyndis and Muziris (in 'Keralabothra' or the Chera kingdom), Nelcynda with its port-town Bacare (in the Pāṇḍya kingdom), Colchi, Camara, Poduca and Sopatma (in the Chola kingdom), Kontakassyla and Pityndra (in the Kṛishṇa-Godāvarī delta), Paloura (in Kaliṅga), Gange and Tamalites (on the lower Ganges). Some of these names may be identified in Indian lists of what were evidently regarded by the authors as the most famous ports or naval stations of the then known world. In an enumeration of typical naval stations likely to be visited by a successful ship's captain, the *Milindapañha* (359) includes Sovīra (Barbaricum?), Suraṭṭha (Barygaza?), Kolapattanam (Kāvēripaṭṭinam?) and Vaṅga (Gange or Tamalites?). In a typical list of places visited by merchants in ships across the mighty ocean the *Mahāniddesa*, a commentary on the *Sutta Nipāta*, mentions (154, 414) Suppāra, Bharukachchha and Suraṭṭha.[2]

[1] Journey of Vasishṭha's messengers from Ayodhyā to Rājagṛiha, capital of Kekaya, to fetch Prince Bharata: *Rām.* ii 68, 12-22. Bharata's journey from Rājagṛiha to Ayodhyā; ibid. 71. 1-18. Journey of a *seṭṭhi* from a hermitage in the North-West Himalayas to Pāṭaliputra: *Miln.* p. 17. Trade of Minnagara etc. *Per.*, secs. 38-9. Route *via* Poclais: ibid. 48. Ujjayinī-Barygaza and Tagara-Pratishṭhāna-Barygaza routes: ibid. 48, 51. Coastal routes from Chola ports: ibid. 60

[2] Barygaza is Bharukachchha, modern Broach; Soupara is Surpāraka, modern Sopara; Calliena is modern Kalyan on the east shore of the harbour of Bombay; Semylla is modern Chaul about 25 miles south of Bombay; Naura is modern Cannanore (Schoff) or Mangalore (Yule and S. K. Aiyangar); Tyndis is modern Ponnani (Schoff) or Kadalundi near Beypore (Burnell and S. K. Aiyangar); Muziris is Muyirikotta, modern Cranganore; Nelcynda was very near Kottayam; Bacare is modern Porakad; Colchi is modern Kolkei or Korkei. Camara is Kāveripaṭṭinam; Poduca is Pondicherry (or more probably Arikamedu); Kantakasola is Ghantaśāla; Pityndra is Pihuṁda; Paloura

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FOREIGN TRADE

1. *Trade with Western Asia and Africa*

The extreme antiquity of India's trade with the Western world is an established fact. The wise policy of friendship with the Hellenistic powers begun by Chandragupta Maurya after his repulse of Seleucus and followed by his son and grandson must have favoured the expansion of Indian trade with the West. The continuance of these favourable conditions was ensured by the establishment of Greek dominion in India in the second and first centuries B.C. The trade between India and the Seleucid empire was conducted both by land and sea. The northern and more important land-route led from Taxila by way of Kapiśa, Bactria, Hekatompylos and Ecbatana to Seleuceia, while the southern route connected the lower Indus valley through Seistan and Carmania with the same terminus. The sea-route connected west-Indian ports with Seleuceia through the Persian Gulf, and with Egypt through the ports of South Arabia. The list of India's exports to Egypt comprised ivory, trotoise-shell, pearls, unguents and dyes (especially indigo), nard, costus, 'malabathrum', iron and wood. This trade suffered a set-back when Ptolemy II poured enough African ivory into the market to secure the traffic in this important commodity for himself. But this loss was more than made up by the increase of trade with Seleuceia. Indian ivory and spices were exhibited in phenomenal quantities by Antiochus IV in his triumph at Daphne in 166 B.C.[1]

In the closing years of Greek rule and the opening phase of the Śaka-Pahlava dominion occurred an event which was destined to revolutionise India's trade with the West. Greek mariners from Egypt, making progressive use of their momentous discovery of the monsoons, undertook direct voyages successively to the Indus delta, the Gujarat coast and the Malabar ports (*c.* 100/80 B.C.—A.D. 40/50 or more probably A.D. 30). When Pliny wrote his work (*c.* A.D. 77), Western merchants sailing from the Egyptian coast with a favourable wind could reach Muziris (Cranganore) in forty days, and complete the journey both ways in one year.

is Dantapura; Gange is unidentified; Tamalites is Tāmralipti. Refs. Schoff (*Per.* tr.); McCrindle (Ptolemy tr.); S. K. Aiyangar (*Beginnings of South Indian History*); *BEFEO.* 1940, p. 449 (for Poduca); *Ancient India* no. 5. p. 53 (for Kantakasola); *JA.* 1925, p. 57 (for Pityndra); *JA.* 1925, p. 46 f. (for Paloura). Recently discovered inscrs, at Ghaṇṭaśāla not only refer to the ancient name of Kantakasola, but also to a great sea-captain (*Ancient India*, loc. cit.). For Soupara, Naura, Colchi and Camara of the *Periplus*, Ptolemy reads Souppara, Nitra, Kolkhoi and Khabari respectively.

[1] India's western trade-routes: Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic Conditions*, p. 457; Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, pp. 211-13; Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 61, 260-1, 362 with map. The supposed northern route from India to the West by way of the Oxus and the Caspian Sea is due to a misreading of the texts (Tarn, *Greeks*, App. 14, pp. 488-90). Indian exports to Egypt; Rostovtzeff, op. cit., pp. 386-7; Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, p. 226. Indian ivory and spices at Daphne: Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 362

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Accompanied as it was with a large increase in the Roman demand for Indian luxuries, this shortening of the voyage was immediately attended with an immense expansion of maritime trade between India and the Roman Empire. This trade reached its peak in the century following the accession of Emperor Augustus (29 B.C.) and suffered a gradual decline in the course of the following centuries. Meanwhile the old overland route across Western Asia was in use under Parthian rule. In his work *Parthian Stations* (beginning of the Christian era) Isidore of Charax gave an itinerary of the caravan-route from Antioch in the west to the valley of the Helmund river on India's border, and recounted in order the supply-stations maintained along that route by the Parthian government for the convenience of merchants. From other sources we learn that a separate route led from the Helmund valley through Carmania and Persis to the head of the Persian Gulf whence merchandise was sent by ships sailing round Arabia to the Levant.[1]

Of the active part played by Roman merchants in the maritime trade with India in the early centuries A. D. we have ample evidence. Large ships from Egypt are said by the author of the *Periplus* and by Strabo to have visited India in their times. The Tamil works of the Śaṅgam Age mention colonies of Yavana merchants in the coastal cities. Recent excavations at Arikamedu, (near Pondicherry) have revealed the remains of a Roman trading station (the first of its kind discovered in India) with numerous fragments of Roman pottery of the first two centuries A.D. Hoards of Roman imperial coins have been found on other Indian sites, especially in the South. In the first century A.D., moreover, Arab merchants are directly mentioned in the *Periplus* as making voyages in their own ships to Indian ports. That Indians, also took part in this trade is seen clearly from the *Periplus*. In the first century A.D. Indian ships sailed regularly with cargoes from 'Ariaca' (*scil.* its chief port Barygaza) to the Persian Gulf, the south coast of Arabia and the Red Sea coast of Africa. Beyond Ocelis at the mouth of the Red Sea, Indians were prevented from proceeding by the selfish policy of Arab merchants who maintained their ancient trade monopoly. But Indian traders had already settled in the large island of Dioscordia (Socotra). This island was occasionally visited by Indian ships starting from Barygaza and the Malabar ports for East Africa. In the second century the *Mahāniddesa* includes Yona and Paramayona (Hellenistic countries) as well as Alasanda (Alexandria) and Marukāntāra (unidentified) among places beyond the ocean visited by ships. The name of Alasanda occurs

[1] Direct voyage of Greek merchants with dating of successive stages: Pliny, vi 23, and Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 368-9. Recently R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, on the basis of his discovery of Roman pottery-types at Arikamedu in 1945 (*Ancient India* no. 2, p. 19), has concluded that regular monsoon trade between the Mediterranean and W. India with a coastwise or overland extension to the Coromandel coast had been established at least as early as *c.* A. D. 30. Parthian route with supply-stations: *Parthian Stations* by Isidore of Charax, ed. with tr., commy. and map by Schoff. Alternative route through Carmania and Persis; ibid. p. 18

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also in a list of naval stations in the *Milindapañha* passage already quoted. This work (261,377) shows acquaintance with ocean-going ships, freighted with hundreds of thousands of packages, and others carrying numerous passengers and provided with masts, anchors, straps, sails and ropes. The great overland route across Parthia to the West was likewise used by Indians in the centuries immediately before and after Christ. We have the history of an Indian colony in Armenia which was in existence from *c.* 130 B.C. to the time of its forcible conversion to Christianity *c.* A. D. 300.[1]

Literary references as well as surviving remains enable us to make out a list of the objects of trade between India and the Roman world in the first century A. D. The exports were of a varied character comprising agricultural, animal, manufacturing and mineral products. Among agricultural products, rice and wheat (in spite of their bulk), clarified butter (notwithstanding the climate and the distance), sesame-oil and sugar (honey from the reed called sacchari) were carried from Ariaca in Indian ships to the market-towns of East Africa. Rice and wheat were also sold at Socotra by merchants carrying cargoes from Barygaza and Malabar and occasionally calling at that island. Indian sandal-wood, teakwood, timbers and logs of blackwood (*sisam*) and ebony were regularly shipped from Barygaza to the Persian Gulf ports. Among Indian animals, lions and tigers, apes and monkeys, and especially parrots, found a ready market among Roman subjects. For obvious reasons they must have been carried largely along land-routes. The testimony of Roman writers and of extant mosaics and gems show a knowledge of at least three species of Indian parrots. Indian ivory which was exported to Western Asia and Egypt in Hellenistic times was in great demand in Rome during the first century A.D. At the time of the *Periplus* ivory was shipped from Barygaza, Muziris and Nelcynda. Tortoise-shell obtained from the Hawk's Bill turtles of Indian waters came into general use in the Roman world in the first century A.D. It was used especially for decorating bedsteads made of ivory. According to the *Periplus* the best variety was brought from Chryse (Malay Peninsula ?), and this along with the supplies obtained nearer home from Ceylon and the smaller islands was sent to the Malabar ports for export to the

[1] Large ships sent to Malabar ports for carrying great quantities of pepper and 'malabathrum': *Per.* sec. 56. Large ships sent out from Egypt as far as India for valuable cargoes: Strabo, ii 5. 12; xvii 1. 13. A large colony of foreign merchants at Puhār: *Paṭṭinappālai, ll.* 213-7 quoted, K.A.N. Sastri, *The Colas*, I 99. Antiquarian remains at Arikamedu: *Excavations at Arikamedu* by R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, *Ancient India* no.. 2 with maps, charts and illus. The antiquities comprise the remains of a supposed warehouse as well as of a courtyard and tanks for preparation of muslin, imported pottery in 3 varieties and so forth (ibid). For a comprehensive list of Roman coins from the first century B. C. to the fourth century A. D. found in India and Ceylon with accompanying map, see now ibid. App. i 116-121. Arab trade with Barygaza and Damirica: *Per.* secs. 21, 27, 57. Indian ships from Ariaca to South Arabia etc.: ibid, secs. 6, 14, 36. Indian settlers at Dioscordia; ibid. sec. 30. Indian colony in Armenia: *JRAS.* 1904, pp. 309-14

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West. Skin-coats and coloured lac were exported from Ariaca to the Somali coast. Pearls came into general use in Rome, according to Pliny, after the capture of Alexandria by Augustus. The same writer assigns to pearls the first rank among valuables, and tells us how Roman ladies not only wore them as finger-and ear-ornaments, but also put them on their shoes. In the time of the *Periplus*, as we have seen, pearl-fisheries were worked off the coasts of the Pāṇḍya and Chola kingdoms. These pearls with others from Ceylon found their way into the Malabar ports where they were found by Greek merchants. Silk was at first woven by the Romans into linen or woollen fabrics, but afterwards the use of silken garments became common. Pliny included silk in his list of the most valuable commodities, while Emperor Aurelian declared it to be worth its weight in gold. Indians acted as intermediaries in the Chinese silk trade with the West. Silk sent from China was diverted (partially at least) from the Great West-Asian route southwards to the mouths of the Indus and the Gulf of Cambay for export to the West.

The traffic in Indian aromatics, spices and other plant-products increased enormously in the first century A.D. to meet the heavy Roman demand. Among these products pepper held the chief place. It was used very much in Rome in expensive cookery, and as a medicine. An old Tamil poem called it 'the passion of the Yavanas'. In the time of the *Periplus* black and white pepper from the district of Cottonara was brought down to the ports of Muziris and Nelcynda whence they were transported by Greek merchants in very large vessels. We hear also in ancient Tamil works of Yavanas carrying away large sacks of pepper in exchange for gold. Long pepper, which was a more expensive variety, was shipped from Barygaza. Among other spices cinnamon was in high demand among Romans 'as a perfume, as an incense, as a condiment and as a medicine'. Cinnamon-leaf, which was called 'malabathrum' by the Greeks and Romans was found by them in India. But they never knew that it was cinnamon-leaf and wrongly believed that the bark, root and wood of the plant (called *casia*) and its tender shoots and flowers (known as *cinnamomum*) had their source in Arabia or Somaliland. Evidently the real source of the true cinnamon was kept a well-guarded secret from the Romans by the middlemen. At the time of the *Periplus* great quantities of 'malabathrum' were carried away from Malabar ports by the foreign merchants in ships chartered for the purpose. Supplies were brought down (from the trans-Gangetic countries) by way of the Ganges river, and these were supplemented by the local product. Cardamom, another Indian product found in Malabar and Travancore, commanded a ready market in the Roman world for its use as a medicine and a funerary perfume. It was sent almost wholly by the land-routes, for while the *Periplus* is silent about it, other writers signify it by various epithets indicating the routes along which it was carried or the places where the ointments were prepared. Costus was used by the Romans in unguents and perfumes, in medicines, in

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seasoning of food and wine, and in sacrifices. Root-nard produced an oil which was used by the Romans as a perfume and ointment, while leaf-nard ('spikenard'), according to Pliny, held the first place among unguents. The costly spikenard oil was in high demand among the Romans as an ingredient in cookery and drugs, and rich ladies of Rome used to anoint guests at banquets with it. In the time of the *Periplus* costus and nard were exported from Barbaricum, while the spikenard was brought down partly by way of Poclais (Pushkalāvatī) to Barygaza, and partly by way of the Ganges to the Malabar ports. A variety of Indian gum-resin, called 'bdellium' by the Greeks and Romans, was exported from Barygaza and Barbaricum, but this was merely supplementary to the supplies from South Arabia and East Africa which produced the famous frankincense and myrrh. Among non-resinous products much in demand among the Romans was indigo, valued both for colouring and for medicine. A similar product called 'lycium' provided a yellow dye, an astringent for the eyes, a face cosmetic, a dressing for sores and wounds, and a cure for diseases of the throat. It was exported from Barygaza and, together with indigo, from Barbaricum. The gum or resin called 'Indian copal' was used by the Romans mainly for making varnishes, and the bark called 'macir' as a specific for dysentery. Both were exported from the Somali entrepôts after being brought from India, their place of origin.

As to textiles, cotton-cloth of very fine quality (*monache*), as well as coarser varieties (*sagmagtogene* and *molochine*) from the great centres of the industry in the Deccan, together with other coarser cloth of local origin, was exported from Ariaca to Arabia, East Africa and Egypt. From the Malabar ports were exported muslins of Ceylon, the Chola country and the Kṛishṇā-Godāvarī delta and the finest of all, the muslins of the lower Ganges. As regards metal-ware, Indian iron and steel were exported from Ariaca to the Somali coast no doubt *en route* to Egypt. Indian steel is included in a list of dutiable articles at Alexandria in a *Digest* of Roman law. As regards semi-precious and precious stones, murrhine vases and other articles, according to Pliny, were highly prized in Rome from the time of Pompey's Asiatic conquests. The stone (agate and carnelian) was found by Roman merchants at Barygaza where it was brought down in large quantities from various sources in the Deccan trap, in the Rajmahal traps of Bihar and in Jubbalpore by way of the marts of Pratishṭhāna and Ujjayinī. A great export trade in precious stones of all kinds including diamonds, sapphires and beryl was carried on from the Malabar ports, the supplies being obtained probably from the interior and from Ceylon.[1]

[1] The above is based upon the able survey in Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Pt. I. ch. II. which gives full refs. Summing up the Roman evidence, the author observes, (ibid. p. 40): 'We find (in the Augustan literature) Indian lions, tigers, rhinoceroses, elephants and serpents already brought for exhibition, though rarely; Indian parrots kept as pets; Indian ivory and tortoise-shell employed for all kinds of

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We now come to India's imports from the West. Because of the comparatively small Indian demand for the products of the Roman empire, the latter suffered a perpetually adverse balance of trade so that Roman gold and silver coin in large quantities was transferred to India to make up the deficit. Writing to the Senate in A. D. 22 the emperor Tiberius complained that the empire was being drained of its treasure which was being sent to foreign lands in exchange for baubles. At the time of the *Periplus*, Barygaza and, still more, the Malabar ports imported Roman gold and silver coins. Pliny (vi 25) complained a little later of the drain amounting to no less than 550,000,000 *sesterces* every year to India to pay for Indian products which were sold at fully one hundred times their original cost. Roman gold coins in North India were re-struck by the Kushāṇa emperors with the same weight and fineness as their originals. In the South, where hoards of them have been found, they probably circulated as currency. As regards other imports, slaves, according to the *Periplus*, were exported from the Persian Gulf to Barygaza. Singing boys and good-looking virgins for the king's harem are mentioned by the same authority among regular imports brought to Barygaza. This suggests, as has been well remarked,[1] a 'standing order' in that market for the classes of slaves above mentioned. How far this traffic in human beings became a permanent feature is shown by the regular reference to Yavanī attendants on the king in the dramatic works of Bhāsa and his successors. Female slaves belonging to a number of foreign lands (Pahlava, Yavana, Muruṇḍa and the like) are referred to in some Jaina texts of this period.[2]

Among animal products of western origin, coral held the chief place. It occurs repeatedly in Indian lists of gems, and its high value in the eyes of Indians is referred to by Pliny who says (xxxi 7; xxxii 2) that it was no less appreciated by the men of India than Indian pearls by Roman women. In the first century A.D. coral was brought to the great ports of Barbaricum and Barygaza. It was probably the red variety of the western Mediterranean and not the black which is abundant in the Red Sea and along

ornaments; oriental pearls and Chinese silk worn by women; again, Celsus and Scribonius Largus reveal the use of Indian plant-products in Graeco-Roman medicine... We find aromatic spices and juices such as Indian pepper, spikenard, cinnamon (Indian and Chinese), costus, and cardamom in common use... and in medicine; besides these, Indian ginger, bdellium-myrrh, sugar and aloes; again, we find gingelly oil as a food, indigo, as a paint, cotton used for clothing, ebony for furniture, rice as a cereal, and citrons, peaches and apricots as table-fruits or medicines. Again, in Augustan literature, Pliny's accounts and extant collections shew the already wide use of Indian precious stones—diamond, onyx, sardonyx, agate, sard, carnelian, crystal, amethyst, opal, beryl, sapphire, ruby, turquoise, garnet and others.' Refs. to exports from Indian ports in *Per. passim*. 'Monache' etc. may be Greek corruptions of some Indian trade-names for different grades or dyes of cloth (Schoff, *Per.* tr. p. 72). 'Molochine', otherwise called 'mallow cloth', is a coarse fabric dyed with a preparation of the Indian hibiscus (ibid. p. 73). Indian steel is in the list of articles subject to duty at Alexandria in *Digest* of Roman law (ibid. p. 289)

[1] Tarn, *Greeks*, p. 374

[2] *Bhag*, 9. 6. *Nāyā*, i 21

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the Arabian coast. Pearls of inferior quality were brought from the Persian Gulf to Barygaza. Other articles in this category are purple dye shipped from the Persian Gulf, and tortoise-shell brought from Chryse to the Malabar ports for re-export to the West. Part of this purple dye probably came from Tyre, which produced the best variety in Asia, according to Pliny (ix 60). The tortoise-shell from Chryse, according to the *Periplus*, was the best variety obtainable from the Indian Ocean.

As to agricultural products, large quantities of dates were exported to Barygaza from the Persian Gulf, still the principal source of their supply. Italian, Laodicaean and Arabian wines came to Barygaza, the first being the most prized. Much wine came to the Malabar ports, and a little wine to Barbaricum. We learn from Strabo (vi 13, xvi 2. 9) that Italian wine produced in Campania was the most highly prized by the Romans, while the Laodicaean wine produced on the Syrian coast mostly supplied the needs of the Alexandrines. Arabian wine, it has been held, was probably in part the grape-wine of Yemen, but mostly date-wine from the Persian Gulf. Among aromatic, medicinal and other plant-products, Barbaricum imported storax and frankincense, and Barygaza storax and sweet clover. Storax, which was probably derived from the sap of a tree native to Asia Minor, was used for medicinal puposes. Sweet clover, probably acquired at second or third hand from Campania, Crete or the Greek mainland, was used for the same purpose. A Turkish variety of black aloe is referred to in the Jaina *Kalpa Sūtra* (*Lives of the Jinas*, p. 32,) while Turkish and Yavana perfumes mentioned as constituents of a perfume of four ingredients in a few Jātaka texts[1] are likewise stated in the *Milindapañha* (354), but we have no means of tracing the sources of these products.

Under the head 'manufactures', imports consisted mainly of varieties of cloth and glass. The embroidered fabrics (figured linens) which came to Barbaricum have been identified with the stuffs of that kind manufactured, according to Pliny (viii 74), in Babylon and Alexandria. Clothing after the local fashion was sent from the Persian Gulf to Barygaza which also imported some thin clothing of which the source is unknown. Glass vessels came to Barbaricum, flint glass to Barygaza, and crude glass to Malabar. As regards minerals, realgar and orpiment (the red and yellow sulphides of arsenic) were imported into the Malabar ports, and realgar into Barygaza. These were shipped from the Persian Gulf where mines of arsenic were worked in Carmania according to Pliny (vi 26). Antimony (sulphide ore) came to Barygaza probably from East Arabia and Carmania. While realgar and orpiment were principally used as mineral paints, antimony was made into ointments and eye-tinctures. As for metals, copper, tin, and lead were imported into Barygaza and the Malabar ports, copper being obtained probably from Carmania, and tin from Spain by way of Egypt. Some copper which was exported from Barygaza

[1] I p. 265, III p. 291, V p. 79 etc.

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to the Persian Gulf was probably western copper obtained from Arabian ports and reshipped for export. Gold and silver plate (of unknown source) were imported into Barbaricum, while Barygaza obtained gold bullion from the Persian Gulf (probably from mines in East Arabia). Very costly silver vessels were imported into Barygaza for the king's use. As for precious stones, the topaz which came to Barbaricum was the true variety found in the Red Sea islands, according to Pliny and Strabo, the latter stating that it was a transparent stone that sparkled with a golden lustre. Emerald was exported to India from Berenice, the great Egyptian port on the Red Sea, although the *Periplus* itself is silent about it.[1]

2. *Trade with Ceylon and South-East Asia*

References in the *Mahābhārata* suggest that Ceylon in its time was renowned for its production of gems and pearls. Pearls and 'transparent stones', muslins and tortoise-shells are definitely mentioned as products of the island in the *Periplus*. From Pliny we learn that rice and ginger, beryl and hyacinth were included among its products, while it had mines of gold, silver and other minerals. It is reasonable to hold that some of the pearls and 'transparent stones of all kinds' including sapphires exported from the Malabar ports in the time of the *Periplus* were derived from Ceylon. Taṁbapaṇṇi (Ceylon) is included by the writer of the *Mahāniddesa* commentary in the passages cited earlier as one of the places across the mighty ocean that were visited by merchants in their ships.[2]

The beginnings of India's commercial relations with South-East Asia go back to times long before Christ. While, in the West, Indians had to meet the powerful competition of Arab and Roman merchants, the field lay practically open to them in the East. In the latter half of the first century A. D. very large ships are mentioned[3] as sailing from the Chola ports not only to the Ganges but also to Chryse (the exact equivalent of the Indian 'Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa', a generic designation for Burma, the Malay Peninsula and the neighbouring islands). These ships were probably of the two-masted type represented on some coins of king Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi which are chiefly found along the Coromandel coast between Madras and Cuddalore. In the second century A.D. a regular sea-route was in operation from the seaboard of Eastern India to the opposite coast.[4] Ships, according to Ptolemy's account (i 13, 7), sailed from a point of departure ('apheterion') near modern Chicacole, and striking right across the sea called at Sada and Tamale in the Silver

[1] The amount of Roman specie mentioned by Pliny is $ 22,000,000, according to Schoff's calculation (*Per.* tr. p. 219). For sources and uses of coral, purple, Arabian wine, storax, sweet-clover, figured linens, realgar, orpiment, antimony, copper, gold bullion, topaz and emerald, see ibid. *passim*

[2] Beryls, pearls, coverlets for elephants presented by Siṁhalas: *Mbh.* ii 52. 36. Products of Ceylon: *Per.*, sec. 61; Pliny vi 24

[3] *Per.*, sec. 60

[4] Ptolemy vii 1. 15

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Country (Aracan?) on the way to the Chryse Chersonese (Malay Peninsula). Another route connected the upper Ganges region with Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa (evidently by way of the great ports 'Ganges' and 'Tamalites' at the mouth of the river.) Direct voyages even from Bharukachchha were not unknown. Witness to these last-named routes is borne by the stories of the voyages of daring Indian merchants to Suvarṇabhūmi and Suvarṇadvīpa in the Jātakas (*ante* Christ) and the *Avadānaśataka* (second century A.D.) as well as in the great collections of folklore (*Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, *Bṛihatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*) going back to the lost work of Guṇāḍhya. Voyages of Indian merchants to the Malay Peninsula and Cambodia in the third century A.D. are recorded by the Chinese writers. In the Mahāniddesa passage quoted above Takkola, Tamalin, Java, Vaṅga, Suvarṇakūṭa and Suvarṇabhūmi are included among the places across the high seas visited by merchants. Meanwhile Indian kingdoms had begun to be formed in the Malay Peninsula, Cambodia and Champā from the first century A.D. onwards. The resulting friendly intercourse between the Indian colonies and the mother-country could not but lead to increased commercial relations between them.[1]

We now come to the objects of trade. In the parallel topographical lists of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Rāmāyaṇa-mañjarī* of Kshemendra, and the *Harivaṁśa*, as well as the Buddhist *Saddharma-smṛityupasthāna-sūtra*, reference is made to a land called Suvarṇa-rūpyakadvīpa (island of gold and silver) or alternately Suvarṇakuḍyaka ('wall of gold'). Also a silver-country and a gold-country containing many silver and gold mines are located by Ptolemy (vii 2, 17) in trans-Gangetic India just beyond the territory of the Kirātas (in the Malay Peninsula?). It is probably to these that the author of the *Periplus* refers when he says (sec. 63) that gold mines are said to exist near the lower Ganges region. Ptolemy (vii 2. 5, 29) again not only mentions the Golden Chersonese (Malay Peninsula), but describes the Island of Iabidios, 'the Island of

[1] A two-masted coin type of Yājña Śātakarṇi: *JNSI.* III pp. 42-5 supplementing Rapson, *BMCAWK.* pp. lxxxi-lxxii, 22-3. The voyage of a caravan-leader of Srāvastī to Ratnadvīpa, of merchants of Srāvastī and Rājagṛiha on the high seas: *Avadānaśataka* I p. 23 f., 129 f., II p. 60 f., Voyages of merchants from Mahākosalī (Kosala?) and Tāmralipti to Suvarṇadvīpa: *Mahākarmavibhaṅga*, ed. S. Levi, p. 50 f. Voyage of a merchant of West India to Funan (Cambodia with Cochin-China) in the reign of King Fan-Chan (c. A. D. 225) followed by the latter's embassy to India and the return embassy of the Indian king to Fu-nan: *BEFEO.* III pp. 277-8. Yüe-chi merchants (Indian subjects of the Kushāṇa emperor ?) regularly sending horses in large numbers (from the mouths of the Ganges?) to the kingdom of Kia-ying (southern part of the Malay Peninsula) in the third century A. D. : Pelliot in *Études Asiatiques* II p. 250. Identifications suggested by Lévi are as follows: Takkola is on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula to the south of the Isthmus of Kra; 'aphetenon' is Charitra of Hiuan Tsang and Samudraprasthāna of *Gaṇḍavyūha*; Java (in the present context) is Sumatra Vaṅga (as above) is the island of Baṅka off Sumatra; Suvaṇṇabhūmi is the generic name for countries east of the Bay of Bengal; Suvaṇṇakūṭa (or Suvaṇṇa kuḍya) is in the direction of Java (*Études Asiatiques* II pp. 4, 18, 21, 25, 28, 29, 36)

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Barley', (identified with Sumatra or Java), as producing very much gold, its capital being called 'Silver-town' (Argyre). However that may be, the names given in the Indian works and after them in the Greek and Arab writings, prove that it was the quest for gold that first and mainly drew the Indian merchants across the seas to Indo-China and Indonesia. Another country in trans-Gangetic India called Khalkitis, according to Ptolemy (vii 2, 20), contained many copper mines, but it is not easy to identify it. It is possible, as S. Lévi thinks, that a vague reference to the Indian trade in tin from the Malay Peninsula and in black pepper from the neighbouring islands is contained in a text of Patañjali. Long pepper at any rate, as well as the ordinary kind, is mentioned among the products of Java, in a Buddhist text quoted by Lévi. Besides the metals and spices just mentioned tortoise-shell formed an article of export to India from South-East Asia. In the time of the *Periplus* the best tortoise-shell procurable in the Indian Ocean was found in the Chryse island, i.e. the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra (sec. 63). This was shipped to the Malabar ports for export to the Western lands.[1]

3. *Maritime and Overland Trade with China*

A work of the Chinese historian Pan-ku (written not later than the first century A.D.) mentions a number of distant lands (including the kingdom of Huang-che) beyond Tonkin, to which Chinese traders travelled in foreign ships for buying pearls, glass (or beryl), rare stones and the like in exchange for gold and silks. All these lands, we are told, had been 'sending tribute' since the time of Emperor Wu (140-86 B.C.). If the identification of Huang-che with Kāñchī suggested by Ferrand were to be accepted as correct, it would follow that South India had commercial relations with China as early as the latter half of the second century B.C. In the second half of the first century A.D. the sea-route to China was known, though vaguely, even to the author of the *Periplus* whose trading activities extended only to the west coast of India. From the second century A.D. onwards we have more than one line of evidence pointing to the use of the sea-route to Tonkin by Indians as well as others voyaging from India's shores.[2]

[1] Suvarṇarūpyakadvīpa and Suvarṇakuḍyaka in parallel versions (Lévi in *JA.* 1918, p. 80 f; *Études Asiatiques* II p. 30). Allusion to the tin and black pepper of the Malay Peninsula etc. in *madhukamarichayor aṇ sthalāt* of Pat. on Pāṇ. v. 1. 77 (Lévi in *Études Asiatiques* II p. 46). Ref. to long pepper etc. produced in Cho-ye (Jaya or Java) in *Sūtra of Twelve Steps of Buddia*, tr. into Chinese in A. D. 392 (Lévi in *JA.* 1918, pp. 83-5)

[2] Passage in Pan-Ku's work: Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1912, 460. Identification of Huang-che with Kāñchī: Ferrand; K. A. N. Sastri, *IHQ.* 1938, p. 386. After Chryse 'the sea (navigation) outside ending in a land called This': *Per.*, sec. 64. Indian ambassadors coming to China in *Annals of Liang dynasty*: *BEFEO.* III pp. 271-2. Sea-traffic of Kattigara (Tonkin?) with the West: Ptolemy i II, 1; & 14. The father of K'ang Seng-hui long settled in India migrated to Tonkin for commerce in the beginning of the third century A. D. (P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, I p. 304)

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As early as the second century B.C. trade relations existed between East India and South-West China by way of Upper Burma and Yunnan. The Chinese ambassador Chang-k'ien, while visiting Bactria *c.* 128 B.C., was surprised to come across bamboos and textiles from the provinces of Yunnan and Sze-chuan, which he was assured had been carried right across northern India. In the first century A.D. there was a regular overland trade in Chinese raw silk as well as silk yarn and silk cloth from This (the State of Tsin in North-West China) to the Malabar ports by way of the lower Ganges. The extensive trade in these articles led to the issue of a gold coin (caltis) in the lower Ganges region. The rise of a chain of Indian kingdoms extending from the Assam frontier across the upper valleys of the Chindwin, the Irrawaddy, the Salween, the Mekong and the Red rivers up to and including Yunnan could not but vastly facilitate Indian commercial enterprise in those lands. But we have no direct evidence to this effect.[1]

We have seen how India served as an intermediary in the trade between Yunnan and Bactria as early as the second century B.C. The rise of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and still more the formation of the Kushāṇa empire, combined with the persistent efforts of the Chinese from the second century B.C. onwards to extend their political influence westwards across the Tarim basin, led to the growth of conditions favourable to the fostering of Indian trade with Central Asia and beyond. Before the third century A.D. (in the time of Aśoka according to the local traditions) a powerful stream of colonies from north-west India flowed into Khotan where they established the north-western Prākrit (in the Kharoshṭhī script) as the language of administration and daily life. Meanwhile Buddhist missionaries from India and outside carried Indian religion and culture through Central Asia into China. The path trodden by Indian colonists and missionaries was naturally followed by Indian merchants. In the latter half of the first century A.D., furs ('Seric skins') and silks from China were being sent by way of Bactria to Barbaricum, silks being carried to Barygaza as well for export to the West. As we have observed before, this trade must have been diverted from the usual silk-route from China to the West probably because of the antagonism between the Parthian and the Roman empires. The 'Seric skins' are praised by Pliny for their high excellence. In the early centuries of the Christian era, north-western India was connected with China by some famous routes. Proceeding from the north-west frontier, the road ran by way of Kapiśa and Bamiyan across the Hindukush to Bactria where it joined the great silk-routes from China to the western world. Of these the northern route passed north of the Taklamakan desert across Kucha and Karashar, while the southern one marched south of the desert through Khotan and Yarkand, both converging on the Chinese

[1] Chang-kien on bamboos and textiles from Yunnan: Pelliot in *BEFEO.* IV p. 143 f. Trade from This and gold coin of lower Ganges: *Per.*, sec. 63, 64, and Schoff's map.

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frontier near Tunhuang. A shorter and more difficult route led by way of the upper Indus through Gilgit and Yasin to Kashgar and thence onward to China.[1]

ATTITUDE OF THE CANON LAW TOWARDS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

No account of the progress of agriculture, industry and trade in this period will be complete without some reference to the attitude of the contemporary canon law towards economic occupations. The Brahmancial Smṛitis looked upon agriculture and industry, and to a less extent trade, with high disfavour. This attitude is reflected in Manu's dictum (iv 5-6) that agriculture is *pramṛita* ('what causes many deaths'), and trade is *satyānṛita* ('a mixture of truth and falsehood'). In consonance with this is Manu's view (x 80, 84) that trade is the best of occupations for a Vaiśya, while a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya even in distress must avoid agriculture which causes injury to many beings. Elsewhere (iii 64), however, Manu includes crafts and trade along with agriculture among the causes leading to the degradation of families. Again, a large number of agricultural, pastoral, industrial and commercial occupations are placed under social, religious and even legal disabilities under the Smṛiti law. A person making a sea-voyage, for instance, is excluded from *śārddhas*, thus being placed under a social ban. While allowing a Brāhmaṇa in extreme distress to live by the Vaiśya's occupation, the Smṛitis expressly debar him not only from agriculture, but from various specified branches of industry and trade. The Buddhist and Jaina canons were hardly more favourable to economic progress. By a fundamental law of their order, Buddhist monks are forbidden to cultivate land. The Jaina canon goes so far as to forbid laymen to engage in agricultural operations or a certain number of trades and industries.[2]

[1] Prākṛit documents on wood and leather written in north-western Prākṛit and Kharoshṭhī script from the Niya site to the east of Khotan confirm the local tradition of a large influx of immigrants into Khotan from the Taxila region (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, I pp. 163, 368-9; *Serindia*, I pp. 242-3). The first Buddhist text was sent to China by the Chinese ambassador at the court of Yüe-chi, in 2 B. C. The first Indian missionaries, Kaśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmaratna reached China from the Yüe-chi kingdom, in A. D. 68. The Arsacidan prince Ngan-She-Kao reached China in A. D. 144 and was assisted by Sogdian and Parthian missionaries. 'Seric skins' were exported from Barbaricum; raw silk, silk yarns and silk cloth were brought on foot from Thinae (capital of This) through Bactria to Barygaza (*Per.*, secs. 39, 64). Praise of 'Seric skins': Pliny xxxiv 41, xxxviii 77. 'Seric skins' are equivalent to Chinese furs: Schoff, *Per.*, tr. p. 171; Warmington, *Commerce*, p. 158

[2] The shopkeeper, oilman, maker of bows and arrows, agriculturist, shepherd and keeper of buffaloes are excluded from *śrāddhas*; M. iii 152, 159, 165, 166. A similar but shorter list is found in *Mbh.* xiii 90, 6 f. Food given by a carpenter, tailor, blacksmith, basket-maker, dealer in weapons, washerman, dyer, leather-cutter, artisan is not to be eaten by *snātaka*; *M.* iv 210, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219. Similar lists in *Mbh.* xii 36, 27 f; *Y.* i 161-5. Superintending mines of all sorts and executing great mechanical works

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In so far as the above rules were observed in practice, their tendencies and consequences are sufficiently obvious. The canon law, by condemning agriculture and a number of basic occupations, must have retarded the application of capital and enterprise to their development. The free movement of labour and capital was restricted by the association of specific trades and industries with particular castes and sub-castes. The canon law of the Buddhists and Jainas, unlike the Brahmanical, habitually exalted the houseless state above that of the householder, thus discouraging all attempts to improve the material condition of the people. On the other hand it must be admitted that both Manu and Yājñavalkya recognise at least as a secondary alternative the Śūdra's right to pursue the productive occupations, a right which was conceded fully by later authorities.[1]

THE ORGANISATION OF INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The organisation of industrial guilds with executive officers (*jeṭṭhakas*) at their head may be distinctly traced back to the period of the early Buddhist literature. The Jātakas in fact refer to eighteen *śreṇīs*, four of them being mentioned by name. In Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* we notice on the whole a strong tendency to exploit in the king's interest the types of industrial and other associations called *saṅgha* and *śreṇī* which obviously had become rich and powerful bodies. The Smṛiti law of this period by contrast betrays a generous desire to foster the growth of such associations (called generally *samūhas*). In Manu (viii 41) and Yājñavalkya (i 361) the customs of *śreṇīs* and associated bodies are put on the same level with regional, caste, and family customs which had gained the force of law even in the early Dharmasūtras. An agreement entered into by a member with a *saṅgha* or *gaṇa* has such binding authority that to break it is punishable with confiscation and banishment, or else a heavy fine and imprisonment or banishment.[2] This penalty it may be observed, offers a sharp contrast with the money-fine imposed by Kauṭilya for a similar breach. The theft of property owned by a *gaṇa* according to Yājñavalkya (ii 187) is to be punished

are included among the smaller sins: *M.* xi 63; *Y.* iii 240. Brāhmaṇas who rear cattle or are traders or mechanics are to be treated as Śūdras in the law-courts; *M.* viii 102. Presents from oil-manufacturers are not to be accepted; *M.* iv 84. Seafaring Brāhmaṇas are excluded from *śrāddhas*: *M.* iii 158; *Mbh.* xiii 90. 7. Agriculture and other occupations are forbidden to Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas; *M.* x 83; *Y.* ii 35-39 Buddhist monastic prohibition of agriculture in *Prātimoksha*: *SBE.* iii 33. Fifteen ways of earning a livelihood are forbidden to laymen, including those concerned with making and selling charcoal and plants, hoeing and ploughing fields, digging wells, draining for preparation of agricultural land, crushing by machinery, traffic in ivory, lac and juice: *Uvāsagadasāo* i 51 expanded in Haribhadra's *Yoga-śāstra* iii 98 f.

[1] Śūdras unable to live by personal service are permitted to practise handicrafts: *M.* x 99-100 and trade; *Y.* i 120. Among the 'mixed castes' some are assigned the minor crafts by Manu.

[2] *Y.* ii 187; *M.* viii 219-20.

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likewise with confiscation and banishment. The orders of their executive officers (corresponding to the *jeṭṭhakas* of Pāli literature and the *mukhyas* of the *Arthaśāstra*) are to be obeyed on pain of a money-fine (ibid. 188, 191). The representatives of the *samūha* calling upon the king on its business are to be honoured and presented with gifts (ibid. 189). On the other hand all presents received by them are to be made over to the *samūha*, failure being visited with a fine of eleven times the value (ibid. 190). References in the *Mahābhārata* show that the good opinion of the executive officers of *śreṇīs* counted with the king, and their support was canvassed by his enemies (iii 248, 16, xii 59, 49). What is more, the obligation to follow the custom of one's own *śreṇī* is invested with a high moral sanction, and to violate it is declared to be an inexpiable sin (xii 36. 19).

The inscriptions of the first two centuries A.D. in Northern and Western India show that the *śreṇīs* played a new rôle in the capacity of trustees for various pious and charitable endowments. Cash sums or real property were deposited in perpetuity by pious donors with the guilds: the rate of interest on the deposit was sometimes but not always specified in the record: out of the annual income the guild was required to meet the charges for specified objects such as clothing and medical provision for a fixed number of monks, entertainment of a specified number of guests once a month, planting of trees and so forth. It is remarkable that the donors in these instances are foreigners. On the other hand the charitable endowments made by Indians in the same locality and period are given directly to the *saṅgha*. Possibly the distrust of artisans receiving deposits hinted at in the *Arthaśāstra* was still felt to some extent. The guilds were both industrial and commercial; the industrial type included guilds of weavers, potters, makers of hydraulic engines, oil-millers, braziers and bamboo-workers.[1]

Another type of industrial and commercial organisation mentioned by the Smṛiti works of this period is 'partnership'. Under the head of law called 'business in partnership' (*saṁbhūyasamutthāna*) Manu extends the rule relating to shares of fees payable to priests officiating jointly at a sacrifice to all those who similarly perform their work jointly (viii 206-11). By a reverse process, Yājñavalkya first declares the law relating to partnership in trade, and then applies it to sacrificial priests, husbandmen

[1] Two sums of 550 *purāṇas* each deposited by a foreign nobleman with two guilds as a perpetual endowment for feeding 100 Brāhmaṇas once a month at *puṇyaśālā*: *El.* xxi p. 60. 2000 *kārshāpaṇas* deposited with one guild of weavers and 1000 with another at 1 per cent. and ¾ per cent. interest *per mensem* respectively by Ushavadāta; cloth-money of 12 *kārshāpaṇas* to be supplied every year to each of 20 resident monks out of the former endowment and money for *kuśana* (unexplained) to be supplied out of the latter endowment: (Lüders, *List*, no. 1133; 2000, 1000 and 500 *kārshāpaṇas* and another sum deposited by a Śaka lady with guilds of potters, manufacturers of hydraulic engines, and oil-millers for providing medicines for sick resident monks; ibid. no. 1137. An investment of 20 and 9 *nivartanas* of land with a local guild by a Śaka donor for planting trees: ibid. no. 1162. An investment of a sum of money with a guild of bamboo-workers and a guild of braziers for the benefit of local monks; ibid. no. 1165.

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and artisans (ii 259-65). The clauses of the law are on the whole fair to both the joint concern and its partners. Thus while, according to Manu, the priest's share is to be proportioned to his work except when it is allotted specifically, Yājñavalkya divides profit and loss among partners in the trade in proportion to their share in the business or according to agreement. A partner who does work that is forbidden, continues Yājñavalkya, or causes harm through negligence, is to make good the loss, but he who preserves the property from a calamity is to get one-tenth as his reward. A partner unable to do the work himself may get it done by his agent, but if he is a man of crooked ways he is to be deprived of his profit and expelled.

INTEREST, PROFITS AND WAGES

The Smṛiti law of this period deals with the topics of interest, profits and wages which are characteristic of an advanced economy. Loans were either secured or unsecured by pledges, and were given either in cash or in kind, while the debtors included merchants traversing forests or the high seas for gain. The law relating to interest shows an interesting development. Manu, while repeating the legal rate of $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per month allowed by Gautama and Vasishṭha, alternatively sanctions 2 per cent. in general or 2, 3, 4, and 5 per cent. for Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra debtors respectively. Yājñavalkya repeats Manu's schedule of rates and reconciles their patent inconsistency by confining the 11 per cent. rate to loans secured by pledges. The legal rates of interest thus reach the high figure of 24 per cent. per annum without counting the (probably hypothetical) increased rates in the case of non-Brāhmaṇas. To the above moreover Yājñavalkya adds still higher rates of interest to cover specific risks viz. 10 per cent. and 20 per cent. (per mensem) for debtors (merchants) traversing forests and the high seas respectively. Again, he sanctions, despite Manu's distinct prohibition, interest by agreement in excess of the legal rate. These clauses point to the relatively short supply of capital in comparison with the demand. However, Manu, like Gautama and Vishṇu, forbids interest on loans secured by a pledge that is being used by the creditor. The scarcity of capital is also reflected in the laws against usury. In accord with Gautama and Vishṇu, Manu lays down the general rule that the interest accruing at any time must not exceed the principal. But this is subject to the provision for maximum interest at special rates in the case of selected articles. The maxima are declared to be five times the principal amount in case of grain, fruit, wool and beasts of burden (Manu), or twice, thrice, four and eight times for gold, grains, clothes and fluids respectively (Yājñavalkya). We have no confirmation of these rules in the historical records of our period. On the contrary we learn from the inscription of the Śaka Ushavadāta (above, p.452, n[1]) that two weavers' guilds at Govardhana (Nāsik) stipulated to pay interest at only 1 per cent. and $\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per month(i.e. 12 per cent.

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and 9 per cent. per annum) instead of the standard rates of 15 per cent. and 24 per cent. even in respect of two permanent investments. This perhaps illustrates the fact that the capital position in Western India in the time of Nahapāna was much easier than that contemplated by the Smṛiti authorities.[1]

According to the Smṛitis of this period,[2] as we have seen, the prices of merchandise are to be fixed by the king after taking into account the relevant factors. Manu is silent about the rates of profit to be allowed. This omission is made good by Yājñavalkya who sanctions (ii 252) a profit of five and ten per cent. on internal and foreign merchandise respectively. These figures, which agree with Kauṭilya (iv 2), are modest enough compared with the legal rates of interest cited above.

Hired labour was employed during this period in agriculture, pasturage, industry, and trade and also for domestic service. Wages were paid in cash or kind or in both ways, and by the day or month, or else at longer intervals determined by contract. The labour laws, as they may be called, are laid down in the Smṛitis under the titles 'non-payment of wages' and 'masters and herdsmen'. In contrast with the high rates of interest on capital allowed by the law, the rates of wages are surprisingly low. First, as regards domestic labour, according to Manu (vii 125-26), women and male servants in the royal service were to get a daily allowance proportioned to their position and work, while for others the rates were to be one and six *paṇas per diem* for the lowest and highest servants respectively in addition to one *droṇa* measure of grain every month and clothes every six months. These figures seem to indicate a low scale of wages, though we have not the means to estimate what they represented in real money to find out the value. As to other kinds of labour, Yājñavalkya (ii 194) lays down the general rule that when the work is performed without prior settlement of the wages, the labourer is to get one-tenth of the profits of trade, the rearing of domestic animals, or crop-growing as the case may be. More generous is the general rule in the *Mahābhārata* (xii 60. 25-26) which awards one-seventh of the whole year's crops and the proceeds of trade to the agricultural labourer and the trader's assistant respectively. In the same context the milk of one cow is mentioned as the wage of a cowherd tending six cows, and a cow with a bull as the wage of one tending a hundred cows. With the former clause may be compared the less liberal rule of Manu (viii 231) awarding the milk of one cow to a cowherd tending ten cows.

While such are the rules for the payment of labourers, default in the performance of their work is visited with forfeiture of their wages or with fines or with both. A workman failing to do his work according to specification through pride and without the excuse of illness is to lose his wages

[1] Legal rates of interest: *M.* viii 140-2; *Y.* ii 37; cf. *Gaut.* xii 26, *Vas.* ii 51. Interest forbidden on beneficial pledge: *M.* viii 143; cf. *Gaut.* ii 32, vi 5. Laws against usury: *M.* viii 151; cf. *Gaut.* xii 31, 36 and *Vi.* vi 11-15. Maximum interest at special rates; *M.* viii 151 *Y.* ii 39

[2] *M.* viii 401; *Y.* ii 253

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and pay a fine according to Manu (viii 215) : one abandoning work before or after receiving wages, says Yājñavalkya (ii 193), is to forfeit the same or pay twice the amount as the case may be. According to Manu (viii 217), a workman, whether well or ill, not performing work according to specification, is to lose his wages though his work may remain only slightly incomplete. One not performing work at the proper time and place, says Yājñavalkya (ii 195), or otherwise causing loss in profit, is to get just as much as the master pleases to give him. A carrier, Yājñavalkya (ii 197-8) continues, who creates difficulty at the start of a journey is to forfeit twice his wages, while one who gives up his charge after starting or deserts on the way is to forfeit a proportionately heavy portion of the same. A carrier allowing his load to perish otherwise than through the act of God or man is to make good the loss. A herdsman who lets an animal be lost, killed or maimed through his negligence is to compensate his master or to pay him a heavy fine.[1] A herdsman causing mischief to enclosed fields is to pay a heavy fine, and to other fields a small fine, in addition to making good the loss of crops.[2] The Smṛitis, moreover, lay strict injunctions, enforced by fines, upon different trades and professions. Thus a washerman is not to wear or sell or hire or pledge his employer's clothes.[3] Weavers are to conform to standard rates of increase or decrease in their material in the process of weaving, and metal workers are to observe similar rates of increase in the process of smelting.[4]

Other clauses of the law are favourable to the workman, exempting him from liability in the case of accident and requiring the master to pay the stipulated wages for a task not done at the proper time or place and even for work which the workman was prevented from doing. Thus a herdsman is not responsible if the cattle are stolen by thieves in spite of his raising an alarm, or if the goats or sheep are suddenly devoured by wolves, nor is he liable for damage done to unfenced crops on the public pastures.[5] When a workman does his work according to specification even belatedly after recovering from an illness, he is to receive full payment.[6] If an assistant makes an extra profit as the result of disregarding time and place, he is to receive additional payment.[7] A master causing a carrier to abandon his work at the beginning or on the way is to pay him a proportionately heavy share of his wages in addition.[8]

CONCLUSION

Towards the close of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C. contemporary Greek observers were struck with the abundance of India's agricultural and mineral resources, the skill and industry of its inhabitants, and the number of its flourishing cities. It was on cogent

[1] *M.* viii 232; *Y.* ii 165
[2] *M.* viii 240-1
[3] *M.* viii 396; *Y.* ii 238
[4] *M.* viii 397; *Y.* ii 178-80
[5] *M.* viii 233, 235, 238
[6] *M.* viii 216
[7] *Y.* ii 195
[8] *Y.* ii 198

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grounds that Megasthenes based his well-known and oft-quoted statement that famine had never visited India. The political convulsions of the subsequent period would seem to have caused a set-back in the economy. With the dissolution of the Mauryan dominion the country lost its political unity, and even the large kingdoms that arose thereafter were inadequate substitutes for the vanished empire. The succession of foreign invasions dislocated trade and industry at least temporarily. And yet according to all accounts, the country soon recovered and advanced towards economic progress. In the first century A.D. the expansion of India's trade with the Roman world which followed the discovery of the monsoons brought about a marked development of India's agricultural and industrial production. The immediate consequence was the influx of vast quantities of Roman specie with effects comparable to what happened in western Europe during the sixteenth century when gold poured in from the New World. Simultaneously the rich lands of South-East Asia were opened up by the enterprise of Indian merchants and colonists. What beneficial results flowed from these changes are seen in the numbers of Indian sea-ports and other market-towns noticed in the *Periplus* and in the *Geography* of Ptolemy. The high prosperity of the Indian cities of this period is attested by contemporary descriptions in Sanskrit, Pāli and Tamil literature. They present us with pictures of humming industry and commerce in cities bright with richly stocked bazars and palatial residences, well laid-out streets, parks and gardens, and alive with a teeming and varied population.[1] These are confirmed in essential respects by the clear testimony of extant archaeological remains.[2]

Of the material condition of the different classes of people we draw little direct knowledge from contemporary sources. The Jaina *Kalpasūtra*, while recounting the early life of Mahāvīra, paints a picture of extraordinary luxury existing in the royal palace and this in its main outline may have been taken from life.[3] We have a hint of the highly

[1] Descriptions of Sāgala: *Miln.* pp. 1-2; Puhār *Paṭṭinappālai, ll.* 142-58 (quoted by K. A. N. Sastri, *The Colas*, 1 96); Madurai in *Maduraikkāñji*. Alsocf. descriptions of Ayodhyā (*Rām.* i. 6. 5-28, ii 83. 12-18), Mathurā (ibid. vii 83, 10-14), Takshaśilā and Pushkalāvatī (ibid. vii 114. 12-15). Mithilā (*Mbh.* iii 206. 6-9) etc. Cf. also the simile of a town built according to plan by an architect (*Miln.* pp. 330-31)

[2] Remains at Taxila: (1) Inner city at Sirkap built (by Azes I?) with stone wall and rectangular bastions; remains of buildings extending north to south on either side of High Street: remains of 'palace' with frontage of more than 350 ft. and depth of over 400 ft. as well as house with 4 courts and more than 30 rooms on ground-floor; (2) city at Sirsukh built (by Kanishka I?) with stone-wall and semi-circular bastions and covering an area of not less than 3 miles: remains of complex of buildings consisting of 2 courts with series of chambers disposed around them and a connecting passage in between (Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed. pp. 4, 6, 80, 86, 113)

[3] When Queen Triśalā told her husband, the Kshatriya Siddhārtha, the story of her dream, he arranged for its interpretation by Brāhmaṇas the next morning in open court. Going to the hall of gymnastic exercises at sunrise and performing a number of exercises he was anointed with oil and shampooed by attendants. He then entered the bathing-room which was decorated with pearl ornaments and a mosaic floor. Having bathed in scented water from a stool

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luxurious tastes of contemporary kings in the *Periplus*.[1] Indirect proof of the immense wealth of kings and their families is supplied by the recorded instances of magnificent buildings, munificent charities and the colossal fees disbursed at sacrifices.[2] That a high level of economic prosperity was fairly general in the middle class is proved by other facts. The life of the city-bred man of fashion described with such vividness in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* is one of luxurious ease and indulgence. Again, the use of perfumes, unguents and other cosmetics is seen to have been very extensive. On the other hand the lot of the hired labourer may well have been a relatively hard one.

inlaid with jewels, he arranged his elaborate toilet: he first rubbed his limbs with sandal of an excellent *gośīrsha* variety and then put on jewelled ornaments of various kinds: his attendants held an umbrella over his head and he was fanned with chowries. Thus attired and attended, he entered the audience hall and took his seat on an ornamented throne. His wife sat behind a richly decorated curtain on a state-chair inlaid with gems (*Kalpasūtra*, *Lives of the Jinas*, pp. 59f).

[1] Very costly vessels of silver, singing boys and good-looking virgins for the king's harem, fine wines, thin clothing of the finest weaves and the choicest ointments brought to Barygaza for the king's use (*Per.*, sec. 49). Probably the thin clothing and the wines imported at Barbaricum as well as at the Malabar ports (ibid. secs. 39, 56) were also intended for the use of local kings

[2] Kanishka's *stūpa* and monastery, 'one of the wonders of the world', at his capital Purushapura. Ushavadāta's charities : Lüders, *List*, nos. 1131, 1133, 1135. Restoration of Sudarśana lake by Rudradāman out of his own treasury : ibid. no. 965. Gift of caves, lands and villages by Śātavāhanas : ibid. 1123-6. Sacrifices performed by Śātavāhanas with a list of fees: ibid. 1112. Charities and sacrificial performances of Ikshvākus : *EI.* xx pp. 19, 21, 22, 24 ; xxi p. 62

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CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL LIFE

INTRODUCTORY

THE period intervening between the downfall of the Imperial Mauryas and the rise of the Gupta Emperors marks a crisis in India's social history. The impetus which Aśoka's imperial propaganda had given to Buddhism was continued in the centuries immediately before and after Christ by other royal patrons and by the zeal of pious missionaries. Hence followed both the firm establishment of the faith within India and its expansion into the regions of East and South-East Asia. Buddhism thus became definitely a world religion, while Jainism under similar influences was transformed into an all-India cult. In the course of these great movements within the fold of Indian society, the situation was somewhat complicated by the influx of large hordes of foreigners with altogether alien social and cultural standards. The first reactions to these changes are seen in the gloomy prophecies of universal decay and dissolution that are met with in contemporary Brahmanical works. And yet in this age of seeming social collapse were sown the seeds of a great revival. Brahmanism, to begin with, so far from being engulfed by the onrushing waves of the rival faiths, girded itself for a fresh struggle and an eventual triumph. While its body of social and religious laws was systematised in the great Smṛitis of Manu and Yājñavalkya, its extensive circle of myths, legends and fables, and its entire code of individual and social ethics, were incorporated into the epic story of the *Mahābhārata* so as to give that work in its present form an authority rivalling that of the Veda. Brahmanism, again, found in some of the ruling houses of Northern India and the Deccan zealous patrons who upheld its social and religious practices, while in the South it won for itself an honoured place in contemporary society. Thus it prepared itself for its crowning triumph in the Age of the Imperial Guptas. At the same time, therefore, that the reform movements of Buddhism and Jainism during this age reached their culmination, the Brahmanical counter-reformation strengthened itself to meet its two rivals with success. Simultaneously the problem created by the settlement of foreigners *en masse* was solved by the rapidity and completeness with which they were assimilated into the Indian social system. There was yet another development which, like those just mentioned, stamps this age with the seal of creativity. Though the rise of towns on an extensive scale may be traced back long before this period, a new social type, viz. the city-bred man of fashion, portrayed in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, seems only now to have come on the scene.

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SOCIAL DIVISIONS AND SUB-DIVISIONS

A. BRĀHMAṆAS

The division of society into four *varṇas* with their distinctive duties, occupations and status, and the rules relating to their intermarriage and so forth, is the bed-rock of the Brahmanical social fabric. By virtue of their origin the Brāhmaṇas, it was held, take the first place in the order of castes. It is on this and similar grounds that Manu (i 96, x 3) and Yājñavalkya (i 198-9) assert the doctrine of the pre-eminence of the Brāhmaṇas not only over all other *varṇas* but over all created beings. Along with this went an amplification of the rules governing the sacraments and the domestic and other sacrifices that were incumbent upon the Brāhmaṇas. As before, while the duties (*dharma*) of Vedic study, of sacrificing for himself and of making gifts, are shared by the Brāhmaṇa with the two other upper castes, to the Brāhmaṇa alone fall the distinctive occupations (*vṛitti*) of teaching, sacrificing for others, and accepting gifts (*M.* x 75-6; *Y.* i 118). In Manu (x 77-8, 95-6) not only are the other castes expressly forbidden to adopt any of these occupations, but a man of low caste accepting through greed the occupation of a higher one is punished with confiscation of property and imprisonment. The constant and assiduous study of the Veda is the Brāhmaṇa's highest duty according to Manu (iv 147-9), while Yājñavalkya (i 198) stresses the Brāhmaṇa's God-given duties of preserving the Veda, satisfying the gods and the manes, and protecting *dharma*. As to his occupations, teaching the Veda (without stipulating a fee) is the peculiar privilege of the Brāhmaṇa which the other two castes did not share (*M.* i 103 ; x 1). A Brāhmaṇa in distress may learn the Veda from a non-Brāhmaṇa, but the perpetual student must not reside with such a teacher or even with a Brāhmaṇa who cannot expound the Veda (ibid. ii 241-2). A Brāhmaṇa without the means of subsistence may in the last resort accept gifts from any person's hand, but the acceptance of gifts from a low man is worse than teaching or sacrificing for him ; a Brāhmaṇa had better maintain himself by gleaning grain or preferably picking up single grains from the fields (*M.* x 102-12). It is indeed the king's duty to support a Brāhmaṇa and especially a Śrotriya who has no means of livelihood, but the Brāhmaṇa who solicits gifts from an unrighteous or low-born king, or from kings in general, or, again, from certain disreputable classes, makes himself liable to severe spiritual penalties (*M.* iv 84-91 ; *Y.* i 140-1). A Brāhmaṇa, though entitled to accept gifts, should not cultivate that habit too much for danger of losing the divine light in himself (*M.* iv 186). A Brāhmaṇa accepting gifts from a Śūdra to perform a sacrifice for him deserves the strongest censure (*M.* xi 42-3 ; *Y.* i. 127). In general a Brāhmaṇa is to follow those occupations that cause the least pain to others ; he may live by gleaning corn, taking what is given unasked, by begging, agriculture or trade, but never by service, 'a dog's occupation'; he may

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accumulate as much grain as will fill a granary or a grain-jar, or suffice for three days, or for one day, or he may live by picking up ears of corn from the fields, each succeeding practice among these being a superior alternative to the preceding (*M.* iv 1-9 ; *Y.* i 128). Though this is the strict law prescribing a Brāhmaṇa's occupation, both Manu (x 80-94) and Yājñavalkya (iii 35) feel constrained to allow Brāhmaṇas when reduced to distress to live by the occupations of the lower castes. This concession is subject, as in the older law, to numerous exceptions touching various objectionable trades and professions. Moreover, having recovered from his distress the Brāhmaṇa must purify himself by performing a penance, and surrendering the wealth thus acquired, and so forth (*M.* xi 193-4 ; and *Y* iii 35, 289). Manu (viii 348-9), again, amplifying the older law, expressly permits Brāhmaṇas as well as Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas to take up arms in self-defence, or in defence of women and Brāhmaṇas, or to prevent the violation of their own duties and to ward off destruction from the three upper classes. Even killing in such circumstances, Manu emphatically declares, is no sin.

It follows from this severe code of discipline that deviations from the ordained standard brought deep discredit and disgrace upon the defaulting Brāhmaṇa. In Manu (iii 150-82) and Yājñavalkya (i 222-4), as in the older Smṛitis, we have long lists of persons not eligible for invitation to *śrāddhas*. Among these are included one not studying the Veda, one teaching for a stipulated fee, and one teaching Śūdra pupils. Not infrequently such degraded Brāhmaṇas are equated with Śūdras (*M.* ii 168 ; viii 102). When a Brāhmaṇa who neither performs austerities nor studies the Veda accepts gifts, he drags both himself and the donor down into hell (*M.* iv 190 ; *Y.* i 202). And yet we find already at work a tendency to exalt the Brāhmaṇa irrespective of his qualifications, and even in disregard of his unfitness. In strikingly emphatic language we are told (*Mbh.* xiii 151, 21-3 ; *M.* ix 317-9) that a Brāhmaṇa, whether learned or not, is a great deity like fire, whether consecrated or not ; that like fire which is not contaminated even in a cremation-ground, a Brāhmaṇa employed in the meanest occupations must be honoured as a great deity. After this it is no surprise to learn (*M.* iii 149 ; *Mbh.* xiii 90, 2) that the merits of the invited Brāhmaṇa need not be closely scrutinised at rites in honour of the gods, though such scrutiny is necessary for rites in honour of the manes. The only exceptions which Manu allows in the former case are a number of notoriously bad characters (iii 150).

It remains to notice the immunities and privileges belonging to the Brāhmaṇas in the old Smṛiti law which are repeated in our present texts. Among the persons entitled to the right of way, the *snātaka* (a Brāhmaṇa who has performed his ceremonial bath after completing his education) has precedence even over the king (*M.* ii 138-9; *Y.* i. 117). A Brāhmaṇa offender is not to be sentenced to death on any account, but he is liable to banishment without confiscation of property, to shaving of the head, to branding or to fines (*M.* viii 123, 378-81, 383-5 ; *Y.* ii 270). As a rule

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the Brāhmaṇa's punishments are less severe than those of the other classes. On the other hand offences against Brāhmaṇas are punished with more severity than those committed against the other classes. As in the older law Brāhmaṇa-murder heads the list of mortal sins (*mahāpātakas*) to be expiated by particularly severe penances (*M.* ix 237; xi 55, 102; *Y.* iii 227, 257), and it is visited with other fearful punishments in the next life (*M.* xi 49; xii 55; *Y.* iii 20). According to Manu (iv 162; xi 90), no injury may be done to a Brāhmaṇa, and intentional slaying of a Brāhmaṇa is an inexpiable sin. But elsewhere (viii 350) Manu himself permits the slaying even of a learned Brāhmaṇa in self-defence. The Brāhmaṇa offender's property is exempt from confiscation while the theft of a Brāhmaṇa's gold ranks among the mortal sins (*M.* viii 380; xi 55; *Y.* iii 227). The heirless property of a Brāhmaṇa is distributed among his fellow-Brāhmaṇas, while that of other castes is escheated to the king (*M.* ix 188-9). The seizure of a Brāhmaṇa's property, as of a god's, is visited with severe penalties in the next life (*M.* xi 26). Not only are learned Brāhmaṇas exempt from taxes (*M.* vii 133), but the king is bound to support them after proper examination of their family, learning and character (*M.* vii 135; *Y.* iii 44). A learned Brāhmaṇa is to act where necessary as the king's substitute for the trial of cases (*M.* viii 9; *Y.* ii 3).

This description of the Brāhmaṇa's status according to the Smṛitis may now be checked by the evidence of other contemporary sources. In the enumeration of castes in the *Milindapañha* (5, 122, 331), as in the older Pāli canonical texts, the Kshatriyas invariably precede the Brāhmaṇas. The superior status of the Kshatriya is pointedly brought out in the Pāli *Nidānakathā* (i 49) and the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara* (i 20): here we are told in the story of Buddha's early life that while the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya are the two highest classes, the Kshatriyas are now admitted to hold the topmost rank. This tendency to glorify the Kshatriya may have been due partly to the desire of the authors to exalt the order to which the founder of their faith belonged, and partly to the strength of the ancient tradition. In any case the *purohita* in the *Milindapañha* (164), as in the Jātakas, is found to combine with his proper office of domestic priest the function of a teacher of the king in early youth. In the story of Nāgasena's early life (*Miln.* 9-10) we find that having been born in a Brāhmaṇa household and reached his seventh year Nāgasena was told by his father that the study of the sciences (*scil.* the Vedas) was compulsory in his family; he was thereupon taken to a Brāhmaṇa teacher (*ācārya*) who received a substantial fee for teaching him the three Vedas. From this we see that Brāhmaṇa boys went at a tender age, as required by the Canon, to live in residence with a teacher for learning the Vedas, and that it was customary to pay the teacher his fee in advance notwithstanding the denunciation of this practice in the Smṛitis.

In the story of the Buddha referred to above, the circle of Brāhmaṇa-lore is said to comprise the three Vedas with their auxiliaries (as known

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to stock lists in the Jātakas), and knowledge of 'the signs of great men'. More diversified is the curriculum of studies of the Brāhmaṇa mentioned in the *Milindapañha* (178) enumerating the duties of a prince, a Brāhmaṇa youth, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra. It comprises not only the Vedic group (Ṛigveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, lexicography, ritual, phonetics and grammar), but also astronomy, astrology and natural philosophy (*lokāyatika*), as well as the interpretation of dreams, omens and portents, of solar and lunar eclipses, of the behaviour of stars and planets, of thunder and the fall of meteors, of earthquakes and conflagrations, and of omens to be drawn from the sight of dogs and deer, the cries of birds, and so on. It is evident that a vast store of sciences and pseudo-sciences had by this time been added to the Vedas in the compass of a Brāhmaṇa's studies. Probably the non-Vedic lore was studied for their livelihood by worldly Brāhmaṇas such as those described so vividly in the Jātakas. Of the type of the true Brāhmaṇa known likewise to the Jātakas, we have a striking reminiscence in a *Milindapañha* passage (225-6) explaining the description of the Buddha as 'an open-handed Brāhmaṇa'. The Brāhmaṇa, we are told, is one who has passed beyond hesitation, perplexity, and doubt, who has escaped from every sort of becoming and is entirely free from evil, who cultivates excellent conditions of heart, who follows the traditional regulations relating to study and teaching, making and receiving gifts, self-control and performance of duties, who enjoys the supreme bliss of ecstatic meditation, and who knows the course of births and all forms of existence. Here we have evidently a picture of the Brāhmaṇa at his best according to the standards of the contemporary Smṛitis. As to the Brāhmaṇa's regular occupations, we have historical instances of Brāhmaṇas, notwithstanding the strict Smṛiti injunctions to the contrary, engaged in royal service, and even rising to be founders of ruling houses. Brāhmaṇas are also known to have not only performed sacrifices for themselves, but also officiated as priests at sacrifices celebrated by royalty. Brāhmaṇas, again, are mentioned not only as making gifts, but also as accepting gifts in cash and kind from kings and princes who delighted to honour them.[1]

B. KSHATRIYAS

In Manu and Yājñavalkya as in the older Smṛitis, the Kshatriyas,

[1] For descriptions of pure and worldly Brāhmaṇas in Jātakas, see Fick, *The Social Organisation in North-East India*, Eng. tr. pp. 193-250. Examples of Brāhmaṇa high officials etc.: *senāpati* Pushyamitra, founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, *amātya* Vasudeva, founder of the Kaṇva dynasty, Brāhmaṇa treasurer of *mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa (Lüders, *List*, no. 82), Refs. to Brāhmaṇas making gifts: ibid. nos. 82, 1035, 1050. Brāhmaṇas performing Vedic sacrifices: Pushyamitra Śuṅga, Lüders, *List*, no. 149a, *ASIAR*. 1910-11, p. 41; Brāhmaṇas receiving gifts: Lüders, *List*, nos. 134, 1099, 1131, 1133, 1135, 1328; *EI*. XXI p. 60. Vedic sacrifices performed and heavy fees paid to officiating priests: Lüders, *List*, no. 1112, *EI*. XX pp. 19, 21, 62; XXIII p. 52; XXIV pp. 250, 253

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while sharing with the Brāhmaṇas and the Vaiśyas the duties of Vedic study, sacrificing for themselves, and making gifts, are assigned the sole occupation of ruling and fighting : only in times of distress is a Kshatriya allowed to live by the occupation of a Vaiśya (*M.* i 89; x 77-89, 95, 117; *Y.* i 119; iii 42). This is confirmed in part and partly corrected and supplemented by references in other works. The list of duties and occupations laid down for the Kshatriyas in the Smṛitis is reflected in the *Mahābhārata* (xii 60, 13 f. etc.). But as Hopkins[1] justly remarks, the essence of the king's duty according to the oft-repeated axiom and motto of the caste in the Great Epic is fighting : for him to die of disease in a house is declared to be a sin, while death in battle is most commended. Repeated references in the *Mahābhārata* again lead Hopkins[2] to conclude that there were three fundamental rules forming the Kshatriya's code of conduct towards his fellows : the first was the 'guest-law', every guest being regarded as inviolable ; the second was the law of not forgetting kindness, and the third and last was the sacredness of a 'refugee', i.e. a person who threw himself (even in battle) upon one's mercy. The education of the Kshatriya as described in the Epic is somewhat different from that prescribed in the Smṛitis. As Hopkins[3] observes, the descriptions of the early lives of the heroes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* prove that the Kshatriyas were trained principally in the art of fighting (*dhanurveda*), and that they passed out of boyhood in their sixteenth year. The same discrepancy with the Smṛiti law is found in the description of a prince's duties in the *Milindapañha* (178). Here we read that a prince is to learn the arts of managing horses, elephants, and chariots, as well as those of writing and accounts, and of waging war. In this severely practical training, it will be observed, there is no mention of Vedic study such as is attributed in the same context to the Brāhmaṇa youth. Two other slight references in the same work illustrate the current view of the Kshatriya's status. From a simile (190) we learn that the 'Khattiya-secret formula' was current, as in the Jātaka tales, among this order alone. Another and a more striking simile (357-8) shows that a man of low caste presuming to consecrate himself after the Kshatriya fashion was punished with mutilation and torture for usurping a position of authority to which low castes were not entitled. It seems, therefore, that the Kshatriyas were held as in the early Buddhist times, to be an exclusive caste, and that the privilege of ruling was regarded as the monopoly of a member of this order receiving the proper consecration. Other evidence seems to show that the Kshatriyas performed various sacrifices as enjoined by the Smṛiti law. The contemporary inscriptions have preserved the memory not only of kings, but also of private individuals (apparently of the Kshatriya caste) who performed Vedic sacrifices accompanied with the gift of magnificent fees to the officiating priests.[4]

[1] *JAOS.* xiii pp. 186-7
[2] Ibid. p. 104
[3] Ibid. pp. 109-10
[4] Probable refs. to Kshatriyas performing Vedic sacrifices : *EI.* xx pp. 19, 31, 62; xxiii p. 52; xxiv pp. 250, 253

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C. GṚIHAPATIS ETC.

Repeating the old Smṛiti rule Manu (i 90; viii 410, 418; ix 326-33; x 79-80) and Yājñavalkya (i 119) enjoin upon the Vaiśyas, the third in the order of castes, the three-fold duty of Vedic study, performing sacrifices and making gifts, while fixing for them the occupations of agriculture, cattle-rearing, money-lending, and trade. The same three-fold list of duties is laid down for the Vaiśya in the *Mahābhārata* (xii 60, 21 f.) which, however, declares his special occupation to be cattle-rearing. As in the contemporary Smṛiti law, the Vaiśya is entitled to take up arms for self-defence, for the defence of cows and Brāhmaṇas, and for preventing the mixture of castes (ibid. 165. 33). In other passages, however (ibid. i 126, 13-14, 164; 20; iii 4, 15 etc.), Hopkins[1] detects a tendency to equate the Vaiśya's status with that of the Śūdra. When we turn to the *Milindapañha* (178), we find it assigning, in the fashion of the Smṛitis, the duties of agriculture and trade to the *Vessa* (Skt. *Vaiśya*). In their actual pictures of social life, however, the records of this period make no mention of the Vaiśyas as a separate caste. We are introduced instead to a class well known to the early Buddhist literature, viz. *gṛihapatis* (Pāli *gahapati*, Jaina Prākṛit *gāhāvai*). Of the ten stories of pious Jaina laymen in the *Uvāsagadasāo*, as many as nine deal with the lives of *gṛihapatis* described in the stock phrase as men possessed of vast stores of hoarded wealth and money lent out at interest, enjoying great estates and herds of cattle, who are consulted on all sorts of business by kings, princes and merchants. The tenth story deals with the life of a potter who is described by contrast as owning only one-fourth of the possessions of the *gṛihapati*. The *gṛihapati*, therefore, we may surmise, formed the rich capitalist class consisting of big land owners, money-lenders and ranchers, and they enjoyed high social prestige and were distinguished from the humbler class of artisans. Some light is also thrown upon the status of the *gṛihapatis* by references in the votive inscriptions of the centuries immediately before and after Christ. The *gṛihapatis* are here referred to as following the avocations of a merchant, farmer, caravan-leader or treasurer. In a few instances the donors introduce themselves as relations (son, grandson, mother, wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law) of individual *gṛihapatis*. Apparently, therefore, the *gṛihapatis* followed miscellaneous occupations and formed a special class or rank with high distinctions, but not a rigid caste. Along with the *gṛihapatis* the votive inscriptions commemorate a number of *kuṭumbikas* who likewise appear in the Jātakas in the rôle of men of property at the head of a household. Lastly and most important, the votive inscriptions and other records of this period speak of the *seṭṭhi* who is likewise a familiar figure in the early Buddhist literature. In the story of Nāgasena's early life, the *Milindapañha* (17) tells the tale of a *seṭṭhi* of Pāṭaliputra who journeyed at the head of his caravan from North-Western

[1] Op. cit., pp. 92-4

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India to his own city. In the votive inscriptions of this period while there are instances of *seṭṭhis* who themselves make the donations, other donors introduce themselves as their relatives. In a few instances a *seṭṭhi* is referred to simply by his native village or town and without his personal name. Clearly then the *seṭṭhi* was, as in the Jātakas, a rich and influential merchant-prince occupying a special position of honour among members of his profession. A few inscriptions mentioning *seṭṭhis* who were also *gṛihapatis* or sons of *gṛihapatis* suggest that, as in the Jātakas, the *seṭṭhi* was the most important and aristocratic representative of this class.[1]

D. ŚŪDRA CASTES, MIXED CASTES AND ABORIGINAL TRIBES

The disabilities imposed by the old Smṛiti Law upon the fourth and lowest caste, the Śūdras, are emphasised by our present authorities. According to Manu (i 91 ; x 123-5) and Yājñavalkya (i 120) the Śūdra because of his low origin has only one duty and one occupation, viz. to serve the upper classes and especially the Brāhmaṇas who in their turn are bound to feed, clothe and maintain him. Only in times of distress is a Śūdra allowed to live by practising various arts and crafts or by serving a Kshatriya or a rich Vaiśya (*M.* x 99-100, 121), or alternatively by engaging in trades and crafts of various kinds (*Y.* i 120). According to Manu (viii 413-14 ; 416-17) the Brāhmaṇa can compel a Śūdra, whether purchased or not, to do servile work, and can without hesitation appropriate his possessions. For a Śūdra, so runs the argument, is not released from his inherent servitude even after emancipation, and he has no property of his own. Of the same nature is the clause in Manu (viii 418) enjoining the king to compel the Śūdra to perform his work. That these extreme clauses belonged to times long past is proved by the internal evidence of the works themselves. A verse common to Manu (ix 157) and the *Mahābhārata* (xiii 47, 56), and therefore of respectable antiquity, recognises the Śūdra's right of bequeathing his property in equal shares among his

[1] Stock description of *gāhāvai*: *Uvāsaga.* i 4-5; ii 92; iii 127; iv 145; v 155; vi 163; viii 232; ix 268; x 273. Description of a potter: ibid. vii 182. Refs. to *gahapati* in votive inscrs.: Lüders, *List*, nos. 193, 201, 202, 449, 450 etc. (at Sāñchī); no. 725 (at Bhārhut); no. 1120 (at Nānāghāṭ); nos. 1170, 1157 (at Junnar); nos. 1206, 1209, 1211, 1220 etc. (at Amarāvatī). Ref. to *kuṭuṁbika*, ibid. nos. 976, 1121, 1127. For the status of *gahapati* and *kuṭuṁbika* in the Jātakas, see Fick, op. cit. pp. 253-7. Fick's description (ibid. p. 256) of *gahapatis* as a special class and rank and not a caste is borne out by the votive inscrs. which however do not support his somewhat narrow identification of them (ibid. p. 253) with the lower landowning nobility and the rich middle-class families in big cities. Refs. to *śreshṭhis* and their relatives as donors in votive inscrs.: Lüders, *List*, nos. 24, 41 (at Mathurā); nos. 184, 206, 246, 248, 255, 283, 339, 348 etc. (at Sāñchi); no. 1087 (at Kārle). Refs. to village *śreshṭhis* : ibid. nos. 422, 423. Refs. to *śreshṭhi* as *gahapati* or as *gahapati's* son : ibid. nos. 1056, 1073, 1075. *Seṭṭhis* are habitually referred to as *gahapatis* in *Avadānaśataka*. On the status of *seṭṭhis* in the Jātakas, see Fick, op. cit. pp. 257-66

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sons. Another clause (*M.* ix 179 ; *Y.* ii 133) refers to the same right when it allows the Śūdra's son by his female slave to take a share at the Śūdra's discretion. Again, the very clauses (*M.* xi 42-3 ; *Y.* i 127) declaring a Śūdra's gift to be unlawful for Brāhmaṇas imply the Śūdra's right of giving away his property. The rules (*M.* viii 142 ; *Y.* ii 38) relating to the legal rates of interest payable by Śūdras presuppose the Śūdra's capacity to follow an independent vocation. In other respects the Śūdra enjoys, as in the Dharmasūtras, limited social, religious and political rights. Thus while the Śūdra's food is unfit to be eaten, specific exceptions are made to this rule (*M.* iv 211, 218, 253 ; *Y.* i 160, 166). According to Manu (iv. 80 repeating *Vas.* xviii 14) the Śūdra is unfit for sacraments and should not be given advice or religious instruction or made to perform vows. Nevertheless Manu's rule (ii 32) recommending a name connected with service for a Śūdra implies the Śūdra's right to perform the *nāmakaraṇa* ceremony. Elsewhere (x 126-7) Manu says that the Śūdra, though not entitled to the (whole) *dharma*, can fulfil (some portions of) it, and that he who imitates the practice of virtuous men without reciting the sacred texts is praiseworthy. More explicitly Yājñavalkya (i 121) allows the Śūdra the right to perform the *śrāddha* and the vows as well as the five daily sacrifices with repetition of *namaḥ* only. The privilege of Vedic study and the performance of Vedic sacrifices is jealously guarded against the Śūdra (*M.* iv 80, 99 ; *Y.* i. 148). When, however, we read (*M.* iii 156, 178) that one who is a teacher or a pupil of a Śūdra or sacrifices for him is excluded from *śrāddhas*, we can infer that such practices were not altogether unknown. Finally, the discrimination made against the Śūdra in the branches of civil and criminal law as well as the law of penances, at least implies that he was not without his rights.

In the *Mahābhārata* the status of the Śūdra is much the same as in the Smṛitis. The Śūdra's divinely ordained duty, we are told, is the service of the other three classes especially of the Brāhmaṇas ; the latter have to feed and clothe him, to support him in old age and disease, nay, even offer funeral cakes for him if he dies sonless (*Mbh.* xii 60, 27-35 ; xiii 59, 32-3). The Śūdra, however, if without this occupation, can live by trade, animal-rearing, and industry (ibid. xii 293, 1 f. ; 294, 12 f.). As in Manu, the Śūdra is without property, he cannot commit acts causing loss of caste, and he is not entitled to sacraments, vows, and prayers ; but he can perform the smaller sacrifices (*pākayajñas*) and other sacrifices without Vedic texts and, though not entitled to perform the *dharma* laid down in the Vedas, is not forbidden to practise other *dharma* (ibid. xii 60. 37-46 ; 296. 26-7 ; 327. 49). Only in one extreme text (ibid. xiii 59, 33) do we have a hint of the Śūdras being denied the right of touching a Brāhmaṇa or appearing in his presence.

We may now consider the status of the so-called mixed castes derived in the Smṛiti theory from proper (*anuloma*) or improper (*pratiloma*) unions between men and women of the four basic *varṇas*. To the number of these derivative castes enumerated by the older authors, Manu (x. 6-56)

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and Yājñavalkya (i. 90-5) add a few more, which are all supposed to have been formed from unions of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* castes with the four original *varṇas* or with one another. Inasmuch as Manu assigns them their respective occupations, we may suppose that they were living professional castes or sub-castes formed in the natural course of social development. As for the social status of these castes, Manu (x. 6, 13, 28, 41) says that *anuloma* castes are slightly inferior to their fathers, but are entitled to all the rights belonging to the three upper classes. According to the *Mahābhārata*, however (xiii 48. 4), a Brāhmaṇa's son by a Brāhmaṇa or a Kshatriya wife has the same status as the father, while a Brāhmaṇa's son born of a Vaiśya or a Śūdra wife has a lower status determined by the mother's caste.

According to all accounts the *pratiloma* castes have the status of Śūdras. But a specially low rank is assigned to the Chaṇḍālas who are known even in Vedic times as a despised caste. As the lowest of mortals, the Chaṇḍālas are often bracketed together with dogs and crows (*M.* iii 92, 239 ; x 26). They are excluded from all rights (*Y.* i 93). Their touch is impure (*M.* v 85). They are to take their food from broken dishes, and vessels used by them are to be thrown away (*M.* x 51, 52, 54). They have to wear distinctive dress, ornaments and other outward marks : they are to live outside villages and towns in studiously mean surroundings ; their occupations are those concerned with the execution of criminals, the disposal of unclaimed bodies and so forth (*M.* x 51-2 ; 55-6).

Let us next turn to references in other contemporary works to check the testimony of the Smṛitis. From an important extract in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* (on *Pāṇ.* ii 4, 10) we learn that the Śūdras, instead of forming a single caste, really consisted, even so early, of various professional and ethnic groups occupying different social grades. Among the Śūdras, we are told, the lowest place belongs to the Chaṇḍālas and Mṛitapas who, while living in Āryāvarta and within Aryan settlements, are excluded from sacrificial performances, and from eating food on the same plate with an Aryan. Higher in the scale are the carpenters, washermen, blacksmiths and weavers. For while excluded from performance of sacrifices, they can take food from an Aryan's dish without polluting it permanently. Above them are those who, while living outside Āryāvarta but within Aryan settlements, are entitled to perform sacrifices and to eat from an Aryan's plate without making it permanently unclean. In this list are included, besides the Śakas and the Yavanas to be noticed presently, several groups (Kishkindhas, Gandhikas, Śauryas and Krauñchas) who cannot be identified at present. In connection with the foregoing classification it is interesting to observe that blacksmiths, washermen, and carpenters, who could take food from an Aryan's dish according to Patañjali, are included by Manu (iv 210-20) and Yājñavalkya (i 161-5) among those whose food is unfit to be eaten. In contrast with this detailed and apparently realistic account of the status of the Śūdra group of castes, we have a general and evidently formal statement after

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the Smṛiti fashion in the *Milindapañha* (178) ; here we read that the Śūdra like the Vaiśya is to live by agriculture and trade. As to the 'mixed castes', lists of their names and occupations are given in the *Mahābhārata* (xiii 48), the Chaṇḍālas and the Pukkasas being described in much the same terms as in the Smṛitis. Similarly the *Lalitavistara* (i 20) mentions the Chaṇḍālas and the Pukkasas along with bamboo-workers and chariot-makers as typical examples of low castes. Of the Śvapākas (allied to the Chaṇḍālas) we are told in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (xiii 18-19) that they are the lowest of castes, who are loathed by all people and doomed to live in their own hamlets. In the historical inscriptions of this period reference is made to a large number of humble professions, but we have no means of knowing their status.[1]

In the Brahmanical law of this period an attempt is made for the first time to give a recognised status to a number of aboriginal tribes within the orthodox social system. The Pauṇḍrakas, the Choḍas, the Draviḍas, the Kāṁbojas and the Kirātas (*M.* x 44), or the Kāṁbojas, the Draviḍas, the Kaliṅgas, the Pulindas and the Uśīnaras (*Mbh.* xiii 33, 22-3), or the Mekalas, the Draviḍas, the Lāṭas, the Pauṇḍras, the Daradas and the Kirātas (ibid. 35, 17-18), we are told, were originally Kshatriyas, but they sank to the level of Śūdras by failing to perform the sacred rites and to consult the Brāhmaṇas. This remarkable theory of aboriginal status is laid down in the *Mahābhārata* in the context of a grand eulogy on the greatness of the Brāhmaṇas ; but at any rate it shows that the tribes concerned were held to be Śūdras of a fairly high grade. The relatively high status of these tribes is indicated more clearly in the Great Epic (xii 65, 13-22). Here the question is asked how the Andhras, Madrakas, the Pauṇḍras, the Kaliṅgas, and the Kāṁbojas, among others, are to perform their duties. In reply it is declared that they should pay respectful attention to parents, teachers, preceptors, kings, and those living in hermitages: they should practise the virtues of non-injury (*ahiṁsā*), truthfulness, purity and forbearance : they should dig wells and construct places for the supply of drinking water : they should perform (and this is most significant) the minor sacrifices (*pākayajñas*): they should make rich gifts to priests at sacrifices.

In so far as the Dravidian peoples of the far South are concerned their social divisions are revealed to us in the valuable works of the Śaṅgam Age. Among these peoples while the immigrant Brāhmaṇas had an honoured place in society, the classes in order of descending importance were the sages (*aṟivar*), landowners (*veḷḷāḷar*), herdsmen, hunters, artisans and soldiers and, lastly, fishermen and scavengers.[2]

[1] Such are the professions of the gardener, perfumer, labourer, blacksmith, brazier, ironmonger, goldsmith, dyer, polisher, carpenter and so forth. See Lüders, *List*, Index of Misc. Terms.

[2] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, I pp. 106, 113

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THE MONASTIC ORDERS

The organisation of the orthodox orders of the forest-dwelling hermits (*vānaprastha* or *vaikhānasa*) and ascetics (*yati* or *parivrājaka*) with special rules of life relating to their food, dress, and manner of living, is as old as the Dharmasūtras. These rules are repeated and amplified by Manu (vi 1-85) and Yājñavalkya (iii 45-65). Mention must be made also of members of the Buddhist and Jaina monastic orders of whose fruitful activities we have ample evidence in the history of contemporary literature and missionary enterprise. Testimony to the pious zeal of Buddhist and Jaina monks and nuns in humbler walks of life is borne by the votive inscriptions, and yet the literary records point to the spread of corruption and immorality among these classes. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya mentions the employment as spies of pseudo-ascetics, hermits, and mendicant women belonging to Brahmanical as well as non-Brahmanical orders as a well-established institution. What is worse, in pre-Vātsyāyana works on Erotics, Buddhist and Jaina nuns as well as Brahmanical female ascetics are found to be employed in the unworthy rôle of go-betweens among lovers. The low esteem in which female ascetics in general were held in contemporary society may be illustrated by two examples. While adulterous conversation with a married woman made the offender liable to a heavy fine, the penalty for secret conversation with a female ascetic is only nominal according to Manu (viii 361-3) and Yājñavalkya (iii 285, 293). Again Vātsyāyana warns the *nāgaraka's* wife (iv 1, 9) not to associate with female ascetics belonging to Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jaina orders. Of the sectarian ill-feeling of Brāhmaṇas towards the heretical faiths we have a few examples. Among those for whom no funeral libations are to be offered, Manu (v 89-90) includes monks belonging to heretical orders as well as women joining a heretical sect. Elsewhere (ix 225) he goes so far as to ask for the immediate banishment from the town of the adherents of heretical sects.[1]

RISE AND FALL IN CASTE STATUS

It is desirable in this connection to notice the doctrine of rise and fall in caste status (*jātyutkarsha* and *jātyapakarsha*) advocated by Manu and Yājñavalkya after Gautama. 'According to Manu (x 64) when a Brāhmaṇa marries a Śūdra woman, the daughter born is *pāraśava* and

[1] For reference to Buddhist and Jaina monks and nuns in votive inscrs., see Lüders, *List*, Index on Misc. Terms, *s. v. muni, tāpasa, tapasvin, bhikshu, bhikshuṇī, śramaṇa, śramaṇikā, bhadanta, bhadantī*, etc. Hermit and ascetic (with shaven head or matted hair) as chiefs of stationary spies : *KA.* i 11. Female mendicants of Brāhmaṇa, shaven-headed and Sūdra classes as itinerant spies : ibid. i 12. Residences of Buddhist and Jaina nuns and Brahmanical female ascetics as convenient rendezvous for unchaste wives and their paramours: Goṇikāputra quoted in *Kāmasūtra* v. 4, 42. Mendicant women included among female messengers of love : ibid, v. 4, 62

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if this *pāraśava* daughter marries a Brāhmaṇa and the daughter of this latter union marries a Brāhmaṇa and this continues for seven generations, then the seventh generation will be a Brāhmaṇa . . . Conversely if a Brāhmaṇa marries a Śūdra woman and a son is born, he is a *pāraśava*, and if that son marries a Śūdra woman, and their son again marries a Śūdra woman, and this goes on for seven generations, the seventh generation becomes a mere Śūdra.' 'Manu (x 65) extends the same rules to the offspring of the marriage of a Kshatriya with a Vaiśya woman and of a Vaiśya with a Śūdra woman.' 'Yājñavalkya (i 96) speaks of two kinds of *jātyutkarsha* and *jātyapakarsha*, viz. one due to marriage and another due to the avocation followed.' If these rules were observed in practice, they would have done much to soften the rigour of caste distinctions. Such was actually the case according to D. R. Bhandarkar who thinks[1] that the Smṛiti rules above mentioned actually recorded regional customs. But good grounds have recently been given for the view that the doctrine of Manu and Yājñavalkya was in fact only an hypothesis and an ideal.[2]

THE STATUS OF SLAVES

Slavery in India is as old as the Vedas. The Buddhist canonical texts mention various classes of slaves, viz. slaves by birth, by purchase, by capture in war and by self-choice. In Kauṭilya (iii 13) we have for the first time a body of laws governing their status. Manu (viii 415) distinguishes seven kinds of slaves, viz. one captured in war, one accepting slavery for food, one born in the master's household, one purchased, one given, one acquired by inheritance from ancestors, and one enslaved by way of punishment. This list is confirmed and supplemented by other contemporary literary references. Manu himself, while laying down the primeval law of warriors, says (vii 96) that one who singly gains a woman in battle becomes her owner. The custom of the temporary enslavement of a defeated foe is well known to the *Mahābhārata*.[3] Selling one's own self or wife or child is condemned as a sin of the second degree (*upapātaka*) in Manu (xi 60, 62) and Yājñavalkya (iii 236, 240, 242). In the *Milindapañha* (279), however, the sale as well as the pledge of a son by a father involved in debt or without his livelihood figures as an acknowledged custom. The sale of wives and children is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (viii 45, 40) as a reprehensible custom prevalent among the Aṅgas. The gift of slaves is referred to in the same epic (ii 52, 11; 57, 8), while the *Milindapañha* (278) includes women in a list of ten condem-

[1] *IA.* 1911, p. 11

[2] The above quotations are from Kane. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II Part i. pp. 63-4. The method of rise and fall in caste status was an hypothesis and an ideal (ibid. p. 65)

[3] In *Mbh.* iii 272, 11; iv 33, 50; we are told that according to the law of warfare a foe defeated in battle can save his life by publicly proclaiming himself the victor's slave, but after a year he is acknowledged as the victor's son and set free.

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ned gifts. In the notorious story of the servitude of the Pāṇḍava brothers along with Draupadī as the price of defeat at dice, we have an example of slavery for a wager. Enslavement as a punishment is illustrated by Yājñavalkya (ii 186) who condemns an apostate from asceticism to be the king's slave for life. The enslavement of an adulterous wife caught *flagrante delicto* by her husband as an alternative to other forms of punishment is mentioned in the *Milindapañha* (158) as a prevailing practice. It would appear that slaves in these times were articles of sale, gift, mortgage, and inheritance, their ranks being swelled by capture in war, the sale of minors by their guardians, the voluntary surrender of freedom, and also by punishment for indebtedness, apostasy and adultery. As to the general attitude towards slaves, their humane treatment is enjoined in the sacred texts (*M.* iv 184-5, *Mbh.* xii 242, 20-1). Manu (viii 299-300), however, allows the same limited power of correction over the slave as over the wife and the son to the head of the household. As regards personal rights, Yājñavalkya (ii 183) lays down that slavery (*dāsya*) shall be in the descending order of castes (*varṇas*) and not in the ascending order. With this may be contrasted the far more liberal law of Kauṭilya forbidding an Aryan in any circumstances to be reduced to slavery. As for the slave's rights of property, a dictum common to Manu (viii 416) and the *Mahābhārata* (i 82, 28; v 33, 68), and evidently of high antiquity, categorically denies the slave's right to acquire wealth for himself, though a slight exception is made in favour of a son begotten by a Śūdra on a female slave. Such a son takes a share of his father's property at the latter's choice (*M.* ix 179. *Y.* ii 136) after the father's death; he takes a half share if there are brothers and the whole share if there are no brothers or daughter's sons (*Y.* ii 137). The Smṛitis, however, are silent about the right of slaves in general to acquire, inherit and bequeath property such as is allowed by Kauṭilya under certain circumstances. As regards the right of emancipation Yājñavalkya (ii 185) declares the forcible reduction to slavery, like any sale by robbers, to be void. Emancipation, continues the same authority, is the reward for a slave who saves his master's life, while one who accepts slavery for his keep is released on payment of the expenses of his maintenance, and one enslaved for debt is freed when he repays it. We miss, however, in Manu and Yājñavalkya the equivalents of Kauṭilya's law entitling a self-sold slave and a slave by capture in war to emancipation on payment of a ransom. On the other hand Yājñavalkya, as we have seen, condemns an apostate from asceticism to be the king's slave for life. We learn, however, from an incidental reference in the *Divyāvadāna* (25) that (as in the Kauṭilyan law) a female slave bearing a child to her master was at once freed with her offspring.

FOREIGN SETTLEMENTS

A Yavana or Yona settlement beyond India's north-western frontier and alongside the territories of the Kāṁbojas and the Gandhāras was

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established sufficiently early to be mentioned in Aśoka's Edicts and endured long enough to be remembered repeatedly in the epic and Purāṇic tradition. In the age of the Mauryas, Yavanas and other foreigners visited the imperial capital in such numbers as to require the care of a special committee of the municipal council. A Yavana-rāja rose to the high position of a provincial governor under Aśoka. It was, however, only with the conquests of the Bactrian Greeks that there occurred large-scale settlements of the Yavanas in India. The subsequent invasions of the Śakas and their successors partook of the nature of mass migrations of peoples. The foreign settlers brought with them not only a new social order but also what were held to be repulsive standards of conduct. The havoc wrought by these barbarian invasions and settlements in Indian society is brought home, in the first place, by the pointed testimony of the 'Yugapurāṇa' section of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā*, a work which has been plausibly held to belong to the first century B.C. The author's statements, couched in the form of prophecies in true Purāṇic style, are made in the course of an historical account of the invasions of the Bactrian Greeks and the Śakas. At the end of the Kali Age, so runs his brief but lurid description, all distinctions between the non-Aryans and the Aryans, between Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras, between orthodoxy and heresy, will disappear: Śūdra mendicants will appear in the guise of Brāhmaṇas: Śūdras will usurp the social and religious privileges of the Brāhmaṇas. The fearful carnage caused by the foreign invasions led to the break-up of family life. Because of the wholesale slaughter of men, we are told in the usual prophetic style, ten or twenty women will marry one husband: women will work in the fields and in business and even serve as soldiers. A twelve years' drought accompanied by famine and plague will be the fitting climax of this series of disasters. We have a more comprehensive account, in the context of the list of evils overtaking the world at the end of the Kali Age, in the *Mahābhārata* (iii 188. 30-64, 190. 12-88). The picture is one of wholesale degeneration and decay, of complete reversal of the social order, of non-Aryan and barbarian rule, and of the predominance of heresy, as a prelude to the destruction of the world by Kalki.[1] There occurs probably another hint of the evil consequences of the large foreign settlements in the contemporary accounts of social manners among the peoples that lived longest under alien rule. Thus the *Mahābhārata* (viii 40, 20-40; 44, 6-44; 45, 5-38) contains a long and vigorous indictment of the customs and practices of the people living in the land of the Five Rivers. Reference

[1] Yavanas, Kāṁbojas, Gandhāras mentioned together (RE. V. XIII; *Rām.* iv 43, 12 etc.). Yavanas are the only people without Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas (RE. XIII). Yavanas, Kāṁbojas etc. are fierce barbarians (*Mbh.* vi 9. 65). Yavanas, Kāṁbojas, Gandhāras etc. reckoned among sinful peoples having the nature of *śvapākas* and vultures (*Mbh.* xii 207, 43-5). Ābhīras are sinful and greedy *dasyus* (*Mbh.* xvi 7, 47-9). Text and tr. of relevant extracts from the Yugapurāṇa in *JBORS.* 1928, pp. 402, 408, 410, 413-14. Revised text, ibid. 1930, p. 18 f. On the date of the Yugapurāṇa, see ibid. 1928, p. 399; 1930, p. 45

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is made particularly to the general immorality and the laxity concerning food and drink that prevailed among the Madraka and the Vāhīka men and women. The impure practices of women in this region and in Saurāshṭra too regarding matters of sex are mentioned by Vātsyāyana (ii 5, 25).

Nevertheless, it is an undeniable fact that the Yavanas and other foreigners, so far from upsetting the traditional social order and destroying its accepted canons of morality and conduct, were themselves completely and swiftly absorbed within the indigenous social system. Quite unmistakably, captive India captured her captor. For the Greeks the process of indianisation started as early as the second quarter of the second century B. C. when Demetrius, contrary to the practice of all other Hellenistic kings, introduced a bilingual coinage (in Greek, and in Indian Prākṛit speech with the Kharoshṭhī script). The series of Greek votive inscriptions in Prākṛit, which date from about the beginning of the first century B. C. and are likewise without a parallel in the Hellenistic world, signalised a considerable acceleration of the indianising tendency. What lends significance to these inscriptions is that they belong as much to the regions of the North-West which lay longest within the Greek zone as to those of the interior. With the use of the Indian language and script went the adoption of Indian religions. The object of the inscriptions is frequently to record dedications of Buddhist relics and the like by pious Greek donors. In one instance we find that the donor, Heliodorus, who was the Greek ambassador at the court of Vidiśā, recorded his erection of a Garuḍa column in honour of Vāsudeva, 'the god of gods', and devoutly styled himself a *bhāgavata*. It is also probable that he was versed in the *Mahābhārata*, for an ethical text quoted in the inscription closely corresponds to a couple of verses in the Great Epic. Some of the Indo-Greek kings appear to have figured hellenised forms of Indian divinities on their coins. At a later period a number of Yavana donors with Indian names, whose nationality however is still a disputed point, dedicated caves (or their constituent portions) in Western India for the use of Buddhist monks. When Kanishka dropped the Greek monograms on his coins towards the latter part of the first century A. D. this change signalised the loss of all trace of the Greek language and of the Greeks generally.[1]

Where the Greeks with their notorious contempt for barbarians had

[1] The unique significance of Indo-Greek bilingual coins and of votive inscrs. written in Prākṛit is explained by Tarn, *Greeks*, pp. 387, 388-90. On the other hand the account in *Miln.* of Menander's conversion to Buddhism is unconvincing (Tarn, op. cit., pp. 262-4, 267-8). The same remarks apply to the statement (D. R. Bhandarkar, *ASIAR.* 1914-15, p. 78) that a clay-sealing discovered at Besnagar refers to a Greek called Demetrius who was the *yajamāna* at a Brāhmaṇa sacrifice. For refs. to Greek votive inscrs. in Prākṛit and Kharoshṭhī, see *CII.* II (i) pp. 4, 8, 65-6, 114 etc. On Besnagar pillar inscr. in Brāhmī, see *ASIAR.* 1908-9, p. 126. For representations of Indra on coins of Eucratides and Antialcidas and of Lakshmī on those of Agathocles and Pantaleon, see J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 123, 163. Inscr. of Yavana donors at Kārle Nāsik and Junnar in Lüders, *List*, nos. 1093, 1096, 1140, 1156, 1182, On end of Greek language etc. see Tarn, op. cit.

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led the way, it was easy enough for the less sophisticated Śakas and other foreigners to follow. The Greeks had been content to adopt the Indian forms of their names. The Śakas, Ābhīras, and others, however, almost from the first took purely Indian names (in a few cases with Kshatriya terminals and in one remarkable instance with the *gotra*-name of the mother). On their coins the Śaka, Pahlava, and Kushāṇa kings adopted from the first the system of bilingual legends (in Greek and in Indian Prākṛit) brought into vogue by their Greek forerunners. Going a step further the Śaka *kshatrapas* of Gujarat and Malwa after the time of Chashṭana converted the Greek inscriptions on their coins into an ornamental border, while substituting a Sanskritised Prākṛit in Brāhmī script for the old pure Prākṛit in Kharoshṭhī letters.[1] Interesting reminiscences of the period of transition when the foreign settlers had partially adopted varieties of Aryan speech are preserved in Manu (x 45) and *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (i 22, 15-16). With the adoption of the Indian Prākṛit by the Śakas went their official use of a calendar which has been justly characterised by Konow as Indo-Macedonian. Again, the devices and symbols of divinities on the coins of Śaka and Kushāna rulers suggest that while some of them were only patrons of Indian religions, others openly accepted them as their faith. We have more definite evidence of the conversion of the foreign settlers to Indian religions in their inscriptions. For we find them frequently recording their benefactions for the Buddhist faith with formulas associating their relatives (and sometimes even the reigning king or his representative) with the pious act. The Śaka Ushavadāta distributed his charities and acts of piety among the Brāhmaṇa laity as well as the Buddhist monks according to the canonical rules.[2]

[1] For Indian forms of Greek names, cf. *CII.* II (i) pp. 6, 98 ; *ASIAR.* 1908-9, p. 126 etc. Names of Yavana donors in West Indian cave inscr. are purely Indian, but their nationality is still disputed. Examples of Śakas etc. with Indian names : (a) Vīryakamitra and Vijayamitra (*EI.* xxiv p. 7), Vijayamitra, his son Indravarman and his nephew Aśpavarman (coins); (b) Jayadāman, Rudradāman etc. of the Kshatrapa dynasty of Western India (Inscr. and coins); (c) Vudhika, son of Vishṇudata (Lüders, *List*, nos. 1148, 1149) ; (d) Vishṇudatā, the Śakanikā, daughter of the Śaka Agnivarman and mother of Viśvavarma, temp. King Māḍharīputra Iśvarasena, the Ābhīra, son of Śivadatta the Ābhīra (ibid. no. 1137). On the other hand Ushavadāta, usually taken to correspond to Skt. Ṛishabhadatta, has probably an Iranian name-ending (Lüders in *SBAW.* 1913, p. 414) or perhaps was a purely Iranian name (Konow in *IHQ.* xiv p. 139). For Kshatriya name-ending *varman* see *Pār. Gṛi. Sū.* i 17; *Baudh. Gṛ. Sū.* i 11, 9 etc. On coin-legends of the Kshatrapas of Western India, see Rapson, *BMCAWK.* p. lxxxvii f.

[2] For epithet Indo-Macedonian applied to Śaka calendar, see Konow, *CII.* II (i) p. xc. In the Kharoshṭhī records dated both according to the old Śaka era and the era of Kanishka the month-names are mostly Indian, but occasionally Macedonian, while the days are mentioned without the Indian division into *pakshas*: on the other hand, the records in the Śaka era used by the Western Kshatrapas refer not only to the year, month and date, but also to the *pakshas* (Konow, op. cit. pp. lxxviii-xc). On the devices and symbols of Indian deities on Śaka and Kushān coins, see Banerjea, op. cit p. 122 f. The evidence seems to suggest that while the Śaka and Parthian rulers divided their devotion between Greek gods and hellenized forms of Indian deities (Indra, Lakshmī and probably Buddha), Kadphises II was by faith a Śaiva,

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While the Yavanas, Śakas and other foreigners were thus being thoroughly indianised, the orthodox authors of social and religious laws were taking steps to meet them half-way. Already in the time of Patañjali, as we learn from the extract (on *Pāṇ.* ii 4, 10) above quoted, the Śakas and Yavanas who were still living outside Āryāvarta were recognised as Śūdras of the higher grade with the right to perform sacrifices and the use of the Aryan's dish. In Manu (x 44) and the *Mahābhārata* (xiii 33, 21; ibid. 35, 18) the Śakas and Yavanas are included in a list of Kshatriya peoples who had gradually sunk to the level of Śūdras. Going beyond this point the *Milindapañha* (329) refers to the Kshatriya lineage of king Milinda (Menander) and his Kshatriya antecedents. In the second and third centuries A. D. princesses belonging to the Kshatrapa ruling house of Western India were accepted in marriage by orthodox kings of the Śātavāhana and Ikshvāku dynasties.[1] The Ābhīras, according to Patañjali (on *Pāṇ.* i 2, 72), were a caste separate from the Śūdras. But in the *Mahābhārata* (xiv 29, 15-16) they are included among peoples who were originally Kshatriyas but had sunk to the level of Śūdras. Above all in the Epic (xii 65, 13-22 cited above) Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras and Pahlavas along with various aboriginal tribes are declared to be eligible for the performance of Vedic religious acts and certain minor sacrifices (*pākayajñas*).

WOMAN'S POSITION IN SOCIETY

A. General Remarks

The Smṛitis of this period repeat the anti-feminist doctrines and principles of the older law. But these are subject in practice, as before, to important exceptions. Thus the ancient doctrine of perpetual dependence of a woman (her father, husband, and son protecting her in childhood, youth, and old age respectively) is repeated and amplified by Manu (ix 2-3) and is paraphrased by Yājñavalkya (i 85-6). Emphasising this principle, they declare (*M.* iv 213; *Y* i 163) the food of a woman without male relatives (*avīrā*) to be unfit for eating. Nevertheless, as in the earlier law, marriage by mutual choice (*gāndharva*) is not only recognised but approved in a qualified degree both by Manu and Yājñavalkya. Again,

and Vāsudeva predominantly so. On the other hand Kanishka and Huvishka were eclectic in their religious inclinations which were centered mainly on Zoroastrian and Indian deities. The epithets *dhramika* etc. borne by Maues and his successors need not necessarily imply, as D. R. Bhandarkar (*IA.* 1911) p. 13; thinks, their conversion to Buddhism. For refs. to dedications of Buddhist relics etc. by Śakas in Northern India cf. *CII* II (i) nos. 28, 48, 137, 145, 150, 151, 170; in Western India, cf. Lüders, *List*, nos. 1137, 1148, 1149; in Eastern India cf. *EI.* xx p. 37. For Jaina benefactions by Iranians with Greek names see Lüders 'The Era of the Matraraja and the Maharaja Rajatiraja' in *D. R. Bhandarkar Vol.* pp. 281-9

[1] These are the queen of Vāsishṭhīputra Śātakarṇi of the Kārddamaka royal family and daughter of *mahākshatrapa* Rudradāman (Lüders, *List*, no. 994); and Rudrabhaṭṭārikā, chief queen of Vīrapurushadatta and daughter of the Śaka king of Ujjayinī (*EI.* xx p. 4)

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a girl who is without guardians or whose guardians have neglected to give her in marriage is allowed as by the older authorities to select her own husband (*M.* ix 91). According to an old dictum quoted by Manu (viii 416 and *Mbh.* v 33, 64) the wife, like the slave and the son, has no right of property. And yet according to Manu (viii 28-9) the property of wives, faithful widows, as well as barren and diseased women, is to be specially protected by the king, and its misappropriation by their relatives is to be punished like theft. Brothers are bound to give a share of their inheritance to their unmarried sister (ix, 118). Above all the mother, according to Manu (ix 217) and Yājñavalkya (ii 135), and for the first time, the widow in the latter's opinion, have the right to inherit a man's property in the absence of his sons. Women again are entitled to own and bequeath their special property or *strīdhana* (*M.* ix 194-8; *Y.* ii 146-8). Concerning religious status, the disabilities imposed upon women by the older law are repeated in our present texts. In Manu (ii 67) a woman's ineligibility for Vedic study and the worship of the sacred fire is masked by the declaration that after her marriage her service to her husband and her performance of household duties are their substitutes. Not by performance of sacrifices nor by offerings to the manes, nor by religious fasts, says the *Mahābhārata* (iii 204) more clearly, but by serving her husband, does a woman attain heaven. In particular we are told (*M.* ii 6; *Y.* i 13) that women's sacraments are to be performed without recitation of sacred texts, Yājñavalkya making an exception in favour of the marriage ceremony. A married or unmarried girl is categorically forbidden to make offerings of oblations to the sacred fires (*M.* xi 36-7; *Mbh.* xii 165, 21-2). As to general treatment of women, both Manu (iii 55-62) and Yājñavalkya (i 82) enjoin in the strongest terms that women should be honoured by their male relatives. As in the older law women have the right of precedence along the road in the same way as the king and the *snātaka* (*M.* ii 138; *Y.* i 117). Newly married and pregnant women are fed even before guests while the householder and his wife take their meals last (*M.* iii 114-16; *Y.* i 105). In the penal law of Manu and Yājñavalkya, as in the older Smṛitis, women are liable to capital punishment for a number of serious crimes such as adultery (*M.* viii 371), breaking reservoirs, killing the husband, preceptor, or child, poisoning or arson (*Y.* ii 281-2). But elsewhere (xi 177-8) Manu himself prescribes simply confinement by the husband and the compulsory performance of appropriate penances even for the very corrupt wife and for one who has repeated the offence with a man of equal caste. According to Yājñavalkya (i 70, 72-3) a woman guilty of adultery should be disgraced (till the performance of the penance, according to the commentator) and in cases of a very provocative nature, abandoned. Manu (ix 230), it may be noted, prescribes a light mode of corporal punishment for woman as for infants, the aged, the poor, and the sick. The penance for killing a wife is the same as for Brāhmaṇa-murder (*M.* xi 88), but for killing an adulterous woman it is, as before, only nominal (*M.* xi 139). While

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such is the law relating to women in general, special consideration is reserved for female relatives. The respectful treatment of paternal and maternal aunts' the elder sister and the mother is enjoined by Manu (ii 131-3). The mother, the wife ('one's own body'), the daughter ('the object of the highest tenderness') and other female relations are persons whose faults should be borne without resentment (*M.* iv 179-80; 184-5; *Y.* i 157-8). Again and again the mother, the father and the teacher are mentioned as entitled to the highest reverence, the place of honour being frequently, though not uniformly, reserved for the mother (*M.* ii 145-9, 225-37; iv 162; *Y.* i 35; *Mbh.* iii 312, 60; xiii 105, 15; xii 109, 17-8). Defaming mother or wife is punishable with an appreciable fine (*M.* viii 275) and casting them off except for loss of caste is visited with a still heavier fine (*M.* viii 389; *Y.* ii 237). The legal penalties are supplemented by religious and social punishments. Casting off the mother is included among the sins of the second degree (*M.* xi 60) and it excludes the offender from *śrāddhas* (*M.* iii 157).

We may supplement this evidence relating to a woman's general status from other data. The honourable treatment of women enjoined by Manu is inculcated almost in the same terms in the *Mahābhārata* (xiii 46, 2-12). With this is combined in the same context the familiar doctrine of the perpetual tutelage of women and of the wife's sole duty of serving her husband. The epics repeat (*Rām.* ii 78, 21; *Mbh.* i 155, 2; 158, 31; 217, 4; 219, 7; ii 41, 13) the ancient chivalrous doctrine (not accepted in the Smṛiti law), to the effect that women are immune from capital punishment. An adulterous wife, says the *Mahābhārata* (xii 159, 58) is to be confined, to be reduced to scanty food and clothing, and made to perform penances. The mother, as in the Smṛiti law, is the object of the highest veneration: she is equivalent to ten fathers and is more venerable than the earth (*Mbh.* i 196, 16; iii 312, 60; xiii 105, 15). The daughter, however, is a source of woe (ibid. i 159, 11-2; v 96, 15-7). In fine, the stories of Draupadī, Damayantī, Sāvitrī and others in the *Mahābhārata* and of Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa* have preserved for us pictures of heroic women who are inspired by a high ideal of duty and often by supreme wisdom and goodness. It remains to mention that in the historical records of this period we often find not only queens and princesses but also women in ordinary life making donations of various kinds evidently out of their own property for pious purposes.[1] Nāganikā and Balaśrī were two queens of the Śātavāhana line who ruled as regents on behalf of their minor sons.

B. The Status of the Wife

Regarding the position of the wife in the Smṛiti law of this period, some facts have already been mentioned, but the subject requires a

[1] The votive inscrs. commemorate donations not only by Buddhist and Jaina female lay-worshippers but also by a housewife and the wives of a

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fuller treatment. Referring to older texts Manu (ix 45) lays down the doctrine of the complete identity of husband and wife, and deduces therefrom (ix 46) the corollary of the indissoluble union of both. Accordingly, to forsake the wife except when she has fallen from caste is held to be a penal offence (*M.* viii 389; *Y.* ii 237). A faithful wife, says Manu (ix 95), is the gift of the gods, and must be constantly cherished by the husband who seeks to please them. According to Yājñavalkya (i 76) a man forsaking his gentle and devoted wife who has given him sons must surrender one-third of his property to her, and if he is without property, he must maintain her. A diseased or a vicious wife or one who bears no son (the last being held to be indispensable for repaying a man's debt to his father) may be abandoned or superseded; but a superseded wife must be maintained (*M.* ix 80-2; *Y.* i 72-4).

As in the older law, the husband has powers of correction over his wife for a number of faults: these extend to beating strictly regulated by law, non-association and depriving her of ornaments, confinement, and imposition of penance (*M.* viii 299-300; ix 77-8; xi 177-8), or a temporary disgrace and loss of authority (*Y.* i 70). According to a dictum of Manu (v 152) the wife by virtue of betrothal by her guardian becomes subject to the dominion of her husband, But the sale of the wife is held to be a sin of the second degree, and the gift of the wife is altogether forbidden (*M.* x 162; *Y.* ii 125). The husband's strict duty alike for his own sake and his family's is to guard his wife (*M.* ix 6-7; *Y.* i 81), though it is recognised (*M.* ix 12) that only those women who keep guard over themselves are well guarded. In particular a wife drinking spirituous liquor at festivals, or goes to shows or assemblies though forbidden, is liable to a fine (*M.* ix 84). As a means of guarding the wife the husband should employ her on household duties (*M.* ix 11). The wife shares in her husband's religious acts, this privilege being reserved for the wife of equal caste where there are others (*M.* ix 86, 87; *Y.* i 88). The wife, however, is forbidden (no doubt in accordance with the ancient doctrine of a woman's perpetual dependence) to perform sacrifices, fasts or vows independently of her husband (*M.* v. 155). The law of husband and wife, according to Manu (ix 101-2), consists in mutual fidelity till death. In the Brahmanical sacred works of this period, however, the duty of absolute obedience and devotion to the husband is strictly enjoined, as never before, upon the wife. The husband is the wife's supreme deity: by serving him she wins heaven, though she may not honour the gods; unlike her other relations and friends, the husband is the wife's sole refuge in this and the next world; unlike her male relatives, the husband gives her immeasurable happiness (*Rām.* ii 24, 20; 26-7; 27,6; 39, 30; 117, 24; *Mbh.* xiii 146, 34 *f*; xii 144, 6-7; v 151; 153-4; *Y.* i 77). Hyperbolical descriptions of the spiritual powers of the faithful wife (*pativratā*) occur not only in the *Mahābhārata* (iii 63, 32-9; ix 63, 62 etc.), but also in

cloth-dyer, a merchant, a caravan-leader and the like (refs. in Lüders. *List*, Index of Misc. terms *s. v.*)

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Tamil works like the *Kuṛal* and the *Śilappadikāram*. When the husband is gone abroad, his wife is required to live a life of studied restraint (*M.* ix 75 ; *Y.* i 84 ; *Mbh.* xiii 123, 17). The stories of Sītā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, of Gāndhārī, Draupadī, Sāvitrī, and Damayantī in the *Mahābhārata*, of Kaṇṇagi in the *Śilappadikāram* enshrine imperishable examples of a wife's deathless devotion to her husband.

We now pass on to the description of the life of the wife of a city-bred man of fashion by Vātsyāyana (*Kāmasūtra* iv 1, 1-55 ; 2, 1-38). This may rightly be regarded as a commentary, drawn no doubt from life, on the Smṛiti code of a wife's duties. The picture exhibits those qualities of devotion and self-restraint combined with sound household management which have remained the possession of Hindu wives to the present day. Where a woman is the sole wife, says the author, she is to devote herself to her husband as to a deity. She is personally to minister to his comforts when he eats his meals or enters the house. She shares in her husband's vows and fasts, brooking no refusal. She attends festivities, social gatherings, sacrifices, and religious processions, with his permission. That the husband may find no fault with her she avoids the company of disreputable women, she shows him no signs of displeasure, and she does not loiter about on the door-step or in solitary places for a long time. She remonstrates with her husband in secret against his improvident or improper expenditure. She serves her father-in-law and mother-in-law and honours their commands. She receives her husband's friends according to their deserts. When the husband goes abroad, she leads a life of self-denial and self-restraint. Besides attending to her husband and his relations and friends, she has complete charge of the household. She engages servants in their work and rewards them on festive occasions. She keeps the house absolutely clean. She looks after the worship of the gods at the household shrine, and makes the religious offering of food thrice a day. In the garden attached to the house she plants various vegetables, herbs, and trees. She frames an annual budget of the family income and regulates her expenses accordingly. She keeps the daily accounts and makes up the total at the end of the day. During her husband's absence she exerts herself so that his affairs may not suffer, and she increases the income and diminishes the expenditure to the best of her power. Where the woman has a co-wife, she looks upon the latter as a younger sister or as a mother according as she is younger or older.

C. The Widow's Status

The status of the widow in the Smṛiti law of this period is a reflex of its strong emphasis upon the wife's supreme duty of serving her husband. It is true that Manu (ix 175, 184) and Yājñavalkya (ii 130, 132) recognise, as of old, the son of the remarried woman among those who are entitled to inherit the father's property in the absence of more respectable

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classes of sons. Again Manu (ix 176), following the older precedent, permits a virgin widow to perform a fresh sacrament of marriage. Nevertheless we are expressly told (*M.* v 162 ; ix 65) that remarriage of widows is not in accordance with the prescribed rule. The widow is recommended instead (*M.* v 156-61 ; *Y.* i 75) to live a life of strict chastity. On the other hand the Smṛiti law is as yet completely silent about the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands. Yājñavalkya (ii 135-6), moreover, introduces us for the first time to a very important right of the widow, viz. that of inheriting the husband's property in the absence of sons. When we turn to the other literary works of this period, we find that the dreadful rite of *satī* is already supported by a Mahābhārata text (i 74, 46). It is referred to, Hopkins[1] thinks, in a number of other passages (*Rām.* v 26, 24-5 ; vi 15, 27; *Mbh.* xvi 5, 4 ; xii 148, 9). We have again a few examples (*Mbh.* i 95, 65 ; xvi 7, 18) of Kshatriya queens and even one example (*Rām.* vii 17, 14) of a Brāhmaṇī voluntarily submitting to this rite. But the evidence shows, as has been rightly argued,[2] that the practice as yet was rare and confined to royal families. On the whole the widow's lot in this as in the earlier and later periods was hard; her helplessness and misery are vividly brought out in the *Mahābhārata* (i 158, 12; xii 148, 2). Not without reason does the widow head a list of persons who are despised and contemned in this world. (*Milindapañha* 288).

In the far South, as far as the scanty evidence enables us to judge, the widow's lot was essentially similar. From the works of the Śaṅgam Age we learn that ordinarily widows were expected to lead a life of self-denial and that the custom of *satī* was already known and extolled as a high ideal.[3]

D. The Status of the Demi-monde

It remains to notice the social status of some classes of women not included in the above categories. Female ascetics of the Brahmanical order, and Buddhist and Jaina nuns were evidently numerous in these times. We have already discussed their status in the light of contemporary records. On the other hand, the class of female temple-attendants (*devadāsī*), so very common in the following centuries, are as yet of minor importance : only one record[4] refers to a *devadāsī* during this period. Harlots are condemned in strong terms by Manu (ix 259-62). Even the accomplished courtesan (*gaṇikā*), who held a recognised position in city life during early Buddhist times, is included (*M.* iv 209, 219 and *Y.* i 161) among those whose food is unfit to be eaten. But the realistic account in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* shows that the *gaṇikā* still occupied an honoured place in society. A fallen woman of good looks and proper

[1] *JAOS.* xiii p. 173 *n.*
[2] Hopkins, loc. cit; Kane, *Hist. of Dharma.* ii (i) pp. 626-7
[3] K. A. N. Sastri. *The Colas*, i pp. 112-13
[4] Lüders, *List*, no. 921

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conduct who has mastered the arts (*kalā*), says that author (i 3, 20-1), acquires the title of a *gaṇikā*; as such she is honoured by kings, praised by the discerning, sought after by pupils, and accepted by pleasure-seekers. A Mathurā inscription[1] has preserved the memory of a pious Jaina *gaṇikā*. The vivid description of the life of the courtesan in theTamil works of the Śaṅgam Age amplifies the much shorter notice in Vātsyāyana's work.[2]

E. Seclusion of Women

The custom of the seclusion of royal women was well established during this period. Queens and princesses, we are told in picturesque language, could not see the sun or creatures flying in the sky, and could not be touched by the wind: for them to be seen in public was their greatest misfortune (*Rām.* ii 33, 8; *Mbh.* ii 69, 6; ix 71 etc.). That queens attended sittings of the royal court only when concealed from the public gaze is shown by an incidental reference in the Jaina *Kalpasūtra*. Here we read (iv 62-3) that when the Kshatriya Siddhārtha summoned his ministers and courtiers for the interpretation of the queen's dream, he took his seat on a throne in the hall of audience, but the queen was seated behind a curtain. From a passage in *Lalitavistara* (157) we learn that it was customary for a newly married girl to wear a veil in the presence of her father-in-law, mother-in-law and other elders.

MARRIAGE RULES AND PRACTICES:

A. In the Smṛitis

The Smṛiti rules of this period relating to marriage appear to have been in the same fluid state as before. Following the older authorities Manu (iii 13) and Yājñavalkya (i 57) permit the marriage of a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya, and a Vaiśya with four, three and two wives respectively in the proper (*anuloma*) order; but marriage of the three upper classes, and especially of the Brāhmaṇas, with Śūdra girls is condemned in the strongest terms (*M.* iii 14-19; *Y.* i 56). Nevertheless, both Manu (iii 43-4) and Yājñavalkya (i 62) lay down what rites are to be performed by a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra girl when marrying a Brāhmaṇa. Again, the respective shares of a Brāhmaṇa's property obtain-

[1] Lüders, *List*, no 102

[2] Seven years training received by a courtesan girl from her fifth year under expert dancing-masters, music-teachers (skilled in playing tabor, flute and lute respectively) and a composer of songs; her performance after the training before the king and his whole court, and her receipt of the king's prize of 1008 gold coins: (*Śilapp.* tr. pp. 97-104. Mansions of courtesans in Madura: ibid. p. 205. Training of courtesans in royal dances, popular dances, singing, lute-playing, flute-playing etc.: *Maṇi.* ii, quoted, K. A. N. Sastri, *The Colas*, I. p. 93

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able by his sons born of wives of the four castes are defined by Manu (ix 149-54) and Yājñavalkya (ii 128), although Manu in the same context (ix 155, 160) disqualifies the son of a Brāhmaṇa, a Kshatriya, and a Vaiśya by a Śūdra wife for any share of the inheritance. It would seem, therefore, that marriages of Brāhmaṇas, not to speak of Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, with Śūdra girls, though denounced by the Smṛitis, continued to be performed. The rules relating to prohibited degrees of marriage follow the older lines. Manu (iii 5) excludes those who are blood-relations (*sapiṇḍa*) on the mother's side and of the same *gotra* on the father's. Yājñavalkya (i 53) narrows down the restriction to *sapiṇḍa* relations up to the seventh degree on the father's side and the fifth degree on that of the mother. In connection with a custom noted as peculiar to the South by such an early authority as Baudhāyana (*Dharmasūtra* i 1, 2-3), it is worth remarking that Manu (xi 172-3) denounces marriage with the daughter of a paternal or maternal aunt or with the daughter of a maternal uncle. The eight forms of marriage known to the older Smṛitis, are repeated by Manu (iii 27-34) and Yājñavalkya (i 58-61). The list consists of *brāhma*, *ārsha*, *prājāpatya* and *daiva* (each involving the gift of a maiden by her father or other guardian), *gāndharva* (marriage by mutual choice), *āsura* (marriage by purchase), *rākshasa* (marriage by capture) and *paiśācha* (marriage by stealth). The views of Manu and Yājñavalkya as to the admissibility of these various forms are as flexible as those of the older authorities. Manu (iii 36-42) and Yājñavalkya (i 39-41) agree in praising the first four forms and condemning the last four. In the same context, however, Manu mentions (iii 23-6) other views declaring *prājāpatya*, *gāndharva* and *rākshasa* to be lawful, and *paiśācha* and *āsura* alone to be unlawful, and he also recommends different forms for different castes.[1] With regard to marriage by purchase in particular, Manu (iii 51-3) and the *Mahābhārata* (xiii 45, 18-19) repeat the old law which forbids the father to accept a fee, however small, for his daughter, and condemns even *ārsha* marriage as involving such acceptance. We may suppose that, notwithstanding the disapproval of the lawgivers, marriages by mutual choice, by purchase, by capture, and even by stealth, were performed, as before, by the different castes.

It will appear from the above that the gift of a girl (*kanyā-dāna*) by her parent or other guardian is the form of marriage generally approved in the Smṛitis. In fact, it is the right and the duty of the father (or of other guardians in a fixed order of succession) to bestow the girl in marriage (*M.* ix 88; *Y.* i 63). As to the age of marriage, a young man of the first three classes could marry under the Smṛiti law only after the completion of his studies (i. e. at least after twelve years from his investiture with the sacred thread). If he chose, he might remain a perpetual student

[1] Approved forms of marriage for different castes, acc. to Manu loc. cit., are as follows: (a) First four forms as well as *āsura* and *gāndharva* for Brāhmaṇas; (b) *āsura*, *gāndharva*, *rākshasa* and *paiśācha*, or else *gāndharva*, *rākshasa* or a mixture of both, or finally *rākshasa* alone for Kshatriyas; (c) *āsura*, *gāndharva* and *paiśācha*, or else *āsura* alone for Vaiśyas and Sūdras.

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in residence with his teacher. The girl, on the other hand, in accordance with the strong Smṛiti tradition, was to be married at an early age. As Manu says (ix 88), a girl should be given in marriage even before attaining the proper age, if a very desirable bridegroom of equal caste is available. Going much further than this, Yājñavalkya, like some of his predecessors, says (i 64) that the guardian incurs the guilt of periodically killing an embryo as long as the girl remains unmarried. In the result the relative ages of bridegroom and bride as approved by Manu (ix 94) are remarkably disproportionate, being thirty years to twelve or twenty-four years to eight.

When the guardian fails to give a girl in marriage or she is without a guardian, she is entitled as in the old Smṛiti law to select a suitable husband (*M.* ix 90-1 ; *Y.* i 64 ; *Mbh.* xiii 44, 16). Manu and the *Mahābhārata* repeat the clause of Vasishṭha (xvii 67-8) and Baudhāyana (iv 1, 14) that she should wait for three years after attaining puberty. This rule, like the one relating to *gāndharva* marriages already mentioned, proves that late marriages of girls were still approved by the Smṛiti authorities in special circumstances, notwithstanding their strong advocacy of early marriages.

On the subject of the remarriage of women, as of marriage itself, the Smṛiti rules are still in a fluid state. The remarriage of widows, as we have seen, is expressly declared by Manu (v 162, ix 65) to be unauthorised by the sacred law. He (viii 226) emphatically declares that only marriage with a virgin is contemplated by the nuptial texts, a non-virgin being excluded from religious ceremonies. Manu (ix 47) and Yājñavalkya (i 65) also declare that a maiden is given once only in marriage. Nevertheless, both (*M.* ix 158 f. ; *Y.* ii 130 f.) recognise, as of old, the title of the son of a remarried woman (*paunarbhava*) to inherit his father's property in the absence of respectable classes of sons. The definition of the *paunarbhava* in Manu (ix 175) shows that his mother might be a woman abandoned by her first husband or a widow contracting a second marriage at her free will. Yājñavalkya's definition (ii 130) proves that she might or might not have been a virgin at the time of the second marriage. What is more, a virgin widow and a woman returning to her first husband after living with another man, are entitled to perform a fresh sacrament of marriage (*M.* ix 176). From Yājñavalkya's definition of *punarbhū* (i 67) it appears that whether she was a virgin or not, the sacrament of marriage was again performed on her. A woman whose husband has gone abroad, says Manu (ix 76), is to wait for three, six, or eight years according to the object of his journey. In the parallel texts of Kauṭilya and Nārada she is expressly allowed thereafter to select another husband.

B. In Other Sources

Let us now turn to other evidence touching the rules and practices of marriage in vogue during this period. The Smṛiti rules above-mentioned

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relating to inter-caste marriages, prohibited degrees of marriage, the eight forms of marriage, the guardian's duty of giving away the girl, and the girl's right of self-choice in its default, are repeated in the *Mahābhārata* (i 73, 12 f. ; 102, 12 f. ; xiii 44-7), and it is unnecessary to quote them here. It may, however, be noticed that the Epic (xiii 44, 14), slightly varying Manu's rule on this point, gives the relative ages of bride-groom and bride as thirty years to ten or twenty-one to seven. The evil of disproportionate ages of marriage is brought vividly before our eyes in the twice-repeated simile (ibid. ii 64, 14 ; iii 5, 15) of a young girl disliking her sixty-year old husband. Again, the injunction making marriage compulsory for girls is set forth in the Epic (ix 52) in the story of an ascetic's daughter. When after devoting her whole life to ascetic practices, she sought salvation in death, she was told by a sage that she could not be saved since she had not been sanctified by the marriage sacrament. In the epics, marriages in Kshatriya families are performed by purchase, capture, or self-choice, followed in each case by the performance of the appropriate religious ceremony. At the ceremony of self-choice, the bride sometimes selected the victor at a great tournament, having (as the story of Draupadī's marriage shows) the right to refuse a low-born man. Similarly in *Lalitavistara* (136-57) the Bodhisattva as the son of king Śuddhodana wins his bride by exhibiting his superior skill in all arts in competition with other Śākya youths at a great tournament.[1] We have more faithful pictures of contemporary marriage practices in other works of this perod. A simile in the *Milindapañha* (47-8) introduces us to the hypothetical case of a man selecting his bride of a tender age by paying the fee, and of another man taking her away in marriage after she is grown up on payment of the same fee, thus giving rise to a dispute triable by the king. It follows that marriage by purchase of girls both before and after puberty was known at this

[1] Examples of Kshatriya marriages by capture etc. in the epics are as follows:— (a) Daughters of the king of Kāśī carried off by Bhīshma for marriage with his stepbrother : *Mbh.* i 102; (b) Subhadrā carried off by Arjuna in accordance with the precept of Kṛishṇa that in the case of Kshatriyas when the chances of self-choice are uncertain, carrying off by force is also commended: ibid. i 219-21; (c) Mādrī purchased from her father for marriage with Pāṇḍu in acc. with family custom of the Madra ruling house: ibid. i 113 ; (d) self-choice of Draupadī, Damayantī Sāvitrī: ibid. i 185 ; iii 57, 292-4 ; and of Sītā : *Rām.* i 66-73. *Mbh.* i 102, 12 condemns a father's disposal of daughter for a fee, but elsewhere (i 113, 9 ; 193, 23 etc.) this is mentioned as a recognised custom. That the re-marriage of Kshatriya princesses was not thought to be impossible is shown by the trick of Damayantī in announcing her second *svayaṁvara* to find out the whereabouts of her absent husband : ibid. iii 70, 24-6. On the whole subject see Hopkins, *JAOS.* xiii pp. 167-9, 356-8. In the *Lalitavistara* story when Śuddhodana sent a proposal for marriage between the Bodhisattva and Gopā to her father Daṇḍapāṇi, the latter at first withheld his assent, for his family custom required the prospective bridegroom to be an expert in the arts, and the Bodhisattva had not yet shown his skill. Then a great tournament was held at which Gopā was announced to be the victor's prize. It was only when the Bodhisattva had exhibited his superiority to other Śākya youths in all arts that Daṇḍapāṇi gave the girl to him.

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time. In the stories of the *Avadānaśataka* reference is made to procuring a bride from an equal family by a *śreshṭhī* (1, 36), a Brāhmaṇa (19), a Śākya noble (14), a *gṛihapati* (67), and a caravan-leader (60, 83). And yet we are told how the grown-up daughter of a *śreshṭhī* was sought after in marriage by princes as well as sons of ministers and of *śreshṭhīs* (2, 37), while a Śākya noble's daughter was desired in marriage only by princes and minister's sons (16), and a princess by neighbouring kings alone (32). This proves that, as in the Smṛiti law, while marriages within equal castes were usual, those of men of higher castes with women of lower ones were also known.[1] The *Avadānaśataka*, moreover, contains valuable evidence of the independence which girls of the upper classes still possessed in the matter of wedlock. The stories frequently tell us how, when the girls were grown-up and sought after by young men of different ranks, their fathers were plunged in anxiety for fear of displeasing the disappointed suitors. To relieve them of this anxiety, the girls arranged a self-choice ceremony (*svayaṁvara*) at which they dramatically announced their resolve to become nuns (2, 32), or else they entered the Buddhist Order outright with the parent's permission (16), or finally made it a condition with the bridegroom to embrace the monastic life jointly at the proper time (37). In one story (45 f.) we read how two kings engaged to marry their son and daughter born on the same days as a means of ending their hostilities, how when the two were grown-up and the prince sent presents to his future wife she told her father of her resolve to enter the Buddhist Order, how when the king did not heed her request and the bridegroom arrived for the marriage, she obtained the pardon of all assembled on the occasion by exhibiting miraculous powers and thereafter became a Buddhist nun. It remains to mention that in the stories above-named, while the princess was able to arrange at once for her *svayaṁvara*, this became possible for the *śreshṭhī*'s daughter only when her father had obtained the permission of the king. *Svayaṁvara* evidently, as in the *Mahābhārata* story of Draupadī's marriage, was held to be the peculiar privilege of Kshatriya girls.

The most complete account of marriage rules and practices prevailing in contemporary society is preserved in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. Firstly, as regards inter-caste marriages the author tells us (iii 1, 1) that both the secular and spiritual objects of marriage are best secured by union with a virgin of equal caste performed according to canonical rites. Elsewhere (i 5, 1) he observes that the contrary practice of making love to women of higher castes or to other men's wives is forbidden. Making love, the author continues, to women of a caste lower than one's own but still sufficiently pure not to have their dishes cast away after meals, as well as with harlots and *punarbhūs* is neither approved nor condemned,

[1] So also in *Divy.* the bride is said to be procured from an equal family by a Brāhmaṇa (p. 483) and by *gṛihapatis* (pp. 1, 24, 87, 167, 262). Again in *Divy.* (pp. 167-8), a *gṛihapati*'s exceptionally handsome daughter is sought for in marriage by princes as well as sons of ministers, *gṛihapatis*, *śreshṭhis* and caravan-leaders.

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as its object is simply pleasure. Love may even be offered without violation of *dharma* to a woman of higher caste who is a notorious wanton. It will be observed that while marriages within the castes are held alone to be lawful and desirable, and *pratiloma* marriages are condemned outright, even *anuloma* marriages are tolerated but not approved. In contrast with this increased rigidity of caste restrictions in the matter of marriage is the author's avowed sanction of irregular unions with loose women even of higher castes.

In Vātsyāyana, as in the Smṛiti law, marriage is arranged as a rule by the parents or other guardians of the parties. To Vātsyāyana, however, we owe the first detailed and evidently realistic account (iii 1, 4-21) of the way in which the marriage arrangements were made on both sides. For the selection (*varaṇa*) of the bride, the parents and other kinsmen of the bridegroom are to bestir themselves. 'Those charged with *varaṇa* should exaggerate the defects, present and prospective, of other suitors, and should expatiate on the qualifications of their candidate (*nāyaka*) both personal and hereditary. Besides, they should enlarge upon such advantages possessed by him at the time or likely to accrue to him later, as would commend themselves to the girl's mother.' The parents and other relatives of the girl are advised to dress her smartly at the time of giving her away and to allow her to be shown to advantage on festive and similar occasions. 'When the men come to propose marriage, the parents of the girl should receive them hospitably and on some pretext or other show the girl in all her ornaments. They should come to no decision as to giving away the girl before they have consulted the oracles.' 'The *varaṇa* is to fructify in one of the four approved forms of marriage, viz. *brāhma*, *prājāpatya*, *ārsha* and *daiva* or according to the forms in vogue in one's own country.'

When a young man is unable for several reasons to prefer his suit in the ways above mentioned, continues Vātsyāyana (iii 3, 1-44), he should himself woo the girl on whom his heart has been set from childhood. In the Southern Country (Dakshiṇāpatha) a young man separated from his mother in childhood and living in the family of his maternal uncle may try to win the daughter of that uncle, a clear reference to an ancient South Indian custom. Or else he may pay his court to another girl from her childhood, since courting a girl from childhood in righteous ways is praiseworthy. He should begin his advances by collecting flowers, making garlands and joining in suitable sports. He should, besides, propitiate her with presents. He should seek the good offices of her trusted friends (and specially the daughter of her nurse), for these are very likely to promote his suit. When the outward signs of love appear in her, he should try to win her over gradually and completely by various tricks and devices. In fine we are told that the mere child should be wooed by sharing in her games, the young girl by exhibiting knowledge of the arts (*kalā*), and an older woman through her trusted friends.

Like the young man forced to press his suit in person, a girl may be com-

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pelled by circumstances to pay court to a prospective husband (iii 4, 36-59). When a girl though possessing excellent qualities is born in a humble family, or though well-born is poor and so is not sought after by equals, or when she has lost her parents and is dependent on her kinsmen, she may try to arrange for her own marriage. This is evidently reminiscent of the Smṛiti rule mentioned above. But the detailed account which follows is peculiar to Vātsyāyana. A girl so situated, says the author, may fix her attention on a young man of ability, good qualities, and handsome appearance, whose affection she has shared from childhood. Or again, when she finds a young man so much smitten with love for her as to be ready to marry her even against his parents' wishes, she may try to win him over by acts of service and frequent meetings with him. But she should never, though smitten with love, make the first overtures, for thereby she would ruin her fortune (*saubhāgyam jahāti*).

As Vātsyāyana gives us the first known accounts of courtship as a preliminary to marriage, so also we owe to him (iii 5, 1-30) some concrete descriptions of different forms of marriage which are mentioned with or without approval in the Smṛitis. In the *gāndharva* marriage, the lovers are to meet by appointment at a secret time and place. Then 'the sacred fire should be brought from the house of a Śrotriya, *kuśa* grass should be spread before it upon the earth, oblations offered to the fire in accordance with the prescriptions of the sacred law, and then they should go round the fire; and after this is completed, the parents should be informed.' For a marriage performed before the fire, as the preceptors concur, can never be annulled. After the marriage is consummated, the relatives should be informed by and by, and they should be persuaded to give away the girl formally to her lover for fear of social obloquy and punishment by the king. The two other forms of marriage corresponding to *paiśācha* and *rākshasa* as being unrighteous, do not require to be confirmed by religious rites. In these cases after the girl has been raped when asleep or when unconscious under the influence of an intoxicating drug (*paiśācha* marriage), or else when she has been abducted after the slaughter or intimidation of her guards (*rākshasa* marriage), her relations are informed and induced to consent to the formal marriage. Vātsyāyana ends by declaring that the *gāndharva* is the most respected of the forms of marriage, since it is attended with happiness, unaccompanied with troubles and negotiations, and is the firuit of mutual preference.

Vātsyāyana's rules as to the age of marriage agree in part with those of the Smṛitis. According to him a man should observe celibacy till the completion of his education (i 2, 6), and one who has finished his education should enter upon the life of a householder (i 4, 1). With regard to the age of the girl, Vātsyāyana, while describing the ceremony of selection of the bride, says that a girl who has just reached puberty should be rejected (iii 1, 12). Nevertheless his rules of marriage and courtship given above are sufficiently comprehensive to apply to girls before and even long after puberty. This confirms the conclusion, hinted at in the Smṛitis, that

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both early and late marriages of girls were known and practised during this period. It remains to add that Vātsyāyana (iii 1, 2) recommends the bridegroom to marry a girl younger than himself by three years or more.

The description (iv 2, 39 f.) of the remarried woman (*punarbhū*) in Vātsyāyana's work gives us a fuller picture of this type than the meagre references in the Smṛitis. The *punarbhū*, we are told, is a widow who being unable to control her passions unites herself for the second time with a man of good qualities and addicted to pleasure. The *punarbhū*'s whole course of conduct is quite unlike that of the married wife who has, as we have seen, to live a life of restraint and seclusion, to manage her household economically, to share in her husband's religious acts, and to be indissolubly bound with him. 'When the *punarbhū* seeks her lover's house, she assumes the rôle of a mistress, patronises his wives, is generous to his servants and treats his friends with familiarity; she chides the lover herself if he gives any cause for quarrel. She shows greater knowledge of the arts than his wedded wives, and seeks to please the lover with the sixty-four *kāmakalās*. She takes part in sports and festivities, drinking parties, garden picnics and other games and amusements. She might leave her lover, but if she did so of her own accord she had to restore to him all presents given by him; if she is driven out, she does not give back anything.'[1]

NIYOGA

On the subject of *niyoga* (the appointment of a sonless widow by her guardians to have one or at most two sons by her brother-in-law or other near relative), the Smṛiti law of this period reflects the contradictions of the older authorities. Directions for *niyoga* are given under the usual stringent restrictions by Manu (ix 59-63) and Yājñavalkya (i 68-9). Again, the son born according to the custom of *niyoga* is allowed (*M.* ix 167, 184; *Y.* i 68-9; ii 128, 131) to inherit, as before, his father's property in the absence of better classes of sons. Nevertheless we find Manu in the above context (ix 57-8; 64-8) condemning *niyoga* itself in the strongest terms. Evidently Manu, while condoning *niyoga* as a practice approved by some earlier authorities, was himself opposed to it. The Great Epic while narrating the stories of the birth of Dhṛitarāshṭra and his brother (i 103-15) and of the five Pāṇḍava heroes (ibid. 120-4) refers to or quotes the Smṛiti rule of *niyoga* above mentioned. But the practice actually recommended and in part followed in the stories illustrates an altogether different custom, viz. that of appointing a Brāhmaṇa to raise sons on sonless Kshatriya widows. As Winternitz has well remarked,[2] the Smṛiti rule has its parallel in the widespread custom of levirate, while the Mahābhārata rule, like similar rights claimed by priests, chiefs, or landlords, had its origin in the law of might.

[1] In the above paragraphs the quotations are from H. C. Chakladar, *Social Life*, pp. 128, 131, 138, 182

[2] *JRAS.* 1897, pp. 731-2

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TOWN LIFE

The rise of rich and flourishing cities goes back in India to a time long anterior to the Christian era, and called into being a new social type called the *nāgaraka* (the city-bred man of fashion) as early as Pāṇini's time (iv 2, 128). In Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (i 4, 1 f.) the *nāgaraka's* way of life is described for the first time with considerable fulness and held up as a model for others to follow. The picture is one of indulgence in a refined epicureanism by an accomplished young man with ample wealth and leisure. When a man has finished his education, says the author, and entered the life of a householder, he has to betake himself to a large or small town or the abode of many good men and adopt the life of a *nāgaraka*. He first builds a house and furnishes it with elegance and taste. The house consists of two parts, an outer section reserved for his amorous enjoyment, and an inner meant for the residence of his wife. The garden round the house has a swing shaded by trees and raised seats strewn with flowers. The outer house is fitted with a pair of couches provided with soft pillows and white sheets. At the head of the couch is a stand for a divine image and a raised seat containing the requisites of the *nāgaraka's* morning toilette (unguents, garlands, small pots of beeswax and scents, the peel of citron, and betel-leaves). On a bracket on the wall are deposited his lute, picture-board, and box of paint-brushes, besides a book and a garland of the yellow amaranth. On the floor, not far from his couch, is spread a carpet with pillows and boards for chess and dice. Outside the room are the cages of his sporting birds and in a secluded place is found the spot where he recreates himself with the lathe, the chisel and so forth.

The daily life of the *nāgaraka* is described as follows: Rising in the morning and attending to his physical needs, he arranges his toilette. He uses unguents moderately, perfumes his clothes with the smoke of burnt incense, and wears a garland. He applies collyrium to his eyelids and lac-dye to his lips. He finishes with a glance in the mirror, and then chews perfumed betel-leaves. After despatching his business, he takes his daily bath, having his limbs massaged every second day, and cleansed with soap-lather every third day. He shaves his face every fourth day. He takes two meals a day, one in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon (or according to an old authority, in the evening). After his midday meal he amuses himself in various ways such as listening to the talk of parrots, watching the fights of quails, cocks and rams, engaging in exhibitions of artistic skill, and conversing with his companions, or else he enjoys a siesta. In the afternoon he goes out fully dressed to attend social gatherings (*goshṭhī*), and in the evening he enjoys music. Then while his room is being cleaned and charged with the smell of sweet incense, he awaits the arrival of his mistresses. In the alternative he sends female messengers to bring them, or goes out himself to seek them.

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Besides his daily round of pleasures, the *nāgaraka* has his periodical entertainments. Such are the *samāja* and the *ghaṭa* (assemblies connected with worship of deities), the *goshṭhī* (social gathering), the *āpānaka* (drinking party), the *udyānayātrā* (garden party) and the *samasyā-krīḍā* (public games). The *samāja* takes place on an appointed day every fortnight or every month when the actors and others employed by the *nāgaraka* gather together for performances at a temple of the goddess Sarasvatī, the presiding deity of learning and the arts. On such occasions other actors coming from outside also exhibit their skill and receive their rewards. On special occasions actors of both classes co-operate with one another and the *gaṇa* (guild or club) to which the *nāgaraka* belongs entertains the guests. The *ghaṭas* of different kinds were held in a similar fashion in honour of various deities according to the local custom. The *goshṭhī* takes place when the *nāgaraka* and his associates of the same age, wealth, learning, and character, meet together for pleasant talk at the house of a courtezan, or in a public hall, or at the residence of one of their number. There they engage in the discussion of poetical compositions, and talk about the arts; they conclude by presenting one another with fine dresses. At the *goshṭhī*, says the author, one should not speak too much in Sanskrit or in the vernacular. One should, he continues, avoid *goshṭhīs* which are hated by the people, or are harmful to them, or are given over to license. *Goshṭhīs* which are meant only to amuse and divert the people should be patronised. The *nāgarakas* also met at one another's houses to hold drinking parties where the courtezans would give them liquor of various kinds which they themselves afterwards drank. Similar scenes took place at the garden parties and in bathing parties during summer. On these occasions the *nāgarakas* wore rich ornaments and went out in the forenoon mounted on horses in the company of courtezans and attendants, and having spent the day in various diversions, returned home in the evening bringing with them some token of the entertainment. Lastly, the *nāgarakas* joined with the common folk in the various festivals celebrated in different parts of the country and on such occasions they attempted to attract the greatest notice.

A characteristic feature of town life during this period were *goshṭhīs* of fashionable citizens organised not only for intellectual diversion but also for more objectionable purposes. A story in the *Avadānaśataka* (ii 52 f.) narrates how members of the *goshṭhī* in the town of Śrāvastī assembling on a festive day made an agreement to bring their wives with them to a meeting in a garden, non-attendance involving the penalty of a heavy fine. In this case, it will be noticed, the *goshṭhī* partakes of the nature of a garden party, and it is attended not only by the members but also by their wives, and the attendance is enforced by a voluntary fine for default.

Another aspect of the *goshṭhīs* of this period is exhibited by the historical inscriptions. Among the names inscribed on the three relic caskets of the Bhaṭṭiprolu *stūpa* (*c.* 150 B.C.) are those of a *goshṭhī* with its members, the monk (*śramaṇa*) of a *goshṭhī*, and the *goshṭhī* of a certain Arahadina. Referring these *goshṭhīs* to the neighbouring town, we find that unlike the

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goshṭhīs described above, they were purely sectarian associations and that one of them apparently had a monk permanently in its employ. We find also that while one *goshṭhī* was sufficiently aristocratic to be known by the name of its leader, another chose to be remembered by the list of its members. So also among the names of donors commemorated by inscriptions of the *stūpas* at Sāñchī are those of the Barulamisa-goshṭhī from Vidiśā and the Buddha-goshṭhī from Dharmavardhana. The former probably was a *goshṭhī* of the aristocratic type just mentioned, while the latter had its sectarian character stamped on its very name.[1]

FOOD AND DRINK

A. In the Smṛitis

Already in the period of the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas we find a tendency to regard certain kinds of meat and even vegetables as unfit for eating.[2] The Dharmasūtras give us for the first time systematic lists of lawful and forbidden food in respect of the flesh of birds and beasts as well as fish and vegetables. Along with this the Dharmasūtras permit or even enjoin the partaking of meat on a number of prescribed occasions. The eating of meat even by Brāhmaṇas on ordinary occasions is condoned by them in other passages.[3] These rules are reproduced and amplified in the Smṛiti law of our period. Thus the lists of lawful and forbidden food given by Manu (v 5-25) and Yājñavalkya (i 169-78) agree on the whole with those presented by the Dharmasūtras. According to Manu (v 41 repeating *Vas.* iv 6) the occasions when animals might be killed are limited to sacrifices, the honey-mixture ceremony, and the rites for the gods and manes. To this Manu (v27) and Yājñavalkya (i 179) add that the use of meat is permitted when one's life is in danger, when the Brāhmaṇas so desire, and when the meat has been sanctified (*prokshita*). As for the occasions justifying the slaughter of animals Manu (v 35 like *Vas.* xi 34) makes it compulsory for the priest engaged in a sacred rite to partake of meat. Like the older authorities, again, Manu (iii 267-70) and Yājñavalkya (i 257-9) hold different kinds of meat to be acceptable to the manes in an ascending order of preference. In the honey-mixture ceremony (*madhuparka*), the offering of a cow to a student just after the completion of his studies is enjoined by Manu (iii 3), and that of a big bull or goat to a learned Brāhmaṇa is prescribed by Yājñavalkya (i 109). The rules relating to forbidden

[1] The translation of *goshṭhī* in the inscrs. as 'trustees in charge of temple or charitable endowment,' (Bühler in *EI.* II followed by Atindranath Bose, *Social and Rural Economy of Northern India, c.* 600 B. C. to A. D. 200, I p. 53) or as a 'committee' (Lüders in *List*, loc. cit., followed by N. G. Majumdar in *Monuments of Sāñchī* I, votive inscrs. of *stūpās* I, 2, 3 etc. nos. 96-8, 178, 793); cannot be maintained in view of the refs. in *Kāmasūtra* and *Avadānaśataka* above cited.

[2] Cf. TS. ii 5, 1. 1; *AB.* ii 1, 8; *ŚB.* i 2, 3, 9.

[3] On the rules about eating vegetables and the flesh of birds, beasts and fishes in the Dharmasūtras see Kane, op. cit. II part 2 pp. 777, 781-3

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meat are enforced by stringent penances imposed upon the person partaking of it (*M.* v 20; xi 157; *Y.* i 176). With this denunciation of the unlawful killing of animals is joined a eulogy of complete abstention from meat-eating (*M.* v 31, 33, 34, 38, 43-5, 47-55 and *Y.* i 180-1). It would seem, however, that the practice of meat-eating not only when enjoined by the law but on other occasions also prevailed extensively. This is virtually admitted by Manu (v 56) who concludes his account of the rules touching lawful and forbidden food, with the observation: 'eating meat and drinking wine are natural to human beings, and there is no sin in these acts, but abstention is attended with high rewards.'

In so far as eating the meat of cattle is concerned, we find that even in the period of the Vedic Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas there was a distinct tendency to sanctify the cow and make her immune from slaughter, although it was usual to slay bulls and cows at sacrifices. From the time of the Gṛihyasūtras, drinking the five products of a cow (*pañchagavya*) has been prescribed as a means of purification from various sins. Coming to our period, we find that in Manu (v 18), as in the earlier law, animals with teeth in the upper jaw, with the sole exception of camels, are declared fit to be eaten. This implies (as pointed out by the commentators Medhātithi and Rāghavānanda) that the flesh of cattle was recognised as lawful food. Again, it is true that the slaughter of cows is still reckoned (*M.* xi 60 and *Y.* iii 234), as in Gautama (xxi 11 etc.), among the sins of the second degree (*upapātakas*), and not as yet among the mortal sins (*mahāpātakas*). Nevertheless the penances for killing a cow are particularly severe. They involve for instance a very restricted diet with constant attendance on cows and so forth for three months (*M.* xi 109-17), or continence for one month as well as living on 'the five products of the cow', constant attendance on cows, residence in cow-pens etc. (*Y.* iii 264-5). Again, it is very significant that giving up one's life for the sake of cows or otherwise preserving them is now mentioned for the first time (*M.* xi 80 and *Y.* iii 244-5) as an alternative penance for the murder of a Brāhmaṇa.[1]

Like the offering of meat at sacrifices, the ritual use of intoxicating *soma* juice and to a much less extent the use of liquor (*surā*) are known to the Vedic period. But already in one of the Upanishads we find the drinking of *surā* branded as a grave sin. In the Dharmasūtras, drinking *surā* ranks second in the list of mortal sins coming just after Brāhmaṇa-murder, while the penances of expiation range from death by drinking hot liquor to the performance of severe fasts and a fresh initiation. Even to drink water from a wine vessel requires a slight penance.[2] These rules are repeated in Manu (xi 91-3; 147-9) and Yājñavalkya (iii 253-5). For omitting to

[1] On the sanctity of the cow in the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas, see Kane, op. cit., pp. 772-3. On *pañchagavyas*, see ibid. pp. 773-4. The significance of the alternative penance for Brāhmaṇa-murder in *M.* and *Y.* quoted above is missed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture*, pp. 77-8

[2] On the drinking of *soma* and *surā* and the tendency to restrict the latter in the Vedic period, see Kane, op. cit., pp. 792-4

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perform the penance, Manu adds (ix 236-40), the offender is to be punished by the king with branding on the forehead and must be completely cast off by his relatives. The strongest condemnation is reserved for a Brāhmaṇa drinking *surā* (*M.* xi 95-8). Again, in Manu (vii 50-2) drunkenness heads the list in the group of the king's traditional vices. A drunkard wife is liable to immediate supersession, according to Manu (ix 80), and Yājñavalkya (i 73). In particular it is said that a Brāhmaṇa wife drinking wine is reborn in the next life in lower existences forfeiting the world of her husband (*Y.* iii 256 repeating *Vas.* xxi 11).

Yet we notice in these works a tendency to condone the vice of drinking—doubtless, as elsewhere, under pressure of circumstances. Manu (xi 94-8), while strongly condemning the drinking of *surā* in any of its three forms by Brāhmaṇas, implies that the varieties obtained from molasses and from *madhūka* flowers were allowable to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Again, the severity of Manu's denunciation quoted above (xi 91-3) is mitigated by the statement that a man unintentionally drinking the *vāruṇī* varieties of liquor (*M.* xi 147), or *surā* generally (*Y.* iii 255) is purified by a fresh initiation. To this Manu adds that even intentional drinking is exempted from penances involving death. A similar tendency may be traced in Manu (ix 84), where a fine only is imposed upon a wife who drinks liquor at festive shows.

B. In Other Sources

In the didactic portions of the Epics the eating of meat and the drinking of liquor are condemned as strongly as in the Smṛitis. The *Mahābhārata* (xiii 114-5) preserves a long discourse in praise of abstention from meat-eating, subject to the exceptional occasions where it is permitted in the Smṛitis. Abstention is particularly recommended during the four months of the rainy season and more specially in the month of Kārtika. According to the Great Epic (xii 35, 20, amplifying the rules of Manu and Yājñavalkya quoted above), he who drinks liquor unintentionally or when his life is in danger is purified by a fresh initiation. Elsewhere, however, (xii 159, 32) we are told that drinking wine is a sin expiable only with death. The strongest censure is reserved, as usual, for Brāhmaṇa drunkards. Once (i 76, 67-8) the sage Śukra is said to have established a rule that a Brāhmaṇa drinking wine should thenceforth be held to be guilty of Brāhmaṇa-murder. But in the narratives of the two epics even Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas, not to speak of other classes, freely indulge in meat-eating. Wine-drinking is also mentioned there as the habitual practice of Kshatriyas. In the *Mahābhārata* (iii 207-8) we have a remarkable series of arguments justifying the slaughter of animals not only for sacrifice also for other occasions.[1]

[1] Brāhmaṇas entertained with the flesh of boars and deer and other delicacies by Yudhishṭhira (*Mbh.* ii 4, 1-2). Deer killed by the Pāṇḍavas and their flesh first offered to Brāhmaṇas and then eaten by themselves (ibid.

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When we turn to the Buddhist and Jaina monastic rules, we find the same tendency to modify the fundamental principle of *ahiṁsā* in the light of the widespread practice of meat-eating. Abstention from taking life and from drinking liquor, as is well known, is included among the vows that are binding alike upon Buddhist and Jaina monks and laymen. In the actual rules of the Buddhist Order, however, a monk is permitted to partake of meat, provided it is pure in three respects, viz. unseen, unheard, and unsuspected. Again it is laid down that a monk partaking of meat except when he is sick is guilty of a grave sin. According to the Jaina *Āchārāṅga Sūtra* (ii 1, 10, 5 f.) a monk or a nun on a begging tour should not accept from laymen meat or fish with many bones.

We find frequent references in other literature to wine-bibbing and meat-eating as prevalent practices. The *Milindapañha* (278) includes the gift of liquor in a list of ten condemned gifts. But in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (ii 10, 1-22) we read that the *nāgaraka* when being entertained by his mistress is to regale her with liquor as well as varieties of roasted and dried meat and other delicacies. *Nāgarakas*, again, are described in the same work, as we have seen, as indulging in various kinds of spirituous liquor at their drinking parties, garden picnics, and water sports. In the *Divyāvadāna* (136-7) we are told how a big bull was led away for slaughter outside Vaiśālī city by a butcher, and a great crowd followed him hoping to share in the meat. The custom of killing animals for food at wedding feasts is referred to in the story of prince Arishṭanemi's renunciation in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* (xxii 14-7), and that of fattening a ram for slaughter at a guest's entertainment is mentioned in a simile in the same work (vii 1-4). In the story of a pious Jaina layman, the *Uvāsagadasāo* tells us (i 39) that, while limiting himself to a number of stringent restrictions under the householder's vows, he made an exception in favour of a particular kind of liquor. This limitation, with the same exception, is repeated (viii 235) in the tale of another equally pious Jaina layman. The principal wife of the latter, however, because of her habitual indulgence in meat and drink of all kinds, is said to have ended her life miserably under her husband's curse (ibid. 240 f.).

A scientific classification of birds and beasts with an analysis of the characteristic qualities of the flesh of each kind is found in a famous medical work of this period, viz. the *Charaka-saṁhitā* (Sūtrasthāna xxvii 11-29, 37 f.). The list includes some animals like camels whose flesh is condemnd as forbidden food in the Smṛitis.

iii 50, 4). King Jayadratha and his attendants entertained by Draupadī with the flesh of deer etc. (ibid. iii 266, 13-14). Kṛishṇa and Arjuna intoxicated by drinking liquor (ibid. v. 57, 35), Deer and boar killed for food by Rāma and Lakshmaṇa wandering in the forest (*Rām.* ii 52, 102). Meat of goats, sheep, boars, deer etc. and liquor of different varieties provided for prince Bharata's host by the sage Bharadvāja (ibid. ii 91, 51f). Wine and meat abjured by Rāma out of grief for Sītā (ibid. v. 36, 41).

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TOILETTE AND PERSONAL HYGIENE

Rules relating to the daily purification of the body, brushing the teeth and bathing are laid down for householders (*gṛihasthas*) and intending householders (*snātakas*) in the Dharmasūtras. These rules are reproduced with some additions in Manu (iv) and Yājñavalkya (i 97-166). A verse common to Manu (iv 152) and the *Mahābhārata* (xiii 104, 23) neatly sums up the morning routine of the *snātaka*. This consists in answering the calls of nature, toilette, bathing, brushing the teeth, applying collyrium to the eyes, and worshipping the gods. The *snātaka* is required to be clean in his dress and appearance. To quote Manu (iv 34-6) and Yājñavalkya (i 131, 133), the *snātaka* should not wear old and dirty clothes but should be dressed in white garments and should keep his hair, nails, and beard clipped; he should also wear two gold ear-rings. According to Manu (ii 209) the student in residence with his teacher is to render him such service as shampooing his limbs and attending on him while bathing. Similar services (anointing the limbs with oil, rubbing or shampooing them with powder and so forth) may be performed for Jaina mendicants by laymen.[1] In the well-known medical work called the *Suśrutasaṁhitā*,[2] a complete course of personal hygiene is laid down with full directions for its practice. This includes the application of the tooth-brush, eye and mouth-washes and collyrium, chewing betel-leaves with the proper spices, anointing the head and the limbs with oil, combing the hair, physical exercise, rubbing and friction, bathing, using scented pastes, wearing gems, flowers and clean clothes, washing and anointing the feet, shaving, paring the nails and shampooing.

From the texts, legal and medical, quoted above we turn to those more clearly reflecting contemporary fashions of life. In Vātsyāyana's description of the daily life of a *nāgaraka*, the morning toilette, as we have seen, plays a very important part. What elaborate fashions of hairdressing were known among laymen is indicated by a text in the *Milindapañha* (11). From this we learn that laymen used to adorn their hair and beard, smear them with oil, wash them, apply garlands, scents, myrobalans and dyes to them, making use also of ribbons and combs. Women used to paint their bodies yellow with different substances.[3] They also adorned their bodies with ornamental designs (*viśeshakas*).[4] Dressing in white garments, using sandal, garlands, perfumes, and unguents and so forth, were the distinctive features of the layman's toilette.[5] Even children were anointed with perfumes and used to be rubbed, bathed, and shampooed by their parents.[6] Flowers and perfumes as well as betel-leaves were frequently exchanged between lovers.[7] Perfuming the limbs of a mendicant and fumigating them with incense were permitted to Jaina

[1] *Āchāra. Sū.* ii 13, 1 f.
[2] Chikitsāsthāna xxiv 1-65
[3] *Buddhacharita* iv 46; *Gāthā-sapta śatī* i 22, 58, 80
[4] *Saundarananda* iv 13-6
[5] *Miln.* pp. 243, 338, 248
[6] *Miln.* p. 241
[7] Vātsyāyana v 1, 10; 21, 35; vi 1, 20; 3, 4, etc.

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laymen.[1] The scenting of clothes was a common fashion.[2] Laymen having bought clothes used to wash, dye, brush, rub, clean, and perfume them.[3] A perfume compounded of several substances (saffron, aloe, 'Turkish' and 'Yavana' scents among others) was known.[4]

We may next refere to a few texts illustrating the toilette appliances known in this period. The *Rāmāyaṇa* (iv 91, 51 f.) narrative of the entertainment of prince Bharata's host by the sage Bharadvāja at his hermitage, is full of miraculous elements, but the amenities provided by the sage for his guests include a reliable list of toilette articles known to the common folk. It enumerates tooth-sticks, sandal and other pastes, mirrors, combs, brushes and collyrium-boxes. In *Uvāsagadasāo* (i 22-42) we have the story of a pious Jaina *gṛihapati* who, while voluntarily submitting to a whole set of householder's vows restricting him in various ways, expressly reserved for his use a number of toilette articles. Among these are included fragrant red-tinted cloth, a green tooth-stick of sweet taste, the milky pulp of the *āmalaka* fruit (perhaps for cleansing the hair), a specially expensive variety of unguents, powder of scented wheat flour, perfumes made of aloes, saffron, sandal, and other substances, the white lotus and a garland of jasmine flowers, incense made of aloes and other substances, and betel with five spices. This inventory may be fairly taken to include articles ordinarily used by members of the rich capitalist class. Lastly the *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* (i 4, 2) in a comic sketch of the woes of a monk seduced from his vows by a woman, acquaints us with the toilette outfit of women in ordinary life. We learn that they used tooth-brushes, combs, ribbons to bind their hair, mirrors, myrobalans, collyrium-boxes with pins attached, sticks to paint marks on their foreheads, oil for the face, lip-salves, powders made of sandal, and other substances.

At the date of the early Buddhist literature a number of professions had arisen to cater for the public taste in toilette. Such professional attendants are mentioned in works of this period when describing city life. A list in Vātsyāyana (vi 1, 9) mentions garland-makers, perfumers, dyers and cleaners of clothes and barbers. In Madhyadeśa gardeners hawked lotuses in the streets (*Avadānaśataka*, I 124). Garland-makers made variegated bouquets from all sorts of flowers, according to the *Milindapañha* (347). In the *Mahābhārata* (iv 9, 19-20) we have the story of Draupadī in disguise seeking employment with the queen of Virāṭa as her attendant. She knew, we are told, the arts of dressing the hair, preparing unguents, and making garlands of wondrous designs; here we have a list of the qualifications expected from a queen's maid in real life. Among the amenities provided for Bharata's host in the Rāmāyaṇa story quoted earlier (ii 9) female bathing-attendants are enumerated. Even the luxury of a shaving saloon is mentioned in a few Jaina canonical texts.[5]

[1] *Āchārā Sū.* ii 13, 8
[2] Bhāsa's *Chārudatta* i 26 f.; *Saundaranānda* iv 26
[3] *Āchāra, Sū* ii 5, 1, 3
[4] *Miln.* p. 267
[5] Barbers, bathing-attendants, florists, dealers in perfumes among residents of a city; *Miln.* p. 331. Bathing-attendants, toilette-attendants, perfumers, florists, hairdressers among the

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The rich development of toilette-fashions during this period was marked by the elevation of some of them to the rank of technical arts (*kalās*). In Vātsyāyana's list of sixty-four supplementary arts found in the *Kāmasūtra* are included the preparation of cut-designs from leaves, the weaving of garlands, and the manufacture of perfumes. Among the seventy-two arts (*kalās*) known to the Jaina canonical texts are those concerned with the arrangement of dress, the fabrication of unguents, the preparation of powders, the cutting of ornamental leaf-designs, and the beautification of young ladies' complexions. The manufacture of scents and the preparation of leaf-designs are included among the *kalās* in *Lalitavistara* (156).[1]

The evidence of archaeology confirms and supplements that of the literary texts quoted above. Among the professions commemorated in the contemporary votive inscriptions, that of the perfumers is the one most often mentioned. Again, the excavations of contemporary ancient sites (especially at Taxila) have yielded toilette appliances of various kinds. In the figure sculptures of this period we have more unequivocal testimony to the variety of toilette fashions known at this time. The types of coiffure both of men and women depicted in these sculptures are too varied for detailed notice here. On the bodies of women sculptured in the railing around the Bhārhut *stūpa* are found designs of the sun, the moon, the stars and so forth. Among the sculptures of the Mathurā and the Amarāvatī school, figures of women are found wearing flowers or garlands or else in the act of arranging their toilette.[2]

inhabitants of Ayodhyā ; *Rām.* ii 83, 12-28. For *alaṅkāriyasahā* (shaving saloon) see *Abhidhānarājendra;* s. v. For refs. to perfumers in votive inscrs. see Lüders, *List*, Index of Misc. Terms s. v. *gāndhika.*

[1] On the list of 64 *aṅgavidyās*, see Vātsyāyana, i 3, 16. For the list of 72 *kalās* in Jaina *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*, see *Abhidhānarājendra*, s. v. *kalā.*

[2] Examples of toilette appliances from ancient sites :—(a) incense burners, flesh rubbers, perfume sprinklers, copper mirror, ivory handle (for mirror) at Sirkap Taxila: *ASIAR.* 1914-15, pp. 16, 22 ; 1915-16, pp. 17, 20, 29, 52 ; decorated ivory comb, ordinary ivory and bone combs at Taxila : ibid. 1926-7, p. 119; 1928-9, p. 51 ; (b) antimony rods at Dharmarājika *stūpa*, Taxila: ibid. 1915-16, p. 10 ; at Sirkap, Taxila : ibid. 1914-15, pp. 17, 23 ; at Besnagar : ibid. 1913-14, p. 218 ; (c) flesh rubbers of pottery, antimony rods of bronze, bronze mirror, conch-shell, cosmetic holders in form of fish, miniature bronze bottles (as unguent holders ?) at Rairh : K. N. Puri, *Excavations*, pp. 42-3. For exhaustive accounts of styles of coiffure, see Moti Chandra, *JISOA.* viii pp. 89-90. For figures of women with flowers or in act of arranging toilette, see C. Sivaramamurti, *Amarāvatī Sculptures*, pl. vi fig. 9, pl. viii figs. 21, 23, pl. ix figs. 2, 10, 11, 13, 17 etc.

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CHAPTER XVI

SOUTH INDIA

1. Early Historical Period

THE extreme south of India from the Tirupati hill (Vēṅgaḍam) to Cape Comorin (Kumari), bounded by the sea on the east and west, was known as Tamiḻagam, the Tamil realm. By the fourth century B. C. it had become subject to strong Aryan or Northern influences, though the pre-Aryan (Tamil) culture and language continued to flourish here in much greater strength than in the rest of India. Our knowledge of the history of the country before the Christian era is, however, rather vague and indirect. A scholium of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini (iv 1, 168) which derives the word Pāṇḍya from Pāṇḍu, thus relating the royal family of the extreme south with the Pāṇḍavas of the Great Epic, and the references to the Pāṇḍya country in Megasthenes and Kauṭilya are among the earliest data now accessible to us. Megasthenes knew that Ceylon was an island separated from the mainland of India and that it was more productive than India of gold and large pearls ; a good part of the island was forest inhabited by wild beasts including a large breed of elephants. He gives a quaint account of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom making little difference between fact and fable. He says that Heracles had a daughter Pandaia to whom he assigned the southernmost portion of India including 365 villages, whose people brought by turns their daily tribute to the royal palace, 'so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments.'[1] What is described as tribute here seems to have been the supply of the daily provisions needed for the royal household ; the *Śilappadikāram*, written nearly a thousand years after the date of Megasthenes, contains a reference to the shepherds in the suburbs of Madurai supplying ghee every day to the palace by turns.[2] Kauṭilya's references to the fine cloth from Madurai and the trade routes to the South have been noticed already (p. 73).

Late inscriptions and legends recall events long past, and mention the rule of the Nandas in the Deccan, and the migration of Chandragupta Maurya with the Jaina Patriarch Bḥadrabāhu to Śravaṇa Beḻgoḻa in Mysore. But perhaps the oldest and most tangible evidence that there was contact between North and South leading to a certain uniformity of culture throughout India is to be found in the 'punch-marked' coins of copper and silver, rectangular to start with, but later round also, 'which long served as the common currency of most of the states of ancient India, and were

[1] McCrindle, *Meg. & Arr.* pp. 62-3; 158-9 [2] xvii, *l.* 7

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wonderfully uniform in weight and general style from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.' Cunningham was disposed to date the most ancient coins of the class as early as 1000 B. C. though others think the estimate 'much in excess of the truth'. In the South they were used 'from the most remote times down to about A. D. 300'.[1]

The second and thirteenth Rock Edicts of Aśoka mention the southern kingdoms and Ceylon ; the list in the second Edict, which is longer, comprises by name the Choḍas, Pāṇḍyas, Satiyaputa and Keralaputra, besides Tāṁbraparṇī. These countries lay outside the empire of Aśoka, but they were so friendly to the emperor that he could arrange for the medical treatment of men and animals in all these lands, and for the importation and planting of useful medicinal herbs and roots wherever they were needed. The *dūtas* (emissaries) of Aśoka also visited these countries for preaching *Dhamma* there. The bare mention of such facts is enough to warrant the inference that there existed in these parts a settled life with an ordered polity and a fairly high level of civilization. The Tamils believed in fact that the three monarchies of the Cheras, Cholas, and Pāṇḍyas were of immemorial antiquity, 'dating from the time of creation' as a mediaeval commentator quaintly puts it.[2] A late Pallava charter counts Aśokavarmā among the earliest rulers of Kāñchī, and this may well be a relic of Mauryan rule in the South.

Of the three Tamil monarchies the Pāṇḍya country occupied the extreme south and included the modern districts of Tirunelvēli, Madurai, and Ramnad, besides South Travancore, often called Nāñjilnād, plough-land. Its capital was Madurai, the city on the Vaigai river, and Koṟkai on the east coast at the mouth of the Tāṁbraparṇī river was its main seaport, though we hear of another port further north by name Śāliyūr ; there must have been some port or ports on the west coast as well round about modern Trivandrum. The Chola country comprised the lower Kāvērī valley, the coastal plain between two rivers both bearing the name Veḷḷār, the north Veḷḷār entering the sea near Porto Novo, and the smaller southern stream passing through Pudukkōṭṭai territory. The Chola kingdom thus roughly corresponded to modern Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts; its inland capital was Uṟaiyūr, and Puhār or Kāvēripaṭṭanam (the Khaberis of Ptolemy) at the mouth of the Kāvērī was its main port. The Chera or Kerala kingdom was the western coastal strip above the northern limit of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom. It had a number of good ports, Tondi and Muśiri being the best known. The capital of the Chera kingdom was called Vañji, and its location has been the subject of an inconclusive debate, some identifying it with some place on the Periyār river or at its mouth, others locating it inland in Karūr or Karuvūr, the centre of the westernmost taluq of the Trichinopoly district. The mention of Karu-ur in a Brāhmī record of the third century B. C. from the neighbourhood, and of Karuvūr *alias* Vañjimānagaram in a much later inscription,[3] may

[1] Smith, *CCIM.* I p. 135.
[2] Parimēl-Aḻagar on *Kuṟaḷ*, 955
[3] *ARE.* 1927-8, ii 1.

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be taken to support the inland location of the Chera capital. Ptolemy's reference to Korura as the Chera capital and the discovery of Roman coins near Karūr lend further support to this view. If it is correct, the Chera country was not confined to the western coastal strip but had a notable inward extension by way of the Palghat gap. The identity and location of Satiyaputa are uncertain. The best view now seems to be that first put forward by K. G. Sesha Aiyer (*Cera Kings*, page 18) and confirmed by Burrow on what appear to be sound philological grounds (*BSOAS.* XII, 1948, pp. 136-7, 146-7). Satiya corresponds, not to skt. *Satya*, but later Tamil *Atiya ;* and *puta* becomes *magan* later *mān* in Tamil, so that Satiyaputa was the Tamil chieftain Adigamān (of Tagaḍūr)—who was quite prominent in the Śaṅgam period and may have risen into importance earlier. This is a much more satisfactory identification than that of Satiyaputa with Kośar which was accepted by some scholars till recently. Old Tamil was the only language that prevailed in the whole area, possibly[1] with dialectical variations, which, slight at first, developed in the course of centuries into the separate languages of Malayālam and Kannaḍa. The Gulf of Mannar was famous for its pearl fisheries which were shared by the Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, and the rulers of Ceylon.

Among the earliest monuments of the Tamil country to which we may assign a date with some confidence are the Brāhmī inscriptions found in natural caverns in hills, which have many features in common with the hundreds of similar records found in Ceylon. The script of these inscriptions resembles closely that of the brief inscriptions from Bhaṭṭiprolu, and may well be assigned to the third and second century B. C. These inscriptions from caverns have not been fully elucidated, but they are clearly either brief donative records, or only give the names of persons who made the caverns fit for habitation, or of the monks who occupied them thereafter. Kaḷugumalai (Tamil for Gṛidhrakūṭa) is the name of one of the hills containing these caverns. The name Pañcha Pāṇḍavamalai often applied to them 'strongly reminds us of the Pāṇḍava-pabbata at whose foot the Buddha after his renunciation took his first meal which he had obtained by begging.' One of the caves bears the name '*uṇḍānkal*', 'the rock of the man who took the meal'. The caverns of South India resemble one another and the similar monuments of Ceylon which are assuredly Buddhistic. For these reasons it has been suggested that these caves 'were the abodes of Buddhist monks to the exclusion of the other sects'.[2] It is, however, premature to formulate such a definitive conclusion. Some of these caverns are called Śamaṇar-kuḍagu, 'cave of the Jainas; new caverns are still being discovered from time to time throughout South India, e.g. the natural cavern at Mālakoṇḍa in Nellore district. And tradition is strong that Jainism came to South India at the same time as Buddhism, if not earlier.

[1] For other views see (p. 26) *ante* and Barua, *Aśoka and his inscriptions*, pp. 111-2, Also *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, ed. K. A. N. Sastri, (1952) pp. 250 ff.

[2] *PAIOC.* (III 1924) p. 278

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Though the script of the inscriptions is Brāhmī of the southern variety, their language is seen to be Tamil still in its formative stages. The script was alphabetic and already included signs for the peculiarly Dravidian sounds like ṟ, ḷ, ḻ, and ṉ. Vocalized consonants were represented by two symbols, that for the consonant being followed by the complete vowel sign, *yu* being written as *ya u*. There is no doubt that these peculiarities were the result of a pretty long process of trial and error that had by no means come to a stop in the second century B.C., a fact often overlooked by some ardent Tamilists who would carry back the date of the literature of the Śaṅgam to the third century B.C. or even earlier. Tentative studies of these records have provided a glimpse into their contents. Polālaiyan, a *kuṭumpikan* (i. e. peasant or householder) from Īḻa (Ceylon) figures as a donor; and a woman, some members of the Karaṇi caste, and merchants (*vāṇikan*) also figure in the same capacity. The ascetics pursuing their life divine in solitude were thus already enjoying the support of all classes of laymen.

Much has been written about a Maurya invasion of South India, and the Podyil hill adjoining the Tirunelveli and Madurai districts to the west has been fixed as the farthest limit of this invasion which is supposed to have occurred in the period between Chandragupta's treaty with Seleucus and the thirteenth year Aśoka.[1] This theory rests on references to Mauryas in the Śaṅgam poems which have been interpreted by others as a reference to a branch of the Konkaṇi Mauryas.[2] The view last mentioned would place the Śaṅgam poems in the sixth or seventh century A.D. which is far too late for any of them. The references to the Mauryas occur in five poems, three by Māmūlanār, and one each by two other poets. The relative chronology of the poets is not clear, but the whole body of Śaṅgam literature clearly belongs to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Therefore the mention of Nandas and Mauryas in these poems can only be a reference to events long past, but somehow preserved in the popular memory. There is good reason to doubt whether the two poets other than Māmūlanār were actually referring to the Mauryas of history or to some aspects of an obscure mythology. That they both refer to the same fact or myth is evident. The expressions used are identical, though one of them, Kaḷḷil Āttiraiyanār,[3] gives more details than the other, Paraṅgoṟṟanār.[4] The more detailed account mentions the Mōriyar, their victorious lance, their skyscraping umbrella, and their chariots bearing banners. It then states that their strong bright-rayed wheel cut across a mountain at the end of the earth and rolled past it, and past the broad disc of the sun fixed near the pass so made. The commentator amplifies the sense by additions of his own; he states that the Mōriyar ruled the whole world, and that the mountain severed by their discuss was the silver mountain which separated the earth from another world, and that the Mōriyar were the Chakravāla emperors or

[1] *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, ch. ii
[2] *CHI.* I p. 596
[3] *Puṟam* 175
[4] *Aham* 69

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Vidyādharas and Nāgas, an interpretation which would suit the alternative reading 'Ōriyar' much better than 'Mōriyar' (Mauryas). Stress need not, however, be laid on the alternative reading 'ōriyar', for the cutting of the hill and the rolling of the wheel are features that recur in the unmistakable references of Māmūlanār to the Mauryas. But these other poets, if indeed they were thinking of the Mauryas, had but the vaguest notions about them and their achievements, and were ready to class them with the superhuman beings whose deeds, according to the Purāṇas, fill the annals of the universe for many ages after the dawn of creation.

Māmūlanār exhibits better historical knowledge, and his statements are much more precise, though he too retains the quasi-legendary feature which is all that is known to the other poets concerning the Mauryas. He mentions the Nandas and the enormous treasure which they accumulated. 'What is it,' asks a lovelorn lady, 'that has attracted my lover better than my charms?' ; and among the alternatives postulated by her occurs this:[1] 'Is it the treasure accumulated in prosperous Pāṭaliputra and hidden in the waters of the Ganges by the Nandas of great renown, victorious in war?' Here we find much that is known of the Nundas from other sources, and one fact that is new—the manner in which they kept the treasure hidden under the waters of the Ganges, which reminds one of a similar practice attributed to the Mahārājas of Zabag by Arab travellers of the eighth century A.D. Māmūlanār's mention of the Mauryas is accompanied by equally clear and precise indications of historical events. There are two passages for consideration, both from the *Ahanānūṟu*. One[2] starts by saying that the lover would not stay behind even if he got the wealth of the Nanda for doing so—a second reference to this topic by the poet; it then proceeds to say that the Kōśar of the victorious banner started operations against their foes and gained several victories; but as Mōhūr did not submit to them, the Mōriyas who had a large army led an expedition in which their chariots rolled across a cutting made in the mountain for that purpose. The Mauryas were so friendly to the Kōśar as to aid them in war. This active intervention in the politics of the Tamil country brings to our view a phase of Mauryan imperialism that has so far escaped notice. The last reference in Māmūlanār[3] adds some more details. It says that when the Mōriyar turned to the south, the warlike Vaḍugar preceded them in the van, and the mountain which was cut to make a way for the chariots is on this occasion described as the large snow mountain reaching up to the skies, obviously the Himalayas. This last detail betrays that Māmūlanār also is by no means free of legendary notions about the Mauryas; only he managed to convey some facts besides the legend. Vaḍugar is a rather vague term in Tamil literature; it means literally northerners, and was generally applied to the Kannaḍa-Telugu peoples of Southern and Eastern Deccan together. They were included in the Mauryan empire, and they may have been called upon

[1] *Aham* 265 [2] Ibid. 251 [3] Ibid. 281

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to take the lead in any movement further south. One last reference to the Nandas in the *Kuṟundogai*[1] is simple and clear; it refers to the abundance of gold in Pāṭaliputra and to the elephants bathing in the Son river near the city. These Tamil texts, three to five centuries later than the age of the Mauryas, thus indicate that the Tamil states were within the sphere of Mauryan influence, a fact already attested by the Aśoka inscriptions, and that at least on one occasion the Mauryas went to the assistance of the Kōśar to enable them to subdue the rebellious chieftain of Mōhūr; the Vaḍugar took a hand in this expedition.

II. The Age of the Śaṅgam

Introduction

The serious study of the earliest strata of Tamil literature known as the Śaṅgam literature was inaugurated towards the close of the last century by the publication of texts from the hand of scholars like Damodaram Pillai and Swaminatha Aiyer. P. Sundaram Pillai began the critical use of these classics for purposes of historical reconstruction with his articles on *Neḍunalvāḍai* and *Maduraikkāñji* in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*. But he did not attempt any systematic chronology, and the first scholar to take this in hand was Kanakasabhai Pillai. In his *Tamils 1800 years ago* (Madras, 1904) he accepted the *Śilappadikāram* as a Śaṅgam classic and made it the sheet-anchor of his chronological scheme, though he consulted in manuscript many poems that were still unpublished. But it has since become clear that the *Śilappadikāram* in its present form and the stories and legends of Karikāla Chola recorded in it cannot claim such high antiquity; even a cursory study of the word-forms and grammatical endings and the complex system of prosody known to this work would be enough to show that it could not be assigned to a time much earlier than the sixth century A. D.; and this conclusion is reinforced by some other features such as borrowings traceable to other works and verbal citations from them, besides the social and political traits of a relatively late age which may be discerned in the text. The relation of Iḷaṅgō, the reputed author of the *Śilappadikāram*, to Śeṅguṭṭuvan, the Chera king, who is said to have been his elder brother, is not heard of in the *Paḍiṟṟuppattu* which makes no mention of the brother of the monarch. Neither the poet Iḷaṅgō nor his work finds a place among the authors and works of the Śaṅgam listed in the commentary to the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*—our main source for the traditions relating to the Śaṅgam; though that commentary cites the *Śilappadikāram* and knows of Nakkīrar, but not of *Maṇimēkalai* which is said to have been composed at the same time as the *Śilappadikāram*. It should be added that the commentary is sometimes ascribed to Nakkīrar

[1] No. 75 by Paḍumarattu Mōśikīranār

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himself. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar in his essays on the *Tamil Academies* and the *Ten Tens*[1] reviewed the legends of the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ* and the work of Kanakasabhai in so far as it concerned the Cheras. Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar's work on *Śēran Śeṅguṭṭuvan* (1915) and the discussion it gave rise to mark the next important stage in the study of the subject. Raghava Aiyangar argued for a date in the fifth century A. D. for the Śaṅgam; but his arguments were subjected to devastating criticism by K. S. Srinivasa Pillai in his contributions to the *Śen Tamiḻ* and in his *History of Tamil Literature*,[2] and Raghava Aiyangar withdrew the chronological argument from his book in its second edition (1929).

The most comprehensive of all the efforts so far made to determine the chronology of the Śaṅgam period from a study of the internal evidence available is that of K. N. Sivaraja Pillai in his *Chronology of the Tamils* (1932). But this work starts with wide *a priori* assumptions, accepts only selected works like the *Puṟanānūṟu, Ahanānūṟu, Naṟṟiṇai* and *Kuṟundogai* as of primary value, and discards the evidence of the *Paḍiṟṟupattu* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* when it conflicts with that of the four favoured collections (p. 41); moreover the author interprets many texts in a forced way to suit his theories, and, in an extremity, rejects particular lines and passages as interpolations, claiming in some matters to know more of the authentic tradition than the redactors of the collections as we have them now. His work is therefore not as conclusive or convincing as it might otherwise have been.

The most recent discussion of the subject is that of K. G. Sesha Aiyer in his *Cēra Kings of the Śaṅgam Period* (1937). His primary concern is with the Chera monarchs, and naturally he bases his work on the *Paḍiṟṟuppattu*, though he takes account of other poems mentioning the monarchs. He also briefly reviews the controversies about the age of the Śaṅgam and himself advocates a date in the second century A. D.

Sources and Chronology

The comprehensive study of the political history of the Śaṅgam period cannot be undertaken without a full and unbiased sifting of the data in all the authentic poems that have been preserved. The *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* must be left on one side for reasons already indicated ; but the synchronism suggested by the first work between Śeṅguṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu of Ceylon may be accepted as historical, because it fits in very well with the other lines of evidence derived from the general probabilities of history in North and South India, besides Greek and Latin authors on the one side, and the Śaṅgam poems and archaeology on the other; and without it there is no means of importing any exactitude into

[1] *Tamiḻ Studies*, IX and X (1914)
[2] *Tamiḻ Varalāṟu* (Kumbakonam, 1st ed. 1922, 2nd ed. 1924)

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the chronological system derived from a study of the internal evidence.

Let us begin by trying to determine the number of generations of monarchs and authors that are reflected in these poems, accepting as genuine the traditions, recorded in the colophons and *padigams* (epilogues) to them.[1] The *Paḍiṟṟuppattu*, *Aiṅguṟunūṟu* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* are compact groups with a manageable number of kings and poets; and the *padigams* in the *Paḍiṟṟuppattu* give the genealogical relations in the Chera line that go far to simplify our task. The *Naṟṟiṇai* and *Kuṟuṇdogai* may for the most part be left alone, because the number of poets involved is numerous and many of them are obscure; the theme of these poems moreover is love, and they contain little of political interest; but political references wherever found in them will be taken into account and accommodated in the scheme as they should be. *Paripāḍal*, a collection devoted to love and religion and belonging to the class *iśaittamiḻ* (Tamil set to music), will be treated in the same manner. *Kalittogai* raises a problem of its own; it is not settled if Nallanduvanār was the author of the whole collection or its compiler. In any event, it too is a collection of love poems with few facts of history coming in anywhere. There is indeed a reference to the flooding of the South Pāṇḍya country by the sea for which the Pāṇḍya ruler compensated himself by overthrowing the Chera and the Chola;[2] but who can decide if this is legend or history? The *Śilappadikāram* too has a similar tale, and there the compensatory conquest reaches the Himalayas. Lastly, the collections known as the *Ahanānūṟu* and *Puṟanānūṟu* are important and will come in for a good deal of discussion, particularly the latter, for the sake of the numerous events of political history which they contain.

We shall begin by setting forth the genealogical data for the Cheras from the *padigams* to the *Paḍiṟṟuppattu* (*Ten Tens*), the only collection which yields such data in any considerable measure. While all writers have recognised the existence of two branches of the Chera royal line, they are not agreed about the details of the arrangement, and some, particularly Kanakasabhai, have combined in their tables data from the *Ten Tens* and *Śilappadikāram*. It would be tedious to state in detail the reasons for our differences with these writers, it is enough to give the genealogy as it is made out from the *padigams*, stating authority for each link, and drawing attention to difficulties and weak spots where they occur. The first and last Tens have not been recovered, and the kings celebrated in the remaining eight groups of poems are indicated by the numbers in Roman numerals placed after their names in the table. The particular *padigam* on which each link in the table rests is set forth in separate footnotes under the two tables.

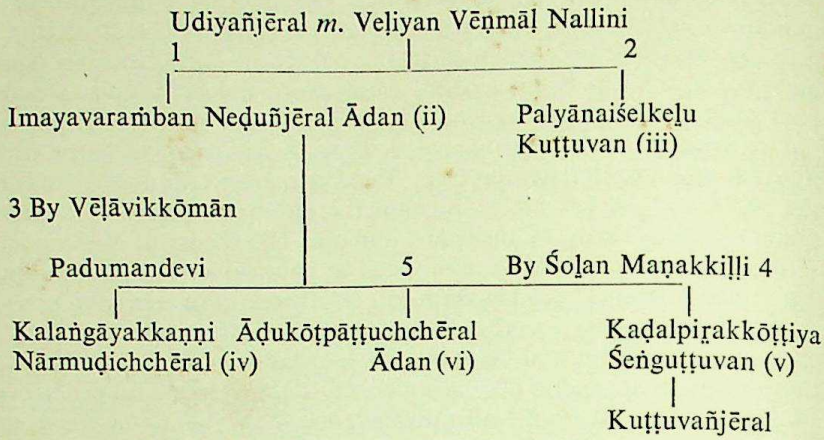
[1] See essay i on *Puṟanānūṟu* in *Studies in Cola History and Administration* by K. A. N. Sastri for a discussion of the authenticity of the colophons. The *padigams* of *Paḍiṟṟupattu* are of course late, but may well be taken to embody a correct tradition. See p. 4-5 intro. to Swaminatha Iyer's edition (1920)

[2] *Kali.* 104, *ll.* 1-4. cf. *Śilap.* xi. *ll.* 18-22

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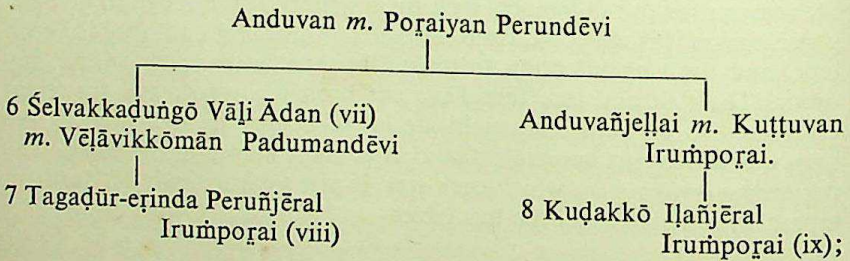
A



1. Padigam ii
2. Padigam iii
3. Padigam iv
4. Padigam v
5. Padigam vi

The name of the Chola princess who was the second queen of Imayavaramban Neḍuñjēral is given as Naṟchōṇai by Aḍiyārkkunallār in his commentary on the Padigam to the *Śilappadikāram* which mentions for the first time Iḷaṅgō, the brother of Śeṅguṭṭuvan and the reputed author of the *Śilappadikāram*. These facts are of course less authentic than the rest. Note also that we have assumed the identity of Imayavaramban Neḍuñjēral Ādan with Kuḍakkō Neḍuñjēral Ādan (vi) and Śēral Ādan (iv).

B.



6. Padigam vii
7. Padigam viii
8. Padigam ix

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Padigam ix on which Kuḍakkō's position rests calls for some notice. It reads: *Kuṭṭuvan Irumpoṛaikku Maiyūr kiḻān vēṇmāḷ Anduvañjeḷḷai īṇṛa magan Iḷañjēral Irumpoṛai* i. e. Iḷañjēral Irumpoṛai, the son born of Anduvañjeḷḷai, the daughter (*vēṇmāḷ*) of the lord of Maiyūr. The name Anduvañjeḷḷai naturally means Śeḷḷai, the daughter of Anduvan; Anduvan is a name which occurs in this form in *padigam* vii also. He was also the lord of Maiyūr.

Can we connect the two lines chronologically? A hint is given by the occurrence of a common name, that of Vēḷāvikkōmān Padumandēvi in both the tables. *Dēvi*, like *vēṇmāḷ*, may be understood to express the relation of daughter, though possibly these different designations indicate some difference in the status of the ladies concerned. The occurrence of this common name, Padumandēvi, in the two lists can best be explained by our supposing that it refers to two sisters married to two Chera princes, and if this view is correct, we get the important result that Imayavaramban Neḍuñjēral and Śelvakkaḍuṅgō Vāḻi Ādan who married the sisters must have belonged to one and the same generation. It would follow further that our tables A and B include three generations of two contemporary branches of the Chera royal family. There were doubtless other Chera princes e.g. Kuṭṭuvan Irumpoṛai, the husband of Śeḷḷai; and our present list is by no means exhaustive.

In the *Śilappadikāram* (xxviii. *ll.* 135-48) we find a list of the kings of the Chera line, but it is so confused and mixed up with legend as to be of little value.

Let us now turn to the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, its poets and heroes, as well as some other poems to establish other synchronisms. Paraṇar, the author of the Fifth Ten on Śeṅguṭṭuvan, celebrates Iḷañjēṭchenni, and father of Karikāla in *Puṛam* 4, while Karikāla himself is referred to by Nakkīrar in terms which imply that his reign ended some time earlier (*Aham* 141). We may assume (1) that Kapilar, author of the VIIth decad, was a younger contemporary of Paraṇar, because the Padumandēvi who married Vāḻi Ādan was a younger sister of Neḍuñjēral Ādan's queen, and (2) that the second generation of table B was more or less contemporary with the third of table A, so that the two together will give us not three but four generations of rulers. However that may be, we seem to get an extension of time by way of Uruvappahrer Iḷañjēṭchenni and his son Karikāla, and one further generation appears to be added in an unmistakable manner; but these results are tentative.

Now Karikāla is celebrated in *Porunarāṛṛuppaḍai* by Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār and in *Paṭṭinappālaī* by Kaḍiyalūr Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār (Rudrāksha) who also celebrated Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan in the *Perumbāṇāṛṛuppaḍai*. Here then is a bunch of contemporaries of the generation of Karikāla, and some hint of the relative age of three out of the ten poems in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. Kapilar's *Kuṛiñjippāṭṭu*, another poem in the same collection, must also belong to about the same time.

We get the next link from a reference of Nakkīrar to Kapilar and Pāri

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in *Aham* 78; Nakkīrar sang the *Neḍunalvāḍai* on Talaiyālaṅgānattuchcheruvenṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyan, on whom there is another poem in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*—the *Maduraikkāñji* of Māṅguḍi Marudan. Here is the next bunch of poets and kings of the generation after Karikāla. To this we may add as a prefix Nannan, son of Nannan, celebrated in the *Malaipaḍukaḍām* of Peruṅgauśikan (great Kauśika), because Māṅguḍi Marudan mentions this Nannan, the son of another Nannan, and in a manner that invites comparison with some lines of the *Malaipaḍukaḍām*.[1]

The *Mullaippāṭṭu* has no hero; but its name resembles that of *Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu* and it mentions *mlechchhas* and *yavanas* like the *Neḍunalvāḍai*; its poet Nappūdanār may be assigned therefore to the same period, more or less, as Nakkīrar.

Lastly, the *Śiṟupān-āṟṟuppaḍai* is a poem on Nalliyakkōḍan by Nattattanār; it refers to all the seven *vaḷḷals*—chieftains noted for charity, as dead and gone, and obviously belongs to the closing period of the Śaṅgam age. There remains the *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*, a quasi-religious poem, which passes under the name of Nakkīrar and has found entry into the anthology called *Pattuppāṭṭu* (Ten Idylls). The contents of this poem are vastly different from those of the others in the collection, and by a careful study of its diction and language, Vaiyapuri[2] has demonstrated that it cannot be of the same age as the other pieces we assign to the Śaṅgam, but must be the product of a much later time. We have therefore to postulate a Nakkīrar II.

The foregoing consideration lead us to the following grouping of the poems of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* with reference to their relative age:

Group I (1) Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai--Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār on Karikāla.
(2) Paṭṭinappālai—Kaḍiyalūr Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār on Karikāla.
(3) Perumbāṇ-āṟṟuppaḍai—Do. on Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan.
(4) Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu—Kapilar to the Ārya king Pirahatta (Prahasta).

Group II (1) Malaipaḍukaḍām—Peruṅgauśikan on Nanna's son Nannan.
(2) Maduraikkāñji—Māṅguḍi Marudan on Talaiyālaṅgānattuchcheruvenṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyan.
(3) Neḍunalvādai—Nakkīrar I on do.
(4) Mullaippāṭṭu—Nappūdanār (no hero).

Group III Śiṟupāṇ-āṟṟuppaḍai—Nattattanār on Nalliyakkōḍan.
And the much later Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai—Nakkīrar II.

This arrangement receives confirmation from a verse (*Puṟam* 53) in which Śēy of the Elephant-look, a Chera prince, is said to have regretted that Kapilan was no longer there to celebrate his victories in a suitable

[1] *Maduraik. ll.* 618-9 and *Malai. ll.* 70-2
[2] *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai* ed. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, 1943, Madurai. For a further discussion of the chronology of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* see ch. xxi *post*.

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manner; and this Chera was a contemporary of Neḍuñjeḻiyan of Talaiyālaṅgānam as we see from another poem (*Puṟam* 17) addressed to Śēy after he had escaped from the Pāṇḍya's prison and occupied the Chera throne by force; thus our assignment of the Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu to the first and earlier group which preceded that of the Maduraikkāñji fully borne out by these references.

The *Aiṅguṟunūṟu* (The Five Short Hundreds) was compiled by Yānaikkaṭchēy Māndarañjēral Irumpoṟai and comprises poems by five poets, viz. Ōrambōgi, Ammūvanār, Kapilar, Ōdalāndai, and Pēyanār. The compiler, Śey of the Elephant-look, is seen from *Puṟam* 17, 20 and 22 to have been a contemporary and enemy of Neḍuñjeḻiyan, victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam. The inclusion of a hundred short pieces of Kapilar in an almost contemporary anthology by a prince of the Chera royal line is noteworthy for at least two reasons; the practice of literature and literary criticism transcended the boundaries and passions of politics and united the whole Tamil country in a common bond; secondly, criticism was briskly at work, collecting, assessing and clarifying and grouping poems as they were composed from time to time—proper work for an Academy. This anthology while it does not add much to the stock of information except the names of four poets, goes some way to confirm the relative chronology reached from a study of the other collections especially as regards Kapilar and Neḍuñjeḻiyan.

Next we may consider the names of other kings and chieftains mentioned by the poets so far named; this would enable us to check and revise our tentative conclusions in the light of the new data and thus strengthen the links in the internal chronology of the age. Only important and outstanding names will be considered, and no attempt made at an exhaustive enumeration of all, as that would be both tedious and futile.

The authors of the Second and Third Tens in the *Padiṟṟuppattu* refer to no important contemporaries other than their heroes. Kāppiyāṟṟukkāppiyanār, the author of the Fourth Ten, mentions Nannan as the foe vanquished by his hero Kaḷaṅgāykkaṇṇi Nārmuḍichchēral (*Padiṟṟ.* 40); we have seen that there were two Nannans, father and son, and that the son is mentioned by Māṅguḍi Marudan, the contemporary of Neḍuñjeḻiyan of Talaiyālaṅgānam; Nārmuḍichchēral belonged definitely to an earlier generation and we may assume that the Nannan whom he vanquished was the father.

Paraṇar, the author of the Fifth Ten on Śeṅguṭṭuvan, mentions a number of rulers, great and small, and we must consider their relative positions with some care. Most important among these is Karikāla Chola whose victories at Vāhaippaṟandalai (*Aham* 125) and Veṇṇi (ibid. 246) are known to Paraṇar, and who is mentioned once again in another poem along with Marandai, a town belonging to Kuṭṭuvan (ibid. 376). We have noted before that Paraṇar belauded Karikāla's father also. Karikāla should be treated therefore not as altogether of the generation succeeding that of Śeṅguṭṭuvan, but as his younger contemporary. The tradition

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preserved in the *Śilappadikāram* that Śeṅguṭṭuvan and Karikāla were contemporaries is thus confirmed by the evidence of these early poems. Paraṇar also sang of another Chola prince Verpahṛaḍakkaip-Peruviṛarkiḷḷi who fought against a Chera Kuḍakkō Neḍuñjēral Ādan (*Puṛam* 63) in the battle of Pōr; both the princes laid down their lives on the field. The latter may be identical with the father of Śeṅguṭṭuvan as already noted. The incident is the subject of two poems by Kaḷāttalaiyār (*Puṛam* 62, 368). Aḷiśi of Ārkkāḍu on the banks of the Kāvērī, father of Śēndan, is another prince mentioned by Paraṇar, but not as a contemporary (*Kuṛundogai* 258); at the latest he may have been of the same age as Karikāla's father; perhaps he belonged to an earlier time. Perumbūṭpoṛaiyan (*Kurun.* 89) was another Chera of whom Paraṇar sang as in the past; also Māndaram Poṛaiyan Kaḍuṅgō (*Aham* 142) who may have been contemporary. Māvaṇ Tittan of Uṛandai (Uṛaiyūr) (*Aham* 6, 122 and *Puṛam* 352) and his daughter Aiyai (*Aham* 6) are mentioned by Paraṇar in a manner that leaves no room for any doubt about their contemporaneity. Not so his references to Śeḷiyan, Paśumpūṭpāṇḍiyan and Evvi, all of whom appear definitely to have belonged to earlier generations. Śeḷiyan is said to have once upon a time put to flight the two great monarchs (Chera and Chola) in a battle at Kūḍalpaṛandalai in the neighbourhood of Madurai (*Aham* 116); the identity of the Pāṇḍyan victor in this battle can be ascertained, if at all, only with more definite evidence from other sources. Again Paśumpūṭpāṇḍiyan is stated to have commanded the services of Adigan in a battle against the Koṅgar at Vāhaippaṛandalai (*Aham* 162), but apparently he himself fell in this battle together with Adigan's elephant on which he was riding (*Kurun. 393);* the incident is also mentioned as a past event by the later poet Nakkīrar who says that the Koṅgar were driven off the field by Paśumpūṭpāṇḍiyan who took many lands (*Aham* 253) in consequence of his victory (also *Naṛṛiṇai* 358).

Paraṇar makes two references to Evvi, the chieftain of Nīḍūr; Evvi ordered extensive feeling (*peruñjōṛu*) at Uṛattūr in Arimaṇavāyil (*Aham*) 266), and the death of Evvi caused distress to minstrels by the loss of a very liberal patron of their class (*Kuṛun.* 19). But the name Evvi is famous in the literature of the age and occurs in many other poems; Māṅguḍi Kiḷār (Māṅguḍi Marudan) relates that the great Vēḷ Evvi lost the divisions of Miḷalai and Muttūṛu to the Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjeḷiyan, victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam (*Puṛam* 24); Kapilar says that Iruṅgōvēḷ belonged to the ancient line of Evvi (ibid. 202); Veḷḷerukkilaiyār laments the death of Evvi in two short poems in the *Puṛam* (233-4), and Nakkīrar and Māmūlanār mention Evvi in the past in *Aham* 126 and 115 respectively, the latter making a pointed reference to his death in battle. Was Evvi a dynastic name like Āy and Adigan, and borne by all the chieftains of Nīḍūr? If that was so, the references to Evvi will cease to have much importance for the construction of our chronological scheme. It seems more probable, however, that Evvi was a personal name, and that there were two Evvis, grandfather and grandson, the former being a contemporary

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of Paraṇar, the latter of Neḍuñjeḻiyan. Iruṅgōvēḷ, the contemporary of Kapilar and Karikāla, belonged to the same line as the two Evvis.

Paraṇar has references, none of them necessarily contemporaneous to Ōri, one of the *vaḷḷals* (patrons), and to his Kollimalai and forest (*kānam*) (*Aham* 208, *Kuṟun.* 199, *Naṟṟiṇai* 6 and 265). That Ōri was killed by Kāri and his Kollimalai transferred to the Cheras thereby is mentioned by Kallāḍanār (*Aham* 209). Paraṇar's reference to the flight of Kaṭṭi from the darbar (*nāḷavai*) of Tittan Veḻiyan at Uṟandai (*Aham* 226) obviously recalls a past occurrence; but there must have been more Kaṭṭis than one, for a Kaṅgan Kaṭṭi is mentioned as having fallen in battle with the Chola commander Paḻaiyan before the battle of Kaḻumalam (*Aham* 44 by Kuḍavāyiṟ Kīrattanār); and Parṇar himself names this Chola commander in two poems (*Aham* 186 and 326). Māmūlanār speaks of the region beyond the good country of Kaṭṭi with the strong spear—*valvēṟ Kaṭṭi nannāṭṭumbar* (*Kuṟun.* 11), where a different language begins to be spoken. Naḷḷi, another *vaḷḷal*, was certainly the contemporary of Paraṇar (*Aham* 152) for both Kākkaipāḍiniyār Nachcheḷḷaiyār and Kapilar also sing of him. Paraṇar refers to Nannan in a number of poems; he was the chieftain of Pāḷi and of Pāram (*Aham* 142, 152); a friend of his is Āy Eyinan, said to have fallen in the battle of Pāḷi fighting his foe Miñili (*Aham* 208, 396). This Nannan, so often referred to by Paraṇar, must be taken to be the father of Nannan, the hero of *Malaipaḍukaḍām*. Paraṇar knows also of another Nannan who attained ill fame as a woman-killer for having sentenced to death a woman whose only fault was that she ate a fruit that came to her floating down the stream in which she was bathing (*Kuṟun.* 292); he refused to commute the death sentence even though he was offered eighty-one tusker elephants and a gold image of the woman as recompense. Whether this incident is fact or legend, it belongs to the time of a still earlier Nannan; how much earlier we have no means of deciding. Yet another Nannan is mentioned by Paraṇar (*Aham* 258) as a celebrity of the past; in his town of Pāḷi, the ancient *Vēḷir* (*tonmudir vēḷir*) had kept much gold; he is called Nannan Udiyan, and certainly belonged to a time earlier than that of Nannan, the father of Nannan of Malaipaḍukaḍām; possibly even to the age of Udiyan of Peruñjōṟu fame. The Nannans were a line of *Vēḷs*. Pēhan, another *vaḷḷal*, and his liberal gifts form the subject of three poems by Paraṇar (*Aham* 262, *Puṟam* 141 and 142); when some difference arose between Pēhan and his wife, they were reconciled by the intercession of poets, Paraṇar being among them (*Puṟam* 144, 145) as also Kapilar (ibid. 143), Ariśil Kiḻār (ibid. 146), and Peruṅgunṟūr Kiḻār (ibid. 147). Peruṅgunṟūr Kiḻār was younger than Kapilar, the junior contemporary of Paraṇar. Yet another *vaḷḷal*, named Tērvaṇmalaiyan (also Kāri) was known to Paraṇar (*Naṟṟiṇai* 100), and this chieftain was celebrated also by Kapilar who has many references to him, by Kallāḍanār, and by Ammūvanār, one of the poets of *Aiṅguṟunūṟu*. Lastly, there was Paḻaiyan of Mōhūr, a chieftain of the Pāṇḍya country, who was defeated in

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battle by Kuṭṭuvan (*Paḍiṟṟu*. 44) who went to the aid of his friend Aruhai; there were also other *vēḷir* fighting on the side of Paḷaiyan on that occasion (ibid. 49 and *padigam* v).

Paraṇar also names Agudai more than once (*Aham* 76, 208 etc.) and the same chieftain seems to be mentioned as the lord of Kūḍal by Kapilar (*Puṟam* 347); we have already noticed other connecting links between the generations of Paraṇar and Kapilar which were close to each other. Kapilar refers to Iruṅgōvēḷ *alias* Pulikaḍimāl (*Puṟam* 201 and 202) to whom he offers Pāri's daughters in marriage; as we have seen, he belonged to the line of Evvi. Iruṅgōvēḷ seems to have been a common name or title, as Nachchinārkkiniyar explains (*Paṭṭinappālai*, *l.* 282). Among the *vaḷḷals*, Kapilar had Pāri for his patron and naturally speaks of him very often in his poems; Ōri of Kollimalai (*Kuṟun.* 100) was killed by Kāri (*Naṟṟiṇai* 320). Kapilar also records the legends of the rise of the Agnikula kings from a sacrificial fire-pit of the northern sage Vasishṭha in connection with Pulikaḍimāl (*Puṟam* 201).

Ariśil Kiḻār, the author of the Eighth Ten, mentions Adigamān of Tagaḍūr, the enemy of his Chera patron Peruñjēral Irumpoṟai (*padigam* viii) and Eḷini, a commander who fell in the sack of Tagaḍūr (*Puṟam* 230).

Peruṅguṉūr Kiḻār has two poems on Kuḍakkō Iḷañjēral Irumpoṟai (*Puṟam* 210 and 211) besides the Ninth Ten; he gives him the title *Nilandaru-tiruvin-neḍiyōn*, an expression which is applied to the Pāṇḍya in the *Maduraikkāñji*,—and this should warn us of the need for caution in using these titles as marks of identity. A Māndaran is mentioned by the poet in *Paḍiṟṟupattu* 90 in a way which implies that he was a remote ancestor of the Cheras, anterior to Anduvan—*viṟal Māndaran viṟal maruga*. The Kiḻār addressed a poem to Uruvapahṟēr Iḷañjēṭchenni, the father of Karikāla (*Puṟam* 266)—a fact which goes far to confirm our scheme of synchronisms. There is mention also of an Iḷam Paḷaiyan Māṟan as the enemy of Kuḍakkō (*padigam* ix); his relation to Paḷaiyan Māṟan of *Maduraikkāñji* is a problem. The number of towns received by Kapilar as presents from his patron is referred to as a past event in *Paḍiṟṟuppattu* 85.

Turning now to the poets of *Pattuppāṭṭu*, Māṅguḍi Marudan and Nakkīrar I are the most prolific in their references to other contemporaries besides their heroes. Māṅguḍi Maruḍan refers to Paḷaiyan Māṟan and his capital Mōhūr (*Maduraik. ll.* 508 and 772); Nakkīrar mentions (*Aham* 346) as a past event the combat of this chieftain with Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan on the outskirts of Kūḍal (Madurai); Māmūlanār (*Aham* 251) has a reference to Mōhūr which seems to recall a state of affairs long anterior to the times of Māṅguḍi Marudan and belonging to the Mauryan epoch as already noted (p. 502). The Kōśar and the chieftain of Mōhūr were clearly friendly in the days of Māṅguḍi Marudan who says that the *sabhā* of Mōhūr was adorned by the Kōśar (*Maduraik. ll.* 508-9). We have noted already that the relation between Paḷaiyan Māṟan and the enemy of Kuḍakkō is not apparent; the latter is called Iḷam (Junior) Paḷaiyan Māṟan.

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Was Paḷaiyan Māṟan then a hereditary dynastic title, there being two persons bearing the title at any time—the ruling chieftain and the heir-apparent? This assumption seems best to satisfy all the data at hand. If, as seems likely, Māṅguḍi Kiḷār was only another name for Māṅguḍi Marudan, we must assume that Eḷini Ādan of Vāṭṭāṟu, celebrated in a poem (*Puṟam* 396), was a contemporary of his. In the *Maduraikkāñji* (*ll.* 203-4) the poet makes a mysterious reference to the vast wealth with which Vāṇan filled the mountains of the southern region ; the annotator glosses Vāṇan with *Vāṇan ennum śūran*, thus suggesting a legendary origin to the idea ; at any rate the Vāṇan of this passage has nothing to do with the minor chieftain of the same name who is associated with Śiṟukudi in the Pāṇḍya country by Nakkīrar (*Naṟṟiṇai* 340) and two other poets—Madurai Kāmakkaṇi Nappālattanār (*Aham* 204) and the anonymous author of *Aham* 117.

The most notable reference in Nakkīrar's poems is the list of the enemies whom Neḍuñjeḷiyan faced and defeated at Talaiyālaṅgānam (*Aham* 36); they were Śēral, Śembiyan (Chola), Titiyan, Eḷini, Erumaiyūran, Iruṅgōvēṇmān, and Porunan, seven in all. His reference to Karikāla's (*Aham* 141) settlement of wandering tribes is in the past, as may be expected. In another poem (*Aham* 346) Nakkīrar mentions the joy of Kōdaimārban at the defeat of Paḷaiyan Māṟan near Madurai at the hands of Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan who captured a great number of horses and elephants on that occasion; by itself this need not be a contemporary reference. Nor can we be sure if this Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan was the same as the homonymous Chola prince who is said to have died at Kuḷamuṟṟam and concerning whom a number of songs by several poets are found in the *Puṟanānūṟu*. But Nakkīrar has another reference to Kōdai, strong in his elephants and chariots, and ruler of Karuvūr (*Aham* 93); he is perhaps the same ruler whom Māṅguḍi Marudan mentions in *Maduraikkāñji* (*l.* 524), and who is said to be the protector of Vañji (*Aham* 263) by the poet Kaṇṇambāḷanār of Karuvūr; he is celebrated in two songs by Poygaiyār (*Puṟam* 48, 49), and possibly also in a song by Erichchalūr Māḍalan Maduraikkumaran (*Puṟam* 54), though this is somewhat doubtful as the colophon describes the prince as Śēramān Kuṭṭuvan Kōdai. Considering the number and nature of these references it is not unlikely that the combat between Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan and Paḷaiyan Māṟan which turned out to the satisfaction of Kōdai was an event of the time of Nakkīrar and Māṅguḍi Marudan. Nakkīrar's reference to Kuṭṭuvan and Toṇḍi (*Aham* 290) has no chronological significance, nor has his mention of Vānavaramban (*Aham* 389). Pāri and Kapilar are also referred to as belonging to the past (*Aham* 78). The Pāṇḍya prince Nanmāṟan who died in Ilavandigaippaḷḷi is praised in high terms by Nakkīrar (*Puṟam* 56) and was obviously his contemporary; the poet Madurai Marudan Iḷanāganār who also celebrates this prince (ibid. 55) must have been contemporary too.

Iḍaikkaḷināṭṭu Nallūr Nattattanār, author of *Śiṟupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* on Nalliyakkōḍan, clearly declares himself to be among the last of the Śaṅgam

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poets when he mentions Kuṭṭuvan of Imayam fame, the seven *vaḷḷals*, and the story of Auvai getting a myrobalan fruit from Adigamān Añji (*l.* 101), all events of past history.

Before proceeding further, we may consider briefly the relative positions of two major poets, Kallāḍanār and Māmūlanār. Kallāḍanār was a contemporary of Talaiyālaṅgānattu Neḍuñjeḻiyan for he addḍanād poems to him (*Puṟam* 23, 371 and *Aham* 25); he also refers to Ambar Kiḻān Aruvandai (*Puṟam* 385) as a contemporary besides the minor chieftain Poṟaiyāṟṟu Kiḻavōn (*Puṟam* 391). He mentions as a past event a fight between Kaḷaṅgāyakkaṇṇi Nārmuḍichchēral and Nannan,—possibly the father (*Aham* 199). The author of *Kallāḍam* must be regarded as another and much later writer of the same name. Māmūlanār must have been among the last poets of the Śaṅgam age, coming almost at the close of it ; he knows all the major events and persons of the entire period and his numerous poems contain valuable references to occurrences in the Tamil country and even in the rest of India, from the age of the Nandas and Mauryas to the very end of the Śaṅgam period. Yet there occurs not a single reference in all these poems that gives a direct clue to his exact age.

We have so far discussed the data bearing on the relative chronology of the events and the number of generations of rulers and poets reflected in the anthologies of the Śaṅgam; we have seen that the extant poems appear to contain the transactions of four or at the most five generations; a period extending over a century or a little more. We may now consider the means of determining where to place this period in the Christian era. The only concrete evidence that aids us here is the synchronism between Śeṅguṭṭuvan and Gajabāhu of Ceylon attested by the *Śilappadikāram*; and this evidence has been treated with suspicion by several scholars. They argue that the chronology of early Ceylonese history is far from settled and can hardly be expected to throw light on South Indian history; and that, the *Śilappadikāram* being a relatively late work, its testimony can have no value for the history of a time preceding it by several centuries. There is force in these objections; but there are not wanting strong considerations on the other side. Though late in its present form and mingled with much that is palpably legendary, the *Mahāvaṁsa*, as Geiger has demonstrated, is based on a genuine tradition and may well be accepted as history except for its opening chapters. Its chronology has been subjected to acute and exhaustive discussion by the same scholar, and we might well do worse than accept his date for Gajabāhu I as A. D. 173-195, the only Gajabāhu known in Ceylonese history before the twelfth century A. D. As for the *Śilappadikāram*, in its extant form it certainly belongs to an age much later than that of the Śaṅgam, but there is reason to hold that this work too preserves the elements of a correct tradition for its historical setting. Its testimony to the contemporaneity of Śeṅguṭṭuvan and Karikāla is borne out by the earlier poems of their own time. It is true that its evidence to the fact of Gajabāhu's being the contemporary

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of both these rulers lacks corroboration from any other source; but there is nothing improbable in the synchronism, and we shall see that the general historical trend strongly favours its acceptance. The Pattini (Kaṇṇagi) cult found a congenial home in Ceylon, and Gajabāhu may have been its founder. We get of course no hint of this possibility in the *Dīpavaṁsa* or the *Mahāvaṁsa*—both being works written from an exclusively Buddhist point of view.[1] The Gajabāhu synchronism thus rests on a slender foundation and involves an assumption regarding Gajabāhu's religious persuasion which finds no support in the only chronicle of his reign accessible to us. Or it may be that the Kaṇṇagi cult was a late institution and in the classic account of its origin, the *Śilappadikāram*, the real names of contemporaneous kings were correctly employed.

Normally we should feel justified in refusing to base any firm conclusions regarding the general history of South India on such insecure evidence; but the position improves considerably when we turn to the general probabilities. That Ceylon and South India had much to do with each other in those remote days becomes apparent in many ways. They are first mentioned together in the inscriptions of the great Mauryan emperor Aśoka who maintained an active and friendly intercourse with these two countries throughout his long reign in the third century B.C. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* the island of Ceylon began to fall under powerful Chola influences very early in its history. The relations between the Damiḷas (Tamils) and the natives of Ceylon form one of the main strands in its narrative, and the distinction between the Pāṇḍya and Chola divisions of the Tamil country is well recognized in it. Towards the middle of the second century B.C., a Damiḷa of noble descent, Eḷāra by name, came to Ceylon from the Chola country, overpowered Asela for forty-four years, administering even justice towards friends and foe.[2] Many stories are told to illustrate the justice of his rule, and among them is the tale of how the king sentenced his only son to death for his having unwittingly killed a young calf by driving the wheel of his chariot over its neck —a typical Chola legend. Though not a Buddhist, the king was on friendly terms with the *bhikkus*. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi led the native opposition against him and put him to death in a battle fought at the gates of Anurādhapura. Also worth noticing are the names of some Tamil chieftains mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* e.g. Paṇaya Māraka, Paḷaya Māraka which seem to be obvious variants of names known to us from the *Puṟanānūṟu* and *Pattuppāṭṭu*; and these chieftains are placed by the chronicle in the latter half of the first century B.C. There is also a poet from Ceylon among the Śaṅgam authors Īḷattu Pūdan Dēvanār. If we remember that the *Mahāvaṁsa* was composed in the fifth century A.D. with the aid of earlier chronicles, we shall see that the somewhat confused account of the Tamil invasions of the island in this early period are not bottomless

[1] *DV.* XXII *vv.* 14, 28; *MV.* XXXV *vv.* 115-22

[2] *MV.* chh. XXI-XXV.

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fabrications, but preserve the faded memory of real events, and the dates assigned to these events cease to be altogether valueless for Tamil chronology. The similarity of Brāhmī inscriptions found in natural caverns in Ceylon and the Madurai and Tirunelvēli districts, all of which may be dated between the second century B.C. and the first century A.D. must also be allowed some significance.

Another line of evidence strongly confirms the chronology indicated by these facts. There is perfect agreement between the Śaṅgam anthologies, the notices of South India in the works of European writers of the early centuries of the Christian era, such as the *Periplus* and Ptolemy's *Geography*, and the numerous finds of Roman coins of the early empire in several places in South India.[1] The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* is the interesting handbook of an Alexandrian merchant 'which was written in the time of Domitian (A.D. 81-96) and by the evidence furnished by Pliny the Elder'.[2] Ptolemy wrote half a century later and his work marks a decided advance in the regularity and volume of trade between the Roman Empire and India. Ptolemy's account shows that the Roman trade with the East which began some time in the reign of Augustus had by the first quarter of the second century A.D. reached beyond India to Indo-China and Sumatra. The recent discovery of a 'Roman factory' of the first century A.D. in the proximity of Pondicherry deserves particular mention.[3] Relatively few Roman merchants visited the lands of the Far East themselves; Southern India obviously acted as the intermediary in the trade between China and the West. The direct trade between Rome and Southern India did not long survive the second century A.D.; it declined and died out in the period of military anarchy which distracted the Roman Empire of the third century. Practically no Roman coins of the third century have been found in India, and business relations were not resumed till order and a stable gold currency had been re-established in the Byzantine period, and then mostly through intermediaries.

The first and second centuries A.D. formed the period when Roman trade with India was brisk and the Tamil countries had many opportunities of contact with the *Yavanas* (Graeco-Romans) and their wares of which precious wines formed no small part. Muśiri and Toṇḍi on the west coast of South India, Koṟkai and Kāvēripaṭṭanam on the east were among the chief ports of the Tamil land where these foreigners crowded, and sometimes they found their way into the interior in various capacities—as palace guards, doorkeepers and so on. All this is vouched for by references in the Tamil poems of the period, and it is difficult to assign these poems to any other age. And the merit of the Gajabāhu synchronism lies in its fitting in so exactly with the data gathered from the classical authors, the Tamil poems, and the coin-finds.

Attempts to settle the age of the Śaṅgam with the aid of astronomical

[1] For details and references see *Colas* 1
[2] Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 91
[3] *Ancient India*, no. 2 (July 1946), pp. 17-124, esp. 22-4

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data found in a few of the poems have led to no conclusive or satisfactory results. *Paripāḍal* No. 11 is the most crucial piece. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai discusses it at length[1] and, with many reservations, suggests two dates, one in A.D. 17 and the other in A.D. 634, the first as satisfying the data of the poem as interpreted by its annotator Parimēlaḻagar and the second as closer to the text. In the course of the discussion he makes a statement which is most valuable from our point of view; it is that the *Paripāḍal* 'horoscope' which describes the planetary positions at the time of the flood in the Vaigai river, is just what it might be expected to be if the Tamils derived their knowledge of astronomy direct from Babylon.[2] So that the astronomical lore exhibited in the eleventh *Paripāḍal* and in such poems as *Puṟam* 229 on the death of Yānaikkaṭchēy Māndarañjēral Irumpoṟai, cannot by any means be held incompatible with our holding the early centuries of the Christian era to be the age of the Śaṅgam. We shall do well to grasp the general position quite firmly as it seems to be the one certainty that emerges from the intricate and many-sided discussions of the astronomy of the poems by different writers.

As for the dates suggested above, Swamikkannu considered A.D. 634 more satisfactory than A.D. 17 both astronomically and historically. We may accept his statement without question on the astronomical aspect; moreover A.D. 17 does appear too early a date for the poem in the light of the general scheme of chronology relative and absolute, advocated here. On the other hand A.D. 634 is equally clearly too late. The date brings us well into the period of the Pallavas of the Siṁhavishṇu line and the age of Nāyanārs and Āḻvārs; and no student of the history of the Tamil language and literature can fail to note that the *Paripāḍal* must have preceded the hymns of Sambandar by about a couple of centuries, if not more.

Accepting thus the Gajabāhu synchronism as valid evidence, we may assign Śeṅguṭṭuvan to *c.* A. D. 180 and work backwards and forwards allowing roughly twenty-five years to a generation. The result so far as it concerns the outstanding figures among kings and chieftains is as follows, the dates suggested being approximations :

130. Udiyañjēral
155. Im. Neḍuñjēral Ādan
Palyānai Śelkeḻukuṭṭuvan

180. Śeṅguṭṭuvan
Āḍukōṭpāṭṭuch-chēral Ādan
Kaḷaṅgāykkaṇṇi Nārmuḍi
Māndaran
140. Anduvan
165. Selvakkaḍuṅgō Vāḻi Ādan
Kuṭṭuvan Irumpoṟai
165. Uruvapahṟēr Iḷañjēṭchenni
(Māndaram Poṟaiyan Kaḍuṅgō)
190. Karikāla
190. Tagaḍūr eṟinda Peruñjēral
Irumpoṟai.
Kuḍakkō Iḷañjēral Irumpoṟai

[1] *Ind. Eph.* I. (i)

[2] Ibid. pp. 100-1

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Gajabāhu 173-195 (Ez- III p.9)

215. Śéy of Elephant-look; Kôdaimārpan
215. Talaiyālaṅgānattu Neḍuñ-jeḷiyan
210. Nannan (son)
215. Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan
235. Nalliyakkōḍan

It is thus seen that the poems we have so far considered, and they form a good part and perhaps the most significant part of the Śaṅgam anthologies, reflect the history of the period ranging from A.D. 130 to about 230. We have indeed some casual references to earlier events and persons, but for the most part we lack the means of assigning any precise dates to them. One thing is certain. We have before us only a segment of the Tamil history of the early centuries A.D.; the beginnings are lost and the anthologies seem to start rather late. And the end is also equally abrupt. The transition to the conditions of the next great epoch, that of the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, is also hidden from view, and we have very little direct evidence on the period of three centuries intervening (*c.* A. D. 250-550).

HISTORY : THE CHERAS

Udiyañjēral: *c.* A. D. 130. His queen was Nallini, the daughter of Veḷiyan, and he had two sons by her—Imayavaramban Neḍuñjēral Ādan and Palyānaiśelkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan.[1] Veḷiyan must not be confused with his namesake who came much later and was the son of Tittan of Uṟaiyūr, the contemporary of Paraṇar (*Aham* 152, 226).[2] There is every reason to think that Udiyañjēral was the hero of the missing first decad of the *Ten Tens*. The titles Vānavaramban and Peruñjōṟṟu Udiyan are applied to him by the poet Muriñjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar in *Puṟam* 2. The first title was borne by other kings also who came later in the line; it means 'sky-bounded'. Another poet, a Chera prince Mākkōdai, who died at Kōṭṭambalam[3] speaks of Udiyan's celebrated kitchen (*aṭṭil*) at Kuḷumūr (*Aham* 168) and thus confirms his title to fame as a great distributor of food. Māmūlanār also mentions the age of Udiyañjēral, who had a great regard for his ancestors and indulged in extensive feeding—*mudiyaṟ pēṇiya Udiyañjēral peruñjōṟu koḍutta ñāṉṟai* (*Aham* 233).[4] The author of *Puṟam* 2 roundly asserts that Udiyañjēral got his title of a great dispenser of viands by feeding both the armies engaged in the great battle of the Mahābhārata war. Literally understood, this statement would make the poet and the king contemporaries of the heroes of the Mahābhārata; and this is obviously impossible. Some writers explain it as a memorial feeding on the anniversary of the war,[5] but there is really no

[1] ii and *padigam* iii.
[2] *Contra* : K. G. Sesha Aiyar's *Cera Kings*, p. 10 evidently based on com. to *Puṟam* 80.
[3] His only other poem (*Puṟam* 254) is a short and poignant lament on the loss of his wife.
[4] See also *Śil.* xxiii, *l.* 55 and *Kaliṅgattu pparaṇi v.* 181 and notes in Gopala Aiyar's edition.
[5] Sesha Aiyar, op. cit., p. 7

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warrant for the supposition. Perhaps the best way is to look upon it as a legend attributing this rôle of playing the host to the armies of the Great War to some remote ancestor of the Cheras and here employed by a well-known poetic convention in praise of Udiyañjēral. The same honour is claimed by the Pāṇḍyas and Cholas as well, and it is a feature common to royal familes all the world over to claim some connection, direct or remote, with well-known heroes famed in war and song. The inclusion of the poet of *Puṟam* 2 among the authors of the first Śaṅgam in the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ Urai* is the natural consequence of a literal understanding of the poem! The relatively late poet Māmūlanār has a vague reference to Udiyañjēral expanding the Chera country—*nāḍu kaṇ agaṟṟiya* (*Aham* 65); but as no details are forthcoming from contemporary authors, this can be only treated as conventional praise.

Imayavaramban Neḍuñjēral Ādan c. A.D. 155, son of Udiyañjēral, is said to have ruled for fifty-eight years. He married two queens and had, as already noted, three sons by them. His achievements form the subject of the Second Ten by Kumaṭṭūr Kaṇṇanār, who is said to have obtained from the monarch in reward for his composition 500 villages of Umbaṟ-kāḍu as *brahmadāya* and a share in the revenues of the southern country (*tennāḍu*) for thirty-eight years! Letters have seldom been so lucrative an occupation, and the staggering statements that occur in the epilogues (*padigam*) to the decads must be accepted with much reserve. In the body of the ten poems, the one concrete achievement ascribed to the king is the overthrow of the Kaḍambu tree which was situated on an island (*iru munnīrtturutti, ll.* 1-2 of 20) and was the palladium of some hostile power; the king crossed the sea, defeated the enemy, uprooted his guardian tree and made a war-drum out of its trunk (*vv.* 11, 12, 17, 20). The enemy with the Kaḍambu emblem has been regarded as a class of pirates by one modern writer[1] and identified with Nannan by another.[2] The first view rests on the references to piracy on the Kanara coast occurring in classical authors, and the second lacks all basis. Whether the Kaḍamba dynasty who ruled some centuries later in Vanavāsi and other places had any connexion with this enemy of Śēral Ādan is not clear. Whoever he was, the overthrow of this enemy and the destruction of his guardian tree was a great achievement of the Chera monarch, and he won much praise by it.

Another achievement of the monarch finds a place only in the epilogue; on one occasion he captured several Yavanas, bound their hands behind them and poured oil on their heads, and did not release them until he received a heavy ransom in the form of diamonds and other precious stones and many utensils of fine workmanship. These Yavanas were doubtless Graeco-Roman merchants and sailors; how they offended the Chera monarch is not explained but they were well punished for

[1] S. K. Aiyangar, *The Beginning of S. Indian History*, pp. 231-2

[2] Sesha Aiyar, op. cit., p. 11

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their contumacy. This was evidently no more than an episode of transient importance.

The king's title Imayavaramban (who had the Himalayas as boundary) is explained by the round assertion that he conquered the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin (*v.* 11, *ll.* 23-5) and carved his emblem of the bow on the face of the great mountain after subjugating the kings of the North (epilogue). In the same way his ancestors are said to have ruled the entire world (*v.* 12, *ll.* 19-20). These statements can only be treated as fond poetic exaggerations, possibly founded on successful military raids or even quasi-religious, quasi-military pilgrimages. Less incredible are the verses which describe the effects of his good rule and the ruin of the countries which pitted themselves against him (13), the wars he waged for many years spent in camps parted from the company of his queen (15, 16), and his liberality to poets and others who sought his patronage (18, 20). In war, the king rode on an elephant adorned with garlands and lace ornament (11, *ll.* 17-20). He wore a garland of the seven crowns of enemy kings whom he had conquered and subjugated (14, *l.* 11. and 16, *l.* 17). This feature, however, tends to become conventional at least for the later monarchs of the *Ten Tens*.

In two poems (*Aham* 127, 347) Māmūlanār mentions the war against the Kaḍambu and the carving of the bow on the Himalayas by Śēral Ādan as past events; he also states that his capital Marandai (*Aham* 127) was thronged with enemy kings who, vanquished in war, had come to the city bearing tribute.

We have already noted the identity of this monarch with Kuḍakkō Neḍuñjēral Ādan; there are two poems, one each by Kaḷāttalaiyār (*Puṟam* 62) and Paraṇar (ibid. 63), in which the poets lament the death on the battle-field of Pōr of this monarch together with his Chola opponent Veṟpahṟaḍakkaip-Peruviṟaṟ Kiḷḷi; the queens of both the fallen monarchs are said to have performed *satī* with their husbands. We have no information of the cause of the conflict.[1]

Palyānaiśelkeḻu Kuṭṭuvan, younger brother of Imayavaramban, ruled for twenty-five years. The decad concerning him was composed by Pālaik Kautamanār, a Brahmin poet, who, as the reward for his literary effort, desired the king to help him and his wife to attain heaven; the king is said to have consulted learned Brahmins and resolved to help the poet to perform ten Vedic sacrifices at the end of which the poet and his wife became invisible, evidently attaining the object of their desire. The intrusion of the miraculous and supernatural into ostensible historical narratives is common in all early literature, and we can only set down the data as we find them, leaving the reader to interpret them as he may. The name of the poet, his reward, the duration of the king's

[1] The word *māṇḍana* occurs in *l.* 27 of *v.* 19 in the sense of 'died', 'ceased to exist'. In the Śaṅgam works this word is usually employed in another and better sense, viz. attained celebrity. Here is a textual problem; but an easy solution for it is to suggest that the word is a mistake for *māyndana* which will suit the context and the metre very well.

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reign and some other facts not known to the text of the poems in the decads are given only in the *padigam* in every case.

In the text of the decad, the specific achievements attributed to the king are the conquest of Koṅgu (22, *l.* 15) and the capture of the fortress of Agappā (ibid. *l.* 26) and more generally the expansion of the Chera power and the ruin of enemy countries. He is also called the lord of the Pūḻiyar of the Śeruppu mountain (21. *l.* 23), lord of Aiyirai mountain (ibid. *l.* 29), and the armour of armed soldiers (ibid. *l.* 24). He is styled once the Kuṭṭuvan of many great elephants (29. *l.* 14) and he is also said to have sumptuously fed his entire army on the eve of his battles by beat of drum (*peruñjōṟu*).

In the epilogue the king is said to have established his rule in Umbaṟ-kāḍu; but as this country was already under Chera rule, we must suppose that some rising in the land was suppressed, and Chera rule firmly re-established in it. Next, the destruction of the Agappā fort is mentioned, and this is followed by the distribution of conquered territory among the senior kinsmen of the monarch. He is said to have caused the water of the western and eastern oceans to be brought at the same time for his *abhisheka* by a system of relays of elephants detached for the purpose—an indication of the extent and splendour of his royal power. He worshipped the goddess of Victory on the Ayirai mountain; finally, led by his learned Brahmin *purohiṭ* Neḍumpāradāyanār (Bhāradvāja) he relinquished the monarchy, to enter the forest and turn ascetic.

The *Śilappadikāram* has a reference to the king's enabling Kautamanār to perform the sacrifices and reach heaven (*Śil.* xxiii *ll.* 62-6).

Kaḷangāykkaṇṇi Nārmuḍichchēral: *c.* A.D. 175. One of the two sons of Imayavaramban by his senior queen, the daughter of Vēḷāvikkōmān Paduman. He ruled for twenty-five years, and was the hero of the fourth decad sung by Kāppiyāṟṟuk-Kāppiyanār who was rewarded by a gift in gold of four million *kāṇam* and a share of the kingdom.

In the text of the decad (38, *l.* 4) the king is accorded his full title as given above; the title means that his crown was made of palmyra fibre and the festoon upon it was made of *kaḷangāy*, a small dark berry; why he had to wear these insignia is nowhere explained; we have only the annotator's surmise that somehow the proper crown and festoon were not on hand at the time of his coronation—which explains nothing.[1] We learn from the next poem in the decad (39) that the crown was really not made entirely of fibre, but had a golden frame and festoons of precious pearls calculated to mitigate the shortcomings of the fibre crown. There must have been some real reason for the king choosing such an extraordinary tiara, but we have no means of getting at it now. The king is also called Vānavaramban (38, *l.* 12).

Nārmuḍi was a brave warrior, and he waged wars with success against Neḍumiḍal (32, *l.* 10) who according to the commentator bore the personal

[1] M. Raghava Aiyangar improves on this and says (*Śeran Śeṅguṭṭuvan*, p. 13) that enemies had carried them off, a statement for which there is no support.

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name of Añji; if this is correct, he must be distinguished from the more famous Adigamān Neḍumān Añji, the opponent of a later Chera monarch. Neḍumiḍal's country is said to have been occupied by the Chera conqueror (32, *l.* 14). The other achievement of Nārmuḍi was his victory against Nannan I and the destruction of his guardian tree of *vāhai* (40, *ll.* 14-16). Kallāḍanār refers to this event as a past occurrence in a poem (*Aham* 199) which says that the king recovered some lost territory after a battle with Nannan, and he locates the scene of battle at Vāhaipperunduṟai—a name that might have had something to do with the guardian tree of Nannan. The *padigam* to the decad describes Nannan's city at Kaḍambin-peruvāyil and states that Nannan was decapitated by the victor who also uprooted his tree. An expedition into Pūḻi-nāḍu is placed at the head of these operations against Nannan, and it seems probable that this was the name of the territory intervening between the Chera country proper and Nannan's land which was probably the Tulu country. The title of lord of Pūḻiyar was borne by Palyānai Kuṭṭuvan.

Nārmuḍi is said generally to have waged many wars, worn the garland of seven crowns (40, *l.* 13), and attended personally to all matters of administration, and thus rendered it impossible for his enemies to get the better of him (34). He lived for others rather than for himself (38, 39).

This decad (iv) is an *andādi*, the closing words of one poem occurring also at the beginning of the next. It contains details regarding Vishṇu worship, mentions the *tulasi* (basil) garland of Vishṇu and the practice of fasting in the temple to obtain the grace of the deity, and alludes to the story of the burning of Tripura (32).[1]

Śeṅguṭṭuvan: *c.* A.D. 180. The hero of the fifth decad by Paraṇar, one of the most celebrated and longest-lived of the poets of the Śaṅgam age. Śeṅguṭṭavan is said to have rewarded Paraṇar with the gift of the entire income (*vāri*) from Umbaṟkāḍu and of his son Kuṭṭuvan Śēral. What the gift of the son means is hard to say.

Śeṅguṭṭuvan was the son of Imayavaramban Neḍuñjēral Ādan by his junior queen, a Chola princess whose name seems to figure as Maṇakkiḻḻi in the *padigam* to our decad, while Aḍiyārkkunallār, the commentator of the *Śilappadikāram*, calls her Naṟchōṇai and states that she had a second son after Śeṅguṭṭuvan. In fact the life and achievements of Śeṇguṭṭuvan have generally been viewed in the light of the late and legendary data of the *Śilappadikāram*, and it takes a mental effort to view them in their proper perspective. We shall do well to follow the story step by step.

It is remarkable that there is no other contemporary poem on this monarch except one by Paraṇar himself (*Puṟam* 369) nor even clear allusions to him and his work in the later poems gathered in the anthologies accessible to us. In the decad of Paraṇar the only definite martial achieve-

[1] It also contains the verbal form *adirpaṭṭu-muḻaṅgi* (39, *l.* 6) which sounds rather unusual for the age of the poem.

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ment attributed to Śeṅguṭṭuvan is a war with the chieftain of Mōhūr, the fierce foe of Aruhai, a friend of Śeṅguṭṭuvan in a distant country ; from this war the Chera monarch emerged victorious, destroying the guardian *margosa* tree of the Mōhūr princeling from the stem of which a war-drum was made (44, *ll.* 11-16); in this conflict Mōhūr commanded the support of other kings and *vēḷir* (49, *ll.* 4-7) but without avail; and many warriors lost their lives in the fierce battle (ibid. *ll.* 8-16). Mōhūr must clearly be the seat of the Paḷaiyans in the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, famous in many other contexts. Of Aruhai we have no further information. Paraṇar also says that Śeṅguṭṭuvan exerted himself greatly on the sea (41, *l.* 27; 42, *ll.* 21-3), but it is not certain if this was a separate historical event of the nature of a sea-fight, or has reference only to a quasi-legendary achievement attributed to him elsewhere in the decad (45, *ll.* 18-23; 46, *ll.* 11-13), viz. to have secured the retreat of the ocean by throwing a spear against it from which the monarch got the title *kaḍal piṟakkōṭṭiya*, 'who drove back the sea'. The commentator explains even this as meaning that Śeṅguṭṭuvan destroyed the efficacy of the sea as a protection for his enemies who relied upon it. If this is correct, Śeṅguṭṭuvan must be credited with a naval victory, his own, or his ancestors' e.g. the war against Kaḍambu. For the rest we learn little more from Paraṇar except that Śeṅguṭṭuvan was a skilful horseman, presented a vast number of horses to troupes of actors, rode a war-elephant, conquered many kings between the Himalayas and Cape Comorin (43), wore the garland of seven crowns (45, *l.* 6), was adept in the siege of fortresses (46), supplied unlimited toddy in his darbar (ibid.), and loved war better than women (50).

The epilogue to the decad adds a number of new particulars, the most important of them relating to the establishment of the Pattini cult. It says that to get the stone on which the image of the divine Pattini was to be made, Śeṅguṭṭuvan crossed forests, killed an Aryan chieftain, bathed the stone in the Ganges, and captured numberless cows of good breed with their calves. This brief sketch of the monarch's action regarding Pattini is in striking contrast with the very elaborate story in the *Śilappadikārum*, of which more presently. The next event mentioned in the *padigam* is his camping by the forest of Iḍumbil for an attack on Viyalūr in which many tiger-like warriors fell; we learn from a poem of Māmūlanār (*Aham* 97) that Viyalūr belonged to Nannan, so that this section of the *padigam* is a reference to the war against that chieftain, of which we have no further particulars; possibly it was a case of rebellion suppressed by the suzerain. Śeṅguṭṭuvan is said then to have reached Akkarai, overthrown the fortress of Koḍukūr, cut into pieces the hard trunk of the dark-boughed *margosa* tree guarded by Paḷaiyan, and had the logs drawn in a cart by elephants yoked with ropes made of the hair shorn from the heads of Paḷaiyan's womenfolk. The location of Koḍukūr has been sought in the south Mysore country[1] and its destruction treated as part of

[1] M. Raghava Aiyangar, op. cit., p. 29 citing *IA.* XVIII p. 367

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Śeṅguṭṭuvan's war against the Koṅgar mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram* but nowhere else. This may be so, though the evidence cited is late and inconclusive. The refinement of barbarity in the treatment of the womenfolk of Paḻaiyan is, one hopes, no more than an exaggeration born of the acceptance of false conventions by the poets of the age. The last event mentioned in the epilogue is a battle at Vāyil in a war of Chola succession in which nine Chola claimants to the throne are said to have lost their lives; this encounter is located at Nērivāyil, a village to the south of Uṟaiyūr, by the commentator of the *Śilappadikāram*.[1] This work states in detail that the ruling Chola monarch Kiḷḷi was related to Śeṅguṭṭuvan as *maittuna* (wife's brother?), that he had trouble from nine princes of the blood royal, who would not accept subordinate positions and began to fill the country with their quarrels and were likely to ruin it; this intolerable situation was brought to an end by Śeṅguṭṭuvan's intervention which restored the unity of Kiḷḷi's rule after the destruction of his nine rivals at Nērivāyil.

Not in connection with this battle only, but in many other respects the *Śilappadikāram* embellishes the life story of Śeṅguṭṭuvan; the one Aryan chief conquered by him in his northern expedition becomes a thousand kings, and the expedition itself takes place not once but twice, once to bathe his mother in the Ganges and again to win the stone for the Pattini image. Regarding the maternal bath in the Ganges, the commentator himself entertains doubts and says that it is a story,[2] possibly because according to *Puṟam* 62, the king's mother committed *satī* on the pyre of her husband when he fell in combat with a Chola. The *Śilappadikāram* says further that Śeṅguṭṭuvan engaged in constant war for at least fifty years, but no fresh details are forthcoming. The work purports to be that of a younger brother of the monarch.

The estimate of Śeṅguṭṭuvan will vary according as we base it on contemporary poems only or on the *Śilappadikāram* also. The general tendency has been to follow the second course and to make a very great hero of him. In reality he was just like any other monarch of the age. He may have taken a leading part in the institution of the Pattini cult, unless indeed that cult was a later institution which was ascribed to Śeṅguṭṭuvan by the *Śilappadikāram*, the saga of the cult. How far again the incidents in the story of Kōvalan and Kaṇṇagi are to be treated as historical is another vexed question on which no confident opinion can be expressed. The Pāṇḍyan contemporary of Śeṅguṭṭuvan was Neḍuñjeḻiyan known as Āriyappaḍai-Kaḍanda, who conquered the Arya forces.[3] He is the author of one poem (*Puṟam* 183).

The antiquity and popularity of the Kaṇṇagi story is well attested by other evidence. A song in the *Naṟṟiṇai* (216) by Marudan Iḷanāganār of Madurai contains a casual and all the more valuable reference, to Kaṇṇagi tearing off one of her breasts from grief for her husband and her

[1] *Śil.* xxv, *ll.* 115-9; xxvii, *ll.* 118-23; M. Raghava Aiyangar, op. cit pp. 32-3
[2] *Śil.* xxv. *ll.* 160-1
[3] *Śil.* Madurai, Kaṭṭurai

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appearance under a *vēṅgai* tree where the gods came to her in response to her wish; both these elements are found woven into the story of the *Śilappadikāram* as we have it now. Again a verse cited in the commentary of the *Yāpparuṅgalavirutti*[1] is obviously part of the lament of Kaṇṇagi after the murder of her husband; the verse is cited as an instance of metrical irregularity to be treated as *ārsha*; here we have proof of the existence of other works, now lost, on the Kaṇṇagi saga.

Paraṇar had many notable contemporaries among the monarchs and poets of the age—Karikāla's father and Karikāla himself among the Cholas; Naḷḷi, Evvi, Ori, Kāri, Nannan I, Pēhan, and Paḷaiyan, among chieftains; and all the authors of the sixth to the ninth decads of the *Ten Tens* among the poets. Facts like these must be firmly kept in view when determining the duration of the age depicted in the Śaṅgam literature.

Āḍukoṭpāṭṭuch-chēral Ādan : *c.* A.D. 180, half-brother of Śeṅguṭṭuvan, and brother of Nārmuḍi, is said to have held sway for thirty-eight years. He is the hero of the sixth decad by the poetess Kākkaipāḍiniyār Nachchelḷaiyār whom he rewarded with gold, weighing 9 *kā* for making jewels and 100,000 *kāṇam* in cash, besides entertaining her in his court permanently thereafter.

The poetess acquired her title from having introduced a crow as a leading feature in a song in the *Kuṟundogai* (210) in which Naḷḷi and Toṇḍi are also mentioned—the song being to the effect that even the fine rice of Toṇḍi mixed with the ghee yielded by the cows of Nāḷḷi's shepherds would not be adequate recompense (*bali*, offering) for the crow that by its cawing announced the return of the lover to his love! Naḷḷi is mentioned also by Kapilar, the author of the next decad, in a poem in *Aham* (238) where Naḷḷi's mountain and his liberality are selected for particular praise.

In the body of the sixth decad there is little history; Ādan's good rule is praised in general terms, as also his heroism in war and his liberality. He is said to have indulged in mixed dances (*tuṇaṅgai*) and roused the jealousy of his queen (52). He had the title Vānavaraṁban (58, *l.* 12, also *Aham* 389 Nakkīrar) and Naṟavu on the sea-shore was one of the towns belonging to him (60, *l.* 12).

In the epilogue the king's title is accounted for by the statement that he compelled his enemies who had carried off into the Daṇḍāraṇya a flock of *varuḍai* (mountain sheep) belonging to the Cheras to return them safe to Toṇḍi. He is said further to have given a village in Kuḍanāḍu with cows to Brahmins and thereby caused his name Vānavaraṁban to shine forth. This seems to imply that we have to understand the title as a metaphor suggesting the conquest of heaven by pious deeds, an idea known to the Gupta coin-legends. Lastly, the king defeated the Maḷavar in battle and routed monarchs and ruled his subjects as parents guard their children with a loving mind.

This monarch may well have been the famous Karikāla's Chera

[1] Ed. Bhavanandam (1916), p. 351

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opponent, who received a wound in his back in the battle of Veṇṇi and expiated the disgrace by starving to death on the battle-field sword in hand—as we learn from three poems (*Puṟam* 65, 66 and *Aham* 55).[1] One of them, by Māmūlanār (*Aham* 55), states that many eminent men gave up their lives when they heard of the Chera monarch's demise and the reason for it.

From the next decad, the seventh, the collection proceeds to treat of monarchs of another branch of Cheras, and before taking up their study, we may stop to consider the nature of the Chera monarchy implicit in the data yielded by the epilogues. In them the five monarchs of the line of Udiyañjeral whose reigns we have so far studied are said altogether to have reigned for over two centuries (58+25+25+55+38=201); and we shall see further that the monarchs of the seventh, eighth and ninth decads respectively are assigned periods of 25, 17 and 16 years, giving a total of another 58 years. Surely we cannot consider these periods as successively running one after another; we must necessarily postulate a very considerable degree of overlapping. How exactly the rule of the kingdom was shared among the different princes of the blood royal, and the rules of precedence, if any, that prevailed among them, we have no means of ascertaining now. The Chera kingdom must have been a sort of family estate in which all the adult males of the line had a share and interest—what Kauṭilya has called *kulasaṅgha*, a family-group. Kauṭilya attributed great merit to this type of state organisation, saying that a *kulasaṅgha* was invincible—*kulasaṅgho hi durjayaḥ*.[2] A similar clan-rule might have prevailed in the Chola and Pāṇḍya kingdoms as well; in the case of the Cholas such an assumption would be the best means of explaining the occasion for Śeṅguṭṭuvan to intervene in a war of succession in which nine Chola princes laid down their lives; it would also furnish a natural explanation for the occurrence of so many names of kings—all necessarily to be accommodated within a space of three, four or at most five generations for the reasons already stated. Our knowledge of the genealogy of the royal families being so limited, the dates we assign to different persons and incidents can only be rough approximations. The kings of the last three decads of the *Ten Tens* as well as their ancestors must be taken to have ruled contemporaneously with the kings of the house of Udiyañjēral. Let us now see what the poems have to tell us about these monarchs.

Anduvan : *c.* A. D. 140, was the father of Śelvakkaḍuṅgō Vāḻi Ādan; his wife was the daughter of a certain Orutandai. Her name figures only as Poṟaiyan Perundēvi, the great queen of Poṟaiyan (Chera). Anduvan is said to have had a stout heart and taken his enemies captive; he was also celebrated for his wide and accurate scholarship (*padigam* vii). He was the lord of Maiyūr (*pad.* ix). Doubtless also he was the monarch addressed by the poet Ēṇichchēri Muḍamōśiyār of Uṟaiyūr

[1] Sesha Aiyar, op. cit., pp. 29-32 [2] *KA.* I 17

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(*Puṟam* 13); the occasion was furnished by a Chola prince Muḍittalaikkō Perunaṟkiḷḷi who was carried into the precincts of Karuvūr by the uncontrollable must elephant on which he was riding; the poet explains the situation to Anduvan in order to assure him that it was no act of hostility on the part of the Chola thus to ride into the Chera capital, and prays for the safety of the Chola prince. We get no other information about Anduvan.

The poet of Uṟaiyūr just mentioned is celebrated as a Brahmin protégé[1] of the chieftain Āy; many of his poems celebrating his patron are found in the *Puṟam* besides poems of other poets on the same chieftain. Āy was thus clearly a contemporary of Anduvan, and we may stop to consider the information to be gathered about him from the poems before we proceed to the decad dealing with Anduvan's son, Śelvakkaḍuṅgō Vāḻi Ādan. Further, as Kapilar, the author of that decad, declares at the outset (61) that he went to the Chera monarch after the demise of his former patron Pāri, we may also discuss the incidents of Pāri's life and his relations with Kapilar at this stage.

Āy, a *vēḷ* chieftain, is mentioned in two poems by Paraṇar; in one (*Aham* 152) his name occurs with the names of other chieftains—Nannan, Naḷḷi. Piṇḍan, and Tittan Veḷiyan, and he is said to have owned numerous elephants and presented them liberally to his favourites; in the other (ibid. 198) mention is made of Āy's good country in the south. In fact Āy appears to have held sway in the mountainous marches of the southernmost section of the Western Ghats which divided the Pāṇḍya and Chola countries on the east from the Kerala on the west. The region abounds in elephants even at the present day and it is no surprise to find these noble animals figuring so largely in the poetry that celebrates Āy and his country. In fact Mōśi Kīran, a somewhat later poet who was contemporary with Peruñjēral Irumpoṟai who won Ṭagaḍūr (*Puṟam* 50), says clearly that the Podiyil mountain belonged to Āy (*Kuṟun.* 84). Another poet Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam, compares the rain clouds gathering in the sky to the crowd of elephants that Āy Aṇḍiran ever kept ready for presentation to the bards and minstrels who visited him (*Naṟṟiṇai* 237). There is a reference to Āy's forest (*kānam*) in the only poem (*Aham* 69) of Paraṅgoṟṟanār, son of Umaṭṭūr Kiḷār; and another poet also, Tuṟaiyūr Ōḍai Kiḷār, is only known by the single poem which he addresses to Āy soliciting a present (*Puṟam* 136). A quasi-legendary reference to Āy occurs in the rather late poem, *Śirupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* (*ll.* 96-9), in which he is said to have presented to God Śiva a very fine cloth given to him by a Nāga (*nīla-nāgan*).

It is to Muḍamōśiyār that we owe many songs of great literary finish and intense personal feeling celebrating the virtues and eminence of Āy. In one poem (*Puṟam* 127) he describes the luxurious palace of Āy depleted of all its wealth after the visit of *pāṇars* (minstrels); in another (ibid. 128) he says that the mountain Podiyil was accessible only to dancing-girls

[1] *Tol.* Marapu 74 *urai.*

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(*pāḍinis*) coming to look for Āy's patronage; but not to enemy kings, however strong their forces. Several poems attest the ingenious strivings of the poet to convey to us the richness of Āy's country in elephants and Āy's great liberality in parting with them as presents to his guests—thus, the stars must fill the entire sky to equal the number of elephants given away by Āy Aṇḍiran (ibid. 129); such elephants were more numerous than the spears employed on the field where the Koṅgar were driven to the western sea by Āy—almost the only martial achievement of Āy to be mentioned—and the poet questions Āy if in his country one she-elephant brought forth ten calves at a time (ibid. 130); again did the mountains sing the praises of Āy and win presents from him, that they should harbour so many elephants (ibid. 131)? Āy's *kaṇṇi* (the festoon on his crown), was of *vaḷai* (*ochrocarpus congifolius*) (ibid.). In one poem the poet laments that at one time he thought of others before Āy, and maintains that Āy in the south balances the Himalayas in the north of India (ibid. 132), thus recalling the cycle of legends centring round Agastya and his residence in the Podiyil mountain. Another poem (ibid. 133) is an exhortation to a dancing-girl (*viṟali*) to resort to Āy in all haste if she wanted to meet the embodiment of fame. Āy was no trader in *dharma*, seeking the reward of comfort in the other world for the good he did here, but only sought to be an example to others (ibid. 134). The poet says in another poem (ibid. 135) that he went with the dancing-girl with her lute behind him just to meet Āy, not to apply for any presents, but adds slyly: 'May Āy ever be in a position to dispense with the things coveted by his visitors.' Two other poems conclude the theme of Āy's liberality, one by contrasting the sun unfavourably with him (ibid. 374) and the other by lauding his appreciation of literature (ibid. 375). Finally the poet mentions the death of Āy and the welcome he received in the abode of the gods in heaven, saying that the drum in Indra's palace reverberated at the arrival of Āy (*Puṟam* 241). The death of Āy Aṇḍiran is mentioned also by Kuṭṭuvan Kīranār who is known only by a single poem (*Puṟam* 240) which records the event, recalls the presents of elephants, horses, and chariots that Āy gave to poets in his lifetime, and mentions the fact that the wives of Āy immolated themselves on his funeral pyre, performing *satī* . Āy appears to have been a dynastic name, while Aṇḍiran may be the Sanskrit word meaning hero. Ptolemy knew of Āy and his mountain country.

Pāri was another *vēḷ* chieftain, the friend and patron of Kapilar who found his way to the Chera court only after Pāri's death. Of the origin of the *vēḷs* there is a legend recorded by Kapilar himself (*Puṟam* 201) according to which they belonged to a line of kings who appeared from the sacred fire-pit of a northern sage and ruled in Tuvarai for forty-nine generations. Tuvarai may stand for either Dvārakā or Dvārasamudra. It is perhaps better identified with the latter, because in the same poem Kapilar describes Iruṅgō-vēḷ as *puli-kaḍi-māl*, the great man who drove off the tiger, an attribute that anticipates by centuries the Kannaḍa legend regarding the origin of the dynastic name Hoysala.

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Many minor chieftains of the Tamil country in this period claimed to be of *vēḷ* origin, and Pāri is one of the best known among them. His principality lay in the Pāṇḍya country round about the hillock known as Koḍuṅguṉṟam or Pirānmalai, where there is a temple of Pārīśvara commemorating perhaps the ancient connection of Pāri with the shrine.[1] The fame of Pāri's liberality finds an echo in later ages in Sundaramūrti's lament: 'there is no one ready to give, even if an illiberal patron is addressed by the name of Pāri.'

Kapilar was not a mere bard who sought to win the favour of Pāri by celebrating him in song, but his lifelong friend and adviser. He stood by the chieftain through thick and thin, and devised ways of prolonging resistance when Pāri's hill was completely surrounded by 'the three crowned kings' of the Tamil country; after Pāri's death, Kapilar took charge of his two unmarried daughters and did his best, apparently without success, to get them suitably married.

The story of Pāri and his daughters and Kapilar grew into a popular saga, embellished from time to time by the addition of fresh details; all these later accretions have found their lodgement in the compilation of literary legends known as *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Charitai*, hardly two centuries old. Leaving these late legends alone, we shall confine ourselves to the data from the Śaṅgam anthologies.

In a song in the *Naṟṟiṇai* (253) Kapilar describes the strongly guarded hill of Pāri. A number of his poems on Pāri figure in the *Puṟam* collection. One of them (105) is a *viṟaliyāṟṟuppaḍai* in the conventional style exhorting a *viṟali* (dancing-girl) to go to Pāri and seek his patronage; Pāri's gentleness and liberality to visitors, she is told, are more refreshing than the cool waters of the springs for which his hill was famous. The next poem (106) says that Pāri's liberality was so universal that even bad poets returned from him not empty-handed. In another short poem (107) Kapilar says that poets praise only Pāri, and seem to forget that the rain has also a part in ensuring the well-being of the world. The fertile land of Pāri with its sandal-wooded hillsides was really the property of those who praised him in song (108). The riches of Pāri's hill in forest produce is described in detail by the poet in a song (109) which concludes on the note that access to them is easier to minstrels and dancers, than to kings who seek to enter by force. The next song (110) begins with a brief repetition of the same idea, and dissuades kings from resorting to Pāri even as minstrels, declaring that all the three hundred villages of his fine country have been distributed as presents and there remains only the poet Kapilar, Pāri, and the hill. Kings will find it hard, repeats Kapilar in another song (111), to take Pāri's hill by the force of their lance, but a *viṟali* may win it if she approaches with a song to the accompaniment of a lute.

Then comes a short poem of five lines attributed to Pāri's daughters;

[1] M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Vēḷir Varalāṟu*, pp. 63-4

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it is a direct and simple statement, full of pathos, of the change in their fortunes due to their father's death. 'In those days, we enjoyed the moonlight happily with father, and the foe could not take our hill; now this day, in this bright moonlight, kings with victorious resounding war-drums have won the hill, and we have lost our father.' The annotator explains in his gloss that the first half of the verse refers to the period when the three kings were besieging Pāri's hill for a long time without success, and that the reference to their victorious war-drums is ironical, as they killed Pāri not in open fight, but by treachery. Considering how often Kapilar asserts the impossibility of reducing the hill by force, the commentator's statement may well be accepted as the record of a correct tradition. According to one of the early legends that grew round this celebrated siege, Kapilar trained a large number of birds to fly out from Pāri's fortress into the open country behind the besieging troops and bring in enough corn to feed the city and the army for several days and months; thus he helped to stave off an early surrender. Kapilar himself has nothing to say on this; but poets who came very soon after him make pointed references to it. Auvaiyār has (*Aham* 303) a poem which speaks of Pāri's gifts to poets of elephants and jewels besides the story of the sparrows flying out in the morning to fetch grain in the evening for provisioning the beleaguered fortress; Nakkīrar (*Aham* 78) mentions the same incident and names Kapilar as the inventor of the ruse which prolonged the siege for years; and roundly asserts that Pāri triumphed in the end, which is not borne out by the earlier series of poems. We may mention here two other poets who speak of Pāri and his munificence as belonging to the past—Miḷaikkaṇḍan (*Kurun.* 196) and Nannāganār (*Puṟam* 176).

To return to Kapilar's poems. They continue the story after Pāri's death and give hints of some things that Kapilar did thereafter. Two songs (*Puṟam* 113. 114) are touching farewells to Pāri's hill and country pronounced on the eve of Kapilar's departure from that land with Pāri's daughters to find in search husbands for them; they recall the plenty and splendour of the past and contrast them with the penury to which the poet and his protégés had sunk after Pāri's death. Another poem (ibid. 115) is also reminiscent of the feast and song of Pāri's lifetime, while others (ibid. 116, 117 and 119) draw a poignant contrast between the condition of Pāri's hill and its city in his life and after his death, one poem (ibid. 118) laying particular stress on the neglect of irrigation, and another (ibid. 120) on that of agriculture.

Three poems bear on Kapilar's attempts to marry off Pāri's daughters. One of them (*Puṟam* 200) is addressed to Vichchikkōn, a minor chieftain; it praises Vichchikkōn and his valour, describes the noble descent of Pāri's daughters, and ends with a request that the chieftain should accept them as his brides. Incidentally the poem alludes to Pāri's gift of a chariot to a creeper of the *mullai* flower, an act which sounds absurd in modern ears, but was held up by many old Tamil poets as the leading instance of Pāri's

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liberality. The suit to Vichchikkōn was apparently unsuccessful, for the next two poems (ibid. 201 & 202) record that Kapilar took the girls to another chieftain Iruṅgōvēḷ with the same result. The first opens with the statements that the girls were the daughters of the famous Pāri who had been Kapilar's great friend and that consequently he, a Brahmin poet, looked upon them as his own daughters; it then adverts to the legends of the origin of the *vēḷs* already noticed, and exhorts Iruṅgōvēḷ to accept the girls as brides. The other poem is the utterance of the poet of his distress at his second failure, he prophesies the destruction of Araiyam, the capital of Iruṅgōvēḷ, but attributes it to the curse of the poet Kaḷāttalaiyār whom one of the chieftain's ancestors had insulted; and apologies for having spoken to him at all about Pāri's daughters!

The colophon to one of Kapilar's poems in the *Puṟam* (236) records that the poet failed in all his efforts to marry off the girls, and that he left them finally in the charge of Brahmins and starved himself to death. The poem itself is only poignant expression of the poet's grief at the death of Pāri and of his desire that they should be united again as friends in another birth. But the tradition recorded in a late Chola inscription[1] at Kiḷūr (Tirukoyilur tq., S. Arcot) is very different; it mentions only one daughter of Pāri and states that Kapilar had given her in marriage to the Malaiyan before he entered the fire to attain heaven, a fact commemorated by a stone set up on the spot. We have no means of deciding between the rival stories. There are, however, four songs in the *Puṟam* (121-4) in which Kapilar celebrates Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikkāri of Muḷḷūr, the excellence and defensibility of his country, the desire of each of the crowned kings of the Tamil land to have him as his friend, and his liberal patronage of poets and minstrels. This renders probable the story of the marriage of Pāri's daughter recorded in the Kiḷūr inscription, though our literary sources seem to know nothing of it. Kapilar has other poems on Kāri in the other anthologies. He mentions the sandal-wood of Kāri's mountain and the Muḷḷūrkkānam of Kāri in two poems in the *Kuṟundogai* (198 & 312); he also refers to Kāri's victorious combat against Ōri of Kollimalai in which Ōri lost his life, and his mountain was thereupon transferred to the Cheras by Kāri (*Naṟṟiṇai* 320); this incident, as already noted, is mentioned in some detail (*Aham* 209) by the somewhat later poet Kallāḍanār, the contemporary of Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjeḻiyan of Talaiyālaṅgānam. Another poem of Kapilar (*Naṟṟiṇai* 291) mentions (Kāri) the king of Muḷḷūr, riding on horseback to lift the cattle from his enemies' herds. Kāri's heroism is mentioned by Kapilar in another poem (*Naṟṟiṇai* 77).

Kāri is also celebrated in songs by a poetess Māṟōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār. In one song (*Puṟam* 126) she states that Kapilar has praised Kāri so well that there is no room for others to essay the task; yet she made the effort to overcome her poverty. In another (ibid. 174) she makes a further

[1] *SII.* VII 863, *l.* 2

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reference to Kapilar's praise of Kāri, to the death of Kāri himself who went to the other world to enjoy the results of his good deeds here, and then celebrates his successor Malaiyamān Tirukkaṇṇan, who was the younger brother of Kāri (*l.* 18 *nummun*) and a commander (*ēnādi*) of the Chola monarch.

The poetess has yet another song (ibid 226) in which she wittily says that Death must have gone to a certain Chola prince as a beggar to have got away with the life of that prince, for it could have been taken in no other way. The name of the Chola is Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan who died in Kuḷamuṟṟam and we have to find him a place near this generation. A song of Kōvūr Kiḷār (*Puṟam* 46) addressed to this Chola prince is said to have resulted in his commuting the sentence of death passed on the youthful sons of Malaiyamān (Kāri) in the *sabhā* of Uṟaiyūr; the reason for the sentence is not mentioned; but the young men were about to be thrown to an elephant, when the poet interceded with the song in which he recalled the charity of Śibi, a mythical ancestor of the Cholas, to the dove, and pointed out that the line of Malaiyamān had patronised learning and was entitled to mercy; the sentence was not executed and Malaiyamān's sons were saved. Another Chola prince who was of the same generation was Rājasūyam-vēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi who was aided by Kāri, called Tērvaṇmalaiyan (*Puṟam* 125) in a war against Māndarañjēral Irumpoṟai; the poet Vaḍamavaṇṇakkan Pēri Śāttanār says that by his act Kāri earned the praise of both sides in the war, the victor being grateful for help received, and the vanquished attributing his defeat more to Kāri's aid than to the strength of his Chola opponent.

Lastly Kapilar is said to have composed the *Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu*, one of the *Ten Idylls* (*Pattuppāṭṭu*) in order to convey an idea of Tamil culture (ideals of marriage) to the Ārya king Pirahattan (Prahasta?) of whom we know nothing else. The fame of Kapilar's poetry and his relative chronological position are made clear by a poem of Porundil Iḷaṅgīranār (*Puṟam* 53) in which he says that Kapilar ought to have been alive to do justice to the great qualities of Māndarañjēral Irumpoṟai.

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CHAPTER XVII

SOUTH INDIA II

THE CHERAS (Contd.)

Selvakkaḍuṅgō Vāḻi Ādan, c. A. D. 165, the hero of the seventh decad, was the son of Anduvan and held sway for twenty-five years. The illustrious poet Kapilar repaired to his court after the death of his dear friend Pāri, because he found in this monarch all the great qualities for which Pāri had been celebrated (61). Nothing is known of the position of Pāri's daughters during Kapilar's sojourn in the Chera court. Kapilar's reward for the seventh decad was a cash gift of 100,000 *kāṇam*, and all the land that could be seen from the top of a hill called Naṉṟā; in fact the number of villages which Kapilar earned on this occasion became proverbial, and the author of the ninth decad specified the multitude of spears abandoned by the defeated Cholas by the statement that they outnumbered the villages which Kapilar got from Śelvakkaḍuṅgō! (85)

The decad is full of eloquent praise of the monarch's heroism, liberality and other qualities, but mentions no historical incident. The kings who submitted to him kept their country entire and prosperous, and in a condition that evoked poets' praises (62). The monarch is called Śelvar-kō, the opulent lord, and his bright sword is said once to have put to flight two kings—the Pāṇḍya and Chola (63), but with no details. Another song (64) states that the king bestowed gifts on learned Brahmins with libations of water and mentions, in passing, the scissors used to shear the mane of the war-horses. The king's daily darbar and the free flow of toddy, music and presents to visitors form the theme of one poem (65), and gifts of unlimited quantities of paddy and many elephants from the spoils of the battle-field furnish the subject-matter of another (66). Yet another poem (67) devoted to the inexhaustible theme of the king's munificence calls him Śelvakkōmān (the dear lord) and lord of the Nēri mountain, hints at the rich trade in pearls from Bandar and in rare jewels from Koḍumaṇam (both places unidentified), and celebrates the king's heroism in the field in a conventional way by referring to the dance of headless trunks, which was supposed to occur only after a specified large number of soldiers had fallen in battle. That the king and his soldiers loved the hardships of the field better than the pleasant company of women is the theme of a poem (68) which refers to the northern country as the land of uninterrupted enjoyment—the Uttara Kurus, as the commentator explains. The penultimate poem (69) in the decad praises the glory of the monarch's ancestors who ruled with credit and made their subjects happy. The final poem (70) is a *vāḻttu*, an expression of the poet's good wishes for

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the king; it recites the Vedic sacrifices he performed and the doctrine of the three debts to gods, sages, and ancestors, well known to the code of Hindu social ethics.

The *padigam* vaguely affirms that the king fought many battles and conquered several countries, that he fulfilled *dharma* by performing sacrifices, that he won the grace of Vishṇu by worshipping him with devotion, that he presented the village of Okandūr yielding fine paddy to that deity, and that by his conduct he excelled his *purohita* in righteousness.

Kapilar has two other songs on this monarch in the *Puṟam* collection; in one (8) he compares the sun unfavourably with the king, and in the other (14) he contrasts the rough strong arm of the monarch with the soft tender hand of the poet who seeks his patronage. The king died at a place called Chikkaṟpaḷḷi (*Puṟam* 387, colophon).

The queen of Śelvakkaḍuṅgō Vāḷi Ādan was the sister of a queen of Imayavaramban Neḍuñjēral Ādan of the other line—both the ladies being described in identical terms as the *devi* (daughter) of Vēḷāvikkōmān Paduman. By her he had a son. This son was

Tagaḍūr-eṟinda Peruñjēral Iruṁpoṟai, (*c.* A.D. 190), the hero of the eighth decad by Ariśil Kiḷār. He ruled for seventeen years. He offered Ariśil Kiḷār a cash reward of 900,000 *kāṇam* and everything in his palace including the throne, excepting only himself and his queen. The poet is said, in his turn, to have requested the king to continue to rule as before, accepting for himself the place of minister.

This monarch overthrew Kaḷuvuḷ, a rebellious shepherd chieftain, and captured his stronghold (71); as a result of Iruṁpoṟai's attack Kaḷuvuḷ was subjugated, his city was ruined, and his subjects were forced to migrate to other lands. There are two other references to Kaḷuvuḷ, one by Madurai Marudan Iḷanāganār (*Aham* 365) which mentions his chief city called Kāmūr; the other (*Aham* 135) by Paraṇar is more important as it states that Kaḷuvuḷ was very famous, and that his city of Kāmūr was once invested and captured by the chieftains of fourteen *vēḷir* families acting together. Whether the war of the *vēḷir* against Kaḷuvuḷ had any connection with Iruṁpoṟai's war we cannot say; the location of Kāmūr (var. Kāḷūr) is also unknown.

Other rulers feared Iruṁpoṟai as a hostile deity (*aṇaṅgu*) and from them he gathered tribute (*bali*) before he left their country; those who came to disturb him did not escape with their lives unless he treated them with discriminating mercy (71).

The next stanza (72) extolls the king's diplomatic methods and his martial strength. He is next described (73) as a great monarch, Lord of Puhār rich in ricefields spreading on the banks of the Kāviri, the defensive armour of Pūḷiyar, the lord of Kolli mountain bearing the clouds on its tall peaks, and Poṟaiyan who owned many pennoned chariots; his immeasurable prosperity, heroism, and liberality the poet despairs of ever being able to convey adequately to others. The king was very learned, performed many sacrifices, and begot heroic sons worthy to succeed him; the poet

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says, however, that he was not impressed by these things so much as by the fact that by the excellence of his wise and ethical conduct the king made his *purohit* withdraw from family life and attachment to worldly things and retire into a life of renunciation and asceticism (74).

Three stanzas (75-77) are general praise of the monarch's heroism in war, his conquests and his liberality, as also the strength and excellence of his troops, particularly his elephant corps. The next (78) mentions the overthrow of the strongly fortified city of Tagaḍūr, an incident to be presently considered in some detail; it also describes the great fertility of the Chera country in elaborate, but conventional, detail implying that all possible varieties of soil and landscape (*tiṇais*) were closely intermingled and stating that horses and elephants were as numerous as sheep and cows in the country of Irumpoṛai. In the penultimate poem (79) of the decad, the king is said to have offered *bali* in due form to the goddess of Victory on the Ayirai mountain, himself being seated on a throne made of ivory of the most superior class of elephants (*araśuvā*); the poem concludes with the poet's wish for the fame of the king to last for ever. In the same strain the concluding poem (80) affirms that as all the kings, his neighbours, are ready to pay tribute and acknowledge his superior military power, there is none left to show himself as an enemy before his capital city.

The *padigam* assigns the conquest of Tagaḍūr to the particular achievement of this monarch and gives details not found in the body of the decad. The enemy against whom the Chera marched on this occasion was Adigamān who maintained a large army of spearmen; his stronghold Tagaḍūr stood on a hillock situated in a well-watered country. Adigamān was aided by the two other crowned kings (Chola and Pāṇḍya) whose only reward was to share the defeat of Adigamān; the victorious Chera captured the war-drums, umbrellas, and jewels of his enemies, and became the master of the fortress of Tagaḍūr. Tagaḍūr-eṛinda Peruñjēral Irumpoṛai had a friend in another poet Mōśi Kīran. On one occasion, the poet lay down and slept on the cot meant for the king's war-drum, the drum having been taken out to be washed; the king happened to notice this, and instead of losing his temper as any other patron would have done, he fanned the poet with a *chauri* until he awoke. The grateful poet has recorded the incident in a simple and graceful song (*Puṟam* 50). He sings also of a Nannan who by sorties raised the siege of his fortress (*Aham* 392), and speaks also of a Koṇkānangiḷān (lord of Koṇkānam, *Puṟam* 154-6). The former is described as Nannan dwelling in Kānam and the latter is called the lord of the mountain Koṇkānam (Koṇperuṅgānam) uniformly in all the three stanzas, and it seems probable that all these poems refer to the same chieftain and that he was different from the Nannans, father and son, of Pāḷi and other places.

Adigamān, also known as Neḍumān Añji, the opponent of the Chera monarch and lord of Tagaḍūr, was one of the celebrated group of 'Seven Minor Patrons' (*kaḍaiyeḻu-vaḷḷalgaḷ*). The poetess Auvaiyār has left many songs on him, besides some on his son Poguṭṭeḷini. Only one of

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these songs (*Puṟam* 206) is somewhat disparaging, as it is the expression of the poetess's vexation at having been long kept waiting for her present; this must have happened at a time when the chieftain and the poetess had not come to understand each other well. All the other poems resound with praise of Adigamān's characteristics. The towns threatened by Añji spent sleepless nights (*Kuṟun.* 91). The dark rain cloud is likened to Añji when ready to bestow chariots on his visitors. The strength and speed of Añji in action were like those of a chariot wheel on which an entire month's labour had been spent by an expert carpenter capable of building eight complete chariots in one day (*Puṟam* 87). Añji was the leader of Maḻavar against whom no enemy could prevail (ibid. 88). His ardour for battle and heroism in war form the themes of two poems (ibid. 89, 90). He once got a rare myrobalan fruit—a specific against the ailments of old age which assured longevity; without eating it himself he presented the fruit to the poetess, and the grateful bard celebrates the event in a song (ibid. 91) expressing the wish that her patron, 'the chief of Adiyar, Añji, should remain stable like the god with the beautiful dark throat', i.e. Śiva who swallowed poison to save the Universe. Another poem describes Adigan's skill in the capture of enemy fortresses (ibid. 92). Yet another (ibid. 93) mentions the custom of the corpses of kings, who died of sickness or otherwise than in battle, being laid on a bed of sacred grass and being cut to pieces to the accompaniment of *mantras* to secure them the place in heaven to which went heroes killed in fair fight; and then it says that Adigan's enemies escaped this fate, as he summoned them to battle and bestowed on them the heroes' heaven; the song marks the occasion when Adigan had himself been slightly wounded in battle. Adigan was sweet to friends and quite the reverse to his foes (ibid. 94).

Auvaiyār once went on an embassy to Toṇḍaimān (Iḷandiraiyan?) on behalf of Adigamān; that chieftain showed her round his arsenal which was well stocked with shining weapons of war ready for use, and the poetess has a song (ibid. 95) in which she contrasts the burnished state of Toṇḍaimān's weapons with Adigan's, which are ever soiled by use on the battle-field and call for constant repair and reconditioning at the hands of blacksmiths. In two other poems (ibid. 97, 98) Auvai describes Añji's arms and their power at some length,—swords, spears, elephants and infantry, and advises his foes to submit and pay tribute if they hope to escape disaster. Adigan is said (ibid. 99) to have been born in a family which was devoted to the gods whom they honoured with *pūjā* and sacrifice, which introduced into the world the sweet sugar-cane from heaven, and which ruled the world for long ages with great ability; the poem then describes the arms and personal valour of Adigan who fought with success against seven kings at a time and destroyed the rebellious fortress of Kōvalūr along with other strongholds; Auvai adds that only Paraṇar was able to do justice to his great feat of strength, the capture of Kōvalūr. We shall presently review Paraṇar's songs on Adigan; but they contain

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no reference to the capture of Kōvalūr, which must have belonged to Malaiyamān Tirumuḍik-Kāri.

When roused, Adigan's anger against his foes burnt so strong that it subsided not even at the sight of his own little son (ibid. 100); but however often a visitor returned to him, his liberality showed no sign of flagging (ibid. 101). One verse (ibid. 103) is a conventional *viṟali-yāṟṟuppaḍai*, directing a danseuse to seek Adigan's patronage, while another (ibid. 104) advises his enemies not to despise Adigan as a youth, for he was as strong as a crocodile. There are two more poems of Auvai; one (ibid. 315) contrasts Adigan raging like fire when roused with Adigan in his calm moments, when he resembled the fire-stick slumbering on the thatch of the cottage; and the other (ibid. 390) is general praise of his fame and liberality.

In all these songs Auvai makes no mention of the war waged on Tagaḍūr by Peruñjēral Irumpoṟai or indeed any reference at all to Adigan's relations with the Chera monarch. In three more songs in the *Puṟam* collection she laments the death of Adigan; one of them (*Puṟam* 231), a short piece, says that though Adigan's physical body may die and be burnt, his fame will be everlasting; in another (ibid. 232) the theme is the desolation of the days that remained to her after Adigan had earned the title to a hero-stone (*naḍukal*), the engraved stone erected to the memory of heroes fallen in battle; and lastly a somewhat longer poem (ibid. 235) recalls the many genial little acts of friendship with which Adigan had enlivened the company of his friends whether at the festive board or in the field of battle. But she says nothing of the way Adigan met his death; that he did not die in the Chera war against Tagaḍūr we may infer from the fact that the *Paḍiṟṟupattu* and *padigam* viii only claim the capture of the fortress of Tagaḍūr and not the death of Adigan as the Chera's achievement. We may note, incidentally, that a poem on the Chera conquest of Tagaḍūr bearing the name of *Tagaḍūr-yāttirai* is known, though only from some citations in later works; this work is mentioned by Pērāśiriyar as an instance of some past incident being made the subject-matter of a poem, from which we see that it was not contemporary; we do not know how much later it was composed.[1]

Adigan's death is actually touched on by Paraṇar who has three poems in the *Aham* collection and a fourth in the *Kuṟundogai*. One song (*Aham* 162) mentions that Adigan's hill was thronged with the elephant corps of Paśumpūṭpāṇḍiyan, a sign of their friendship. We have seen that in his war against Tagaḍūr, the Chera is said to have fought two crowned kings besides Adigan, and this Pāṇḍyan army may have gone to Adigan's aid on that occasion. Paraṇar refers once more (*Kuṟun.* 393) to the friendship of Paśumpūṭpāṇḍiyaṉ with Adigan and their co-operation against the Koṅgar in a pitched battle at Vāhaippaṟandalai; in this battle Paśumpūṭpāṇḍiyan was riding an elephant presented by Adigan, but the

[1] *Puṟattiraṭṭu*, p. xlv

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Koṅgar attacked and killed both the Pāṇḍya and the elephant and raised a great shout of joy thereafter.[1] In a song of the relatively late poet Nakkīrar (*Aham* 253) the same Pāṇḍya king is said to have won a victory over the Koṅgar and occupied much of their territory ; we may assume that the late poem recalled only the bright side of a war that began well, but ended fatally for the victor. Paraṇar says also (*Aham* 372) that the Kudirai mountain belonged to Añji and his strong bowmen, who shone in the front of many battles. Lastly he mentions the death of Adigan (ibid. 142) the only reference to the event; he invaded Pāḷi of Nannan with a large force, and fell in battle, slain by Ñimili, the commander (of Nannan), who had won fame by putting to the sword vast numbers of enemy troops. Ñimili was also called Miñili and there are other poems of Paraṇar (*Aham* 148, 181, 208 and 396) in which Ñimili is said to have put to death Āy Eyinan, also in a fight at Pāḷi. Probably Adigan and Eyinan both fought against Ñimili at Pāḷi and fell on the field on one and the same occasion. We may also surmise that this war against Nannan was waged by these chieftains on behalf of the Chera monarch against whom Nannan was more or less in a state of perpetual rebellion. If this view is correct, we may further assume that Adigan made his peace with the Chera after the Tagaḍūr war of Peruñjēral Iruṁpoṟai and became his loyal feudatory, and that Āy Eyinan was another feudatory of the Chera or at least his ally.

We may notice incidentally the other persons and events mentioned by Auvaiyār in her poems. Her reference to the story of sparrows fetching grain for feeding the beleaguered garrison of Pāri (*Aham* 303) has been noted above ; the same poem contains a reference to the Kolli mountain belonging to Paśumpūṭpoṟaiyan. In another poem (Kuṟun. 15) she mentions the Kōśar of Nālūr and Veṇṇi belonging to Kaivaṇ Kiḷḷi, and refers to a certain Muḍiyan also in yet another poem (*Naṟṟiṇai* 390). When Auvaiyār asked for some rice from Nāñjil Vaḷḷuvan, he gave her an elephant, and the poetess commemorates the extravagance of his liberality (*Puṟam* 140). This chieftain, who was the lord of the Nāñjil mountain, is celebrated by two or three other poets for his liberal patronage of bards and minstrels. Auvaiyār refers to a poetess Veḷḷivīdiyār (*Aham* 47) who lost her husband and went in search of him. This is mentioned by Veḷḷivīdiyār herself in a poem (*Aham* 45).

Lastly, Auvaiyār describes (*Puṟam* 367) the three Tamil kings together and compares them to the three sacred fires in a sacrificial hall. The monarchs concerned were Śērmān Māri Veṇkō, Pāṇḍya Kānappērtanda

[1] The words are : Kūgaik-Kōḷi Vāhaip-paṟandalaip-paśumpūṭpāṇḍiyan vinai val-Adigan kaḷiṟoḍu paṭṭa ñāṉṟai oḷiṟu-vāṭ Koṅgar ārppinum peridē. They are generally understood to mean that Adigan and his elephant fell fighting on behalf of the Pāṇḍya, and that seems to be the meaning on the face of it. But *Aham* 142 (also by Paraṇar) contains a definite statement that Adigan was killed at Pāḷi in a duel by Ñimili; we have to suppose either that there were two Adigans, and Paraṇar mentioned the occasions of the death of both, *or* in deference to *Aham* 142 interpret *Kuṟun.* 393 as suggested here.

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Ukkirapperuvaḻudi, and Śōḻan Rājasūyam Vēṭṭa Perunaṟkiḷḷi. The poem is a tribute to the liberality of the princes; it states also that nothing avails a man after his death except his good deeds done in this life, particularly in the form of *dānas*, and it ends with the poetess's prayer for the long life of the three monarchs. We find no clue to the occasion that brought these princes together, nor do we hear of the Chera Māri Veṇkō in any other connection. We have noted already that the Chola Perunaṟkiḷḷi who performed the Rājasūya fought against Māndarañjēral Irumporai and that in this war he was assisted by Kāri (*Puṟam* 125). Of the Pāṇḍyan member of this triad we learn from a poem of Aiyūr Mūlaṅgiḷār (*Puṟam* 21)—the only extant poem of this author—that he was victorious against a chieftain named Vēṅgai-mārpan of Kānappēr, a fortress situated, according to Dr. V. Swaminatha Aiyar, in modern Kāḷaiyār Kōvil. The strong main fortress was surrounded by a dense forest and many smaller forts, and was supposed to be impregnable; hence the glory of Ukkirapperuvaḻudi's success and his title commemorating the achievement.

Kuḍakkō Iḷañjēral Irumpoṟai (*c.* A.D. 190), the hero of the ninth decad, was of the same generation as his cousin Tagaḍūr-eṟinda Peruñjēral Irumpoṟai. The place of Kuḍakkō in the genealogy of the line has been explained sufficiently before, (p. 507) and need not be repeated here. The author of the decad was Peruṅgunṟūr Kiḷār. The king reigned for sixteen years. The relations between him and the poet did not run a smooth course at first, and there are two songs (*Puṟam* 210, 211) in which the poet gives strong expression to his keen disappointment at the monarch's niggardliness in the matter of presents to visitors. But the king seems to have made amends later, and the poet received for the ninth decad 32,000 *kāṇam*, besides houses, lands, and jewels and vessels, which the king bestowed on him without his knowledge.

Few achievements of this king are recorded in the body of the decad, for it devotes itself in part to a recital of the deeds of Iḷañjēral's ancestors, historical as well as legendary (88, 90); a remote ancestor named Māndaran and a generalised account of his heroism in war find a place in the second of these recitals (90, *ll.* 1-13). For the rest, the poems are variations on well-worn themes, the heroism and liberality of the patron. Thus he is advised to abstain from war for the good of his sleepless enemies, his queen, and himself (81); the poet goes to see him in camp and praises his victories saluting him with the high-sounding title Nilandaru-tiruvinNeḍiyōn which identifies him with Vishṇu (82); the king's friends are happy when he marches forth to war, but not his enemies (83); he was the Lord of Pūḻiyar, and Poṟaiyan of the golden chariot (84). He fought the Chola forces once with great success; we learn (85) that the abandoned spears of his enemies outnumbered the villages presented to Kapilar by Śelvakkaḍuṅgō—another eulogy of Iḷañjēral's ancestors. The poet says (86) that having heard of his prowess in war, he once thought that the king was a fierce hot-tempered lord, but found him in fact cooler than the waters of the river Vāni, i.e. the Ānporundam flowing near Karuvūr,

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according to the old lexicon *Piṅgalandai* ; again, he exhorts a songstress to go to the king who, being sweeter than the sugar-cane carried by the freshets of the river, would bestow rich jewels on her (87); when recounting the achievements of the line, praising the liberality and the luxurious life of the monarch, and wishing him a long life (88) the poet addresses him as the Lord of the Koṅgar, and war-leader of the people of Toṇḍi. The excellence and justice of his rule, its beneficent results, and the regularity of the seasons form the theme of the penultimate poem (89); in the last poem (90), one of the longest in the whole collection, not only are Māndaran of ancient fame and several achievements of the other kings of the line recalled, but Iḷañjēral himself is addressed as Lord of Koṅgar, chief of the Kuṭṭuvar, armour of the Pūḻiyar, war-leader of the people of Marandai, and so on; the poet institutes a comparison between the qualities of his queen and the excellences of the Chola country watered by the Kāviri, and one wonders if she was indeed a Chola princess.

In the *padigam* occur some new facts. The king fought a battle against 'the two big kings', i.e. Pāṇḍya and Chola, and against Vichchi; he mastered five stone fortresses surrounded by dense forests, defeated the 'big Chola' who ruled at Potti and the young Paḻaiyan Māṟan, and brought to the ancient city of Vañji much booty captured in these campaigns. Vichchi and Paḻaiyan Māṟan are names we have already met; and the epithet 'young (*iḷam*)' applied to the latter clearly implies that a son and heir apparent of an elder Paḻaiyan Māṟan is signified, and this may be true of Vichchi also. But the occasions on which Iḷañjēral fought these wars and how he won the victory he claims against the Pāṇḍya and the Chola are by no means clear. Iḷañjēral worshipped the gods with proper *mantras*, and made his minister Maiyūr Kiḻān excel his *purohit* in righteous conduct; he also consecrated in his capital the strong *bhūtas* that were the guardians of the big squares of the city, performed a proper *śānti* (propitiation) for them and thus benefited his people. It may be recalled that Iḷañjēral's maternal grandfather, Anduvan, was a Maiyūr Kiḻān, and it seems possible that the righteous minister of Iḷañjēral was an otherwise unknown maternal uncle of his.

The mention of the Vāni river (86) in this decad may perhaps be regarded as indicating that Karuvūr was the real Chera capital, Vañji. The discovery of Roman coins in considerable numbers in the neighbourhood, and the evidence of Ptolemy that Korūra was the Chera capital confirm this identification. This is also supported by the verse (*Puṟam* 13) stating that the Chola prince of Uṟaiyūr was carried into Karūr (Vañji) by an elephant which had run amok. The location of Vañji has been the subject of much debate, and some have argued for its location on the west coast in the Cochin part of Travancore-Cochin State.

We have now completed the review of the Chera monarchs of the *Padiṟṟuppattu*, their achievements and their chief contemporaries, princes, as well as poets. One more prominent Chera ruler remains to be noticed, and it has been plausibly surmised that he may well have been the

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hero of the missing last decad of the *Ten Tens*. He was a contemporary of Talaiyālaṅgānttu-chcheru-venṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyan, who is said to have taken him captive in a battle, and hence we may assign to him a date round about A.D. 210. His full name was Kōchchēramān Yānaikkaṭchēy Māndarañjēral Irumporai, and this expression is explained by Parimēlaḻagar (on *Kuṟaḷ* 355) as comprising five members—*Kō* indicating the royal caste, *Chēramān* the dynasty, *Yānaikkaṇ* (elephant-look) a description of a personal feature, *Śēy* the personal name (*iyaṟpeyar*), and Māndarañjēral Irumporai, a special title. Porundil Iḷaṅgīranār (*Puṟam* 53) refers to this king's victories, and regrets the absence of a poet of Kapilar's calibre at his court. Kuṟuṅgōḻiyūr Kiḻār has three poems on this Chera; in one (*Puṟam* 17) the poet expressly refers to the imprisonment of the king by the Pāṇḍya, the intrigues of his foes at home, and his final success in regaining his throne by force after his escape from the hostile prison; the two other poems (ibid. 20, 22) are in general praise of Śēy's good rule and liberality. One other poet, Kūḍalūr Kiḻār, has four songs referring to this monarch, three in *Kuṟuṇḍogai* (166, 167 and 214), one of which says that Marandai belonged to him, and the fourth in *Puṟanānūṟu* (229) lamenting the demise of the monarch and recounting the omens that foreboded it.

CHOLAS, PĀṆḌYAS AND OTHERS

Karikāla Chola, *c.* A. D. 190, is the next prominent figure to claim our attention, and our study of the relative chronology of the age has led us to suggest for him a date towards the close of the second century A. D. We learn from *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai* (*l.* 130) that he was the son of Iḷañjēṭchenni, (owner) of many beautiful chariots (*uruvappahṟēr*); to whom we may assign a date about A. D. 165. Iḷañjēṭchenni has been celebrated in song by Paraṇar who vividly describes the sufferings of the lands and rulers that turned hostile to him (*Puṟam* 4), and by Peruṅgunṟūr Kiḻār (*Puṟam* 266).

Karikāla means 'the man with the charred leg', and the name perpetuated the memory of an accident in the early years of the prince's life.[1] Other explanations were invented for the name later, and it was taken to be a compound word in Sanskrit meaning 'Death to Kali' or 'Death to the (enemies') elephants'! As a youth he was deprived of his birthright and imprisoned by his enemies. The daring manner in which he effected his escape and established himself on the throne is well portrayed by the author of *Paṭṭinappālai* (*ll.* 220-8). One of Karikāla's early achievements was his victory in a great battle at Veṇṇi, modern Kōvil Veṇṇi, fifteen miles to the east of Tanjore. Paraṇar says that in this battle eleven *vēḷir* and kings lost their war-drums. Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār (*Porunar. l.* 146) records that the two great Pāṇḍya and Chera kings lost their glory in this fight. Kaḻāttalaiyār has a poem (*Puṟam* 65) addressed to Peruñjēral Ādan, the Chera opponent of Karikāla, who was wounded

[1] Verse 3 at the end of *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai*

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in the back and out of shame starved himself to death sword in hand ; and the poetess Veṇṇikkuyattiyār, who was a native of Veṇṇi and a friend of Karikāla, sings (*Puṟam* 66) that the king who committed suicide out of shame for the wound in his back was in no way inferior to the glorious victor of Veṇṇippaṟandalai. In this poem Karikāla is addressed as the descendant of the king (not named) who compelled the wind to serve him when he sailed his ships on the wide ocean, a legend significant of the early maritime enterprise of the Cholas. Lastly, Śēral Ādan's suicide so moved the hearts of many learned men (*śāṉṟōr*) that they made up their minds to follow him in his death (*Aham* 55). Veṇṇi was thus a great battle and the turning-point in the career of Karikāla ; he succeeded in breaking up a widespread confederacy raised against him.

Another battle was fought by Karikāla at Vāhaippaṟandalai, meaning field of Victory, in which, according to Paraṇar (*Aham* 125), nine minor chieftains lost their umbrellas and had to submit to Karikāla. Neither the cause of this battle nor the identity of the enemies can be traced now. The poet of the *Paṭṭinappālai* fully describes (*ll.* 228-82) the destruction carried by Karikāla's forces into his enemies' territory and the awe inspired by his deeds of valour. He sums up the results of his campaigns thus : 'the numerous Oḷiyar submitted to him, the ancient Aruvāḷar carried out his behests, the northerners lost splendour, and the westerners were depressed ; conscious of the might of his large army ready to shatter the fortresses of enemy kings, Karikāla turned his flushed look of anger against the Pāṇḍya, whose strength gave way ; the line of low herdsmen was brought to an end, and the family of Iruṅgōvēl uprooted.' The Aruvāḷar were the people of Aruvānāḍ, the lower valley of the Peṇṇār, just north of the Kāvērī delta country.[1] Nakkīrar (*Aham* 141) speaks of Iḍaiyāṟu of Karikāla, victorious in war, who prevented a migration of population from his land by offering them inducements to stay (*śelkuḍi niṟutta*).

Karikāla's wars thus secured him a sort of hegemony among the crowned kings of the Tamil country and a slight extension of the territory under his direct rule. The description of Kāvirippūṁpaṭṭinam and its foreshore, which takes up much of the *Paṭṭinappālai*, gives a vivid idea of the state of industry and commerce under Karikāla, who also promoted the reclamation and settlement of forest land, and added to the prosperity of the country by multiplying irrigation tanks. That the king was a good liver and enjoyed the fine things of life including the society of women and children, and that he was a follower of the Vedic religion and performed sacrifices, are seen clearly from the poems. Karuṅguḷal Ādanār (*Puṟam* 7) vividly portrays Karikāla's destruction of enemy

[1] The significance of Aruvā evidently varied at different times ; and once the name applied to the east coast districts of S. Arcot, Chingleput, N. Arcot and probably Nellore. It then bordered on the Telugu country and hence the Telugus called the Tamils 'Aruvar'. It was also the Dravida of northern writers and Hiuan Tsang.—P.T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *History of the Tamils*, pp. 151, 318; N. Venkataramanayya, *Andhrulu Charitra*, pp. 9-10.

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territory; and (ibid. 224) laments his death, recalling his heroism, love and liberality, and his performance of Vedic sacrifices, particularly the *garuḍachayana*, and mentions that his queens shed their jewels and ornaments after the demise of their lord.

In later times Karikāla became the centre of many legends found recorded in the *Śilappadikāram* and in inscriptions and literary works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They attribute to him the conquest of the whole of India up to the Himalayas, and the raising of the flood banks of the Kāvērī with the aid of subordinate kings and feudatories, among whom was a Triṇētra punished for his contumacy by Karikāla ; but we need not pursue the legends here in detail.[1] The celebrated scholiast Nachchinārkkiniyar has recorded what is probably a correct tradition, that Karikāla married a *vēḷir* girl from Nāṅgūr,[2] a place celebrated in the hymns of Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār for the heroism of its warriors. More open to suspicion is the story about Karikāla's daughter Ādi Mandi which appears in its full-fledged form first in the *Śilappadikāram*;[3] according to this account she lost her husband, a Chera prince named Āṭṭan Atti, who was drowned in the Kāvērī, but subsequently, by the power of her chastity, she brought him back to life. The facts recorded in earlier poems are, however, altogether different. In one poem (*Aham* 376) Paraṇar states that while Atti was bathing in the port of Kaḻār, his ornaments and clothes (*aṇi*) were carried away by the stream of the river Kāvērī, and this occurred before the eyes of Karikāla ; in another poem (ibid. 222) the same poet states that the Kāvērī carried off Āṭṭan Atti himself as he was bathing in Kaḻār, and that Marudi, a friend of his wife Ādi Mandi, entered the sea to rescue him, but was drowned and thereby attained fame; in a third poem (ibid. 236) Paraṇar describes the lament of Ādi Mandi for Āṭṭan Atti after she lost him, and says that she went about asking for her husband in every country and town she visited in the course of her quest ; the same subject is mentioned again briefly in two other poems of Paraṇar (ibid. 396 and 76). In the last of these (76) Ādi Mandi's husband is called *śuriyalaṁporunan* i.e. a dancer. Veḷḷivīdi, a poetess who too had the misfortune to lose her husband, refers to the similar case of Ādi Mandi in a poem of hers (ibid. 45). And in the *Kuṟundogai* there is a song of Ādi Mandi herself (*Kuṟun.* 31) in which she calls herself a dancing-girl (*āḍukaḷamagaḷ*) and her husband likewise a dancer (*āḍukaḷa magan*). There can be little doubt that as Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar has observed both these early poems and the *Śilappadikāram* refer to one and the same incident ; but how a dancing-girl and her husband, who afforded entertainment to Karikāla became metamorphosed into his daughter and her Chera spouse is much more than history can explain !

Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan, *c.* A. D. 190, who ruled at Kāñchī, was a contemporary of Karikāla as he is also celebrated in the *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* by

[1] K. A. N. Sastri, *Studies in Cola History* ii

[2] *Tolkāppiyam*, Poruḷ, Ahat. 30

[3] xxi. *ll.* 11 *f.* and *n.*

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the poet of the *Paṭṭinappālai*, Kaḍiyalūr Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār. Iḷandiraiyan was a descendant of Vishṇu in the family given by the waves of the sea, i.e. the *tiraiyar* (*ll.* 28-31). There is no hint anywhere of his relation to Karikāla or of his political subordination to the Chola power. Neither can we say if it was to him or to some other member of his family that Auvaiyār went as Adigamān's ambassador. Iḷandiraiyan was himself a poet, and there are extant four of his songs, one (*Puṟam* 185) being on the important rôle of the personal character of the king in the promotion of good rule, harmony, and happiness in the kingdom. The three other songs are in the *Naṟṟiṇai* (94, 99 and 106).

Talaiyālaṅgānattu-chcheru-venṟa Neḍuñjeḻiyan : *c.* A.D. 215. The long attribute standing before the name of the king means 'who won the victory in the battle of Talaiyālaṅgānam', and that battle occupies in the career of Neḍuñjeḻiyan the same place as Veṇṇi in the life of Karikāla Chola. This Pāṇḍya king, himself a poet, was celebrated, among others, by the two great poets Māṅguḍi Marudan *alias* Māṅguḍi Kiḻār, and Nakkīrar, each contributing a poem to the *Pattuppāṭṭu* besides minor pieces in the *Puṟam* and *Aham* collections.

In the *Maduraikkāñji* of Māṅguḍi Marudan are mentioned two kings among the predecessors of Neḍuñjeḻiyan. These are: first, Neḍiyōn (*l.*61) identified by Nachchinārkkiniyar with Vaḍimbalaṁba Niṉṟavan, almost a mythical figure whose achievements find a place in the 'Sacred Sports' of Śiva at Madurai and among the traditions of Pāṇḍyan kings enumerated in the Vēḷvikuḍi and Śinnamanūr plates. He is said to have brought the Pahṟuḷi river into existence (*Puṟam* 9) and organised the worship of the sea. The other is Palśālai Mudukuḍumi (*l.* 759), no doubt the same as the earliest Pāṇḍya king mentioned in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant. He is a more tangible figure than Neḍiyōn, being praised in five short poems by three poets.[1] One of them (*Puṟam* 12) refers to his foreign conquests as the foundation for his liberality, and another (ibid. 15) contains a shocking description of the way he treated conquered territory by ploughing it with white-mouthed asses, and mentions the many sacrifices he performed. The king was known as Palyāgaśālai-Mudukuḍumip-Peruvaḻudi i.e. the great Pāṇḍya Mudukuḍumi of the many sacrificial halls. It is not possible to say what distance in time separated these two kings from each other or from their successors.

We may note in passing another Neḍuñjeḻiyan distinguished by the epithet Āriyappaḍaikaḍanda, 'who won a victory against an Aryan (North Indian) army.' He must also have been among the predecessors of the victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam; in his reign occurred the tragedy of Kōvalan's death at Madurai, and he died of a broken heart when the innocence of Kōvalan whom he had rashly sentenced to death was proved up to the hilt by Kaṇṇagi. There is a short poem ascribed to him (*Puṟam* 183) which puts learning above birth and caste.

[1] Neṭṭimaiyār, *Puṟam* 9, 12, 15; Neḍumpalliyattanār, ibid. 64, and Kāri Kiḻār, ibid 6.

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Neḍuñjeḷiyan, victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam, ascended the throne as a youth, and soon after his accession, proved himself more than equal to a hostile combination consisting of his two neighbouring monarchs and several minor chieftains. There exists a simple poem (*Puṟam* 72) of great force and beauty in which the young monarch swears an oath of heroism and victory in the ensuing fight. Four songs of Iḍaikkuṉṟūr Kiḷār, which are all of that poet's known work, throw some light on the course of events; one of them (*Puṟam* 76) extols the unique victory the king achieved single-handed against the combination of the two great kings and the five great chieftains (*vēḷir*); the next (ibid. 77) praises the calmness and steadiness of the youthful monarch, and his freedom from exultation at his successes in the field; the third poem (ibid. 78) declares that the enemy invaded his kingdom despising his tender years and expecting an easy victory and large booty; but he drove them into their own country and inflicted a signal defeat on them; lastly (ibid. 79) the enemies of the Pāṇḍya appeared on the field and the Pāṇḍya went out readily to meet them, but the number of the enemy was large and the day was short, and possibly so some escaped with their lives. Another poet, Podumbil Kiḷār maganār Veṇkaṇṇiyār, mentions (*Naṟṟiṇai* 387) the camp of the Pāṇḍya at Ālaṅgānam, and compares his drawn sword to the streak of lighting before rainfall. Nakkīrar (*Aham* 36) gives a list of the seven opponents of the Pāṇḍya at Talaiyālaṅgānam; they were Chera, Chola, Titiyan, Eḷini, Erumaiyūran, Iruṅgōveḷmān and Porunan. His *Neḍunalvāḍai* is also addressed to Neḍuñjeḷiyan.

Talaiyālaṅgānam, the scene of the decisive battle which secured his throne for Neḍuñjeḷiyan, has been identified with a village of almost the same name, Talai-yālam-kāḍu, eight miles north-west of Tiruvālūr in the Tanjore District.[1] It was in this battle that Śēy of the Elephant-look, the Chera opponent of the Pāṇḍya, was captured and imprisoned, as already noticed. Apart from this great victory, the only other achievement attributed to Neḍuñjeḷiyan is the conquest of the Miḷalaik-kūṟṟam from Evvi and of Muttūṟṟuk-kūṟṟam (belonging to an ancient family of *vēḷir*), mentioned in a poem by Māṅguḍi Kiḷār (*Puṟam* 24); in another poem (ibid. 26), which anticipates (*ll.* 8-11) some features of the conventional *paraṇi* of later times, the same poet describes the king's battles as sacrifices of heroism in the field and refers to the real Vedic sacrifices performed by him, ending with the boast that even his foes were fortunate, for their names would ever be associated with his; in yet another poem (ibid. 372) he reverts to the same theme of the king's heroism on the battle-field. The *Maduraikkāñji* is of course the poet's full-length description of Madurai and the Pāṇḍyan country under Neḍuñjeḷiyan's rule. Here the poet gives expression to his wish that his patron should spread the benefits of his good rule over all India (*ll.* 190-6, also 70-4), and makes particular mention of the farmers and traders of a place called Muduveḷḷilai as

[1] *Madras Christian College Magazine*, IX p. 117

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numbered among his most loyal subjects for many generations (116-24); he then refers to the battle of Ālaṅgānam (125-30), calls him lord of Koṟkai (*l.* 138) and the war-lord of the Southern Paradavar (*l.* 144)—hinting that the people of the fishery coast formed an important section of the army, describes in general terms the destruction wrought by Neḍuñjeḻiyan in hostile lands, enumerates his wars of conquest (152-89), and praises his great qualities of loyalty to friends, heroism in war, liberality, and love of fame (197-206). He gives also a full description of the Madurai country and its products, its ports and trade, and the streets and fortifications of the capital city of Madurai. Māṅguḍi Kiḻār also sings of a minor chieftain (*Puṟam* 396) Vāṭṭāṟṟu Eḻini Ādan whom he calls liberal and famous; this chief is, however, not heard of elsewhere though the poet says (*l.* 29) that others besides himself have praised him.

The poet Kallāḍanār addresses a poem (*Puṟam* 23) to Neḍuñjeḻiyan in which he recounts the victory of Talaiyālaṅgānam; another poem (ibid. 25) of his mentions the fierce fights in which the king captured the drums of his defeated enemies to the utter distress of their women who had to cut off the hair of their head, while his own spear remained victorious. Kallāḍanār mentions two minor chieftains as his contemporaries, viz. Ambar Kiḻān Aruvandai (*Puṟam* 385) and Poṟaiyāṟṟu-Kiḻān (ibid. 391).

Another Pāṇḍyan prince celebrated by Nakkīrar as a contemporary (*Puṟam* 56) was Ilavandigaippaḷḷit-tuñjiya Nanmāṟan; the epithet means 'who died at Ilavandigaippaḷḷi', perhaps a bathing-room in the palace. Āvūr Mūlaṅgiḻār was a poet from the Chola country as is seen from his eloquent song on the sacrifices performed in that land by a learned Brahmin of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, Viṇṇandāyan of Pūñjāṟṟūr (*Puṟam* 166). This poet once went on a visit to Nanmāṟan who was slow in his attentions to the visitor; the poet has vented his anger in a somewhat outspoken song of great power (*Puṟam* 196). More fortunate was Vaḍamavaṇṇakkan Pēri Śāttan who expresses his gratitude in a song wishing that the king's children may follow in his footsteps, that the king should live to see the growth and prosperity of his children's children, and that the poet himself should ever continue to be his admiring client (ibid. 198). A fine poem (ibid. 55) by Marudan Iḷanāganār celebrates this king as the noblest of the three kings of the Tamil country and pronounces a benediction on him, after laying down some excellent precepts on the relative value of the use of force and justice in the administration of the state. This poet (ibid 52) as well as Aiyūr Muḍavanār (ibid. 51) sings also of the heroism in war of another Pāṇḍya by name Māṟan Vaḻudi, who died at Kūḍagāram. Kārikkaṇṇanār of Kāvirippūṁpaṭṭinam has a poem exhorting Nanmāṟan to spare the guardian tree of his enemies though he might inflict other injuries on their lands by destroying their crops and burning their towns and villages (ibid. 57). This poet also celebrates (ibid. 58) another Pāṇḍya prince Peruvaḻudi who died at the silver palace (*veḷḷiyaṁbalam*) and a Chola Perundirumā Vaḷavan who died at

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Kurāppaḷḷi; he compares them to Kṛishṇa and Balarāma and exhorts them to remain firm friends, not heeding the mischief-makers who might seek to sow dissension between them.

The last mentioned Chola, Kurāppaḷḷittuñjiya Perundirumā Vaḷvan, is celebrated by a number of other poets. Maruttuvan Dāmōdaranār of Uṟaiyūr says that he and the dancing-girl accompanying him worshipped the moon many times on account of its resemblance to the white State umbrella of the Chola, and pays a high compliment to his ability as a ruler (*Puṟam* 60). Another poet, Māḍalan Maduraikkumaran of Erichchalūr, in Kōnāḍu, on the other hand, castigates him in a poem (ibid. 197) for his delay in honouring the visiting poet; he declares that it is his rule to judge of the worth of kings not by the strength of their forces, but by the uses to which they put their wealth and by the way they treat him; he also avers that he thinks nothing of the wealth in the hands of the unwise as it is of no use to any one. Lastly Kōvūr Kiḻār (ibid. 373) states that the Chola (here called Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan) conquered the Koṅgar and captured Vañji after a battle fought in its precincts (*l.* 24).

Now, Kōvūr Kiḻār sings of quite a number of other Chola princes besides some other chieftains. Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan who died at Kuḷamuṟṟam is one of these Chola princes; the song with which Kōvūr Kiḻār interceded with the prince to save the lives of the sons of Malaiyamān Kāri who were about to be thrown to the elephants (*Puṟam* 46) has been noticed already. In another song (ibid. 41) the poet describes the unhappy and restless days spent by Kiḷḷi's enemies with much picturesque and imaginative detail; another (ibid. 70) is a *pāṇan-āṟṟuppaḍai* (exhortation to a songster to go and seek the king's patronage) which incidentally mentions the town of Śiṟukuḍi belonging to the chieftain Paṇṇan; on this chieftain the Chola prince himself has a song (ibid. 173) in praise of his unexampled liberality.[1] Lastly in yet another poem (ibid. 386) Kōvūr Kiḻār says that he praised the king because he prevailed even against the malign influences of planets like Venus. Many other poets have celebrated this king. Thus, Māśāttanār of Āḍutuṟai (*Puṟam* 227) rebukes Death for having removed Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan who was feeding him so profusely (by the slaughter of troops in battle) and asks him who would feed him on the same scale in future. Ālattūr Kiḻār has three songs on the king; one (ibid. 34) is a mere expression of gratitude for favours received concluding with a wish for the king's long life; another (ibid. 36) refers to his siege of Karuvūr, mentions the river Ān Porunai, and mildly censures the king for waging war with a cowardly foe who shuts himself in and does not sally forth to fight even when he hears the sound of axes felling his guardian tree; the last (ibid. 69) is a *pāṇan-āṟṟuppaḍai* in which Uṟandai is said to have belonged to the king who gave golden flowers to the bards (*pāṇar*) who visited him. Āvūr

[1] Other references to Paṇṇan are *Aham* 54 by Koṟṟaṅgoṟṟanār saying that Paṇṇan lived not for himself but for others—*tanakkena vāḻāp-piṟaṟkuriyāḷān*; *Aham* 177 by Śeyalūr Iḷampon Śāttan Koṟṟanār on the heroism of the chief, and *Puṟam* 388 by Aḷakkar Nāḷār maganār Maḷḷanār—an obscure fragment.

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Mūlaṅgiḷār expresses (ibid. 38) his profound gratification at being born and bred in the country of the Chola prince which provides all the amenites that gods find in heaven and is superior to heaven both in the scope offered to the poor to approach the rich, and in the liberality of the rich, particularly the kings, towards visitors; in another poem (ibid. 40) he praises the heroism of the monarch and the fertility of his country and exhorts the king to be ever kind and accessible to visitors. Aiyūr Muḍavanār has a curious song (ibid. 228) asking the potter how he could make an urn large enough to contain the relics of the dead king unless he had the earth for his wheel, and the big mountain (Meru) for mud. Tāyaṅgaṅṇanār of Erukkāṭṭūr praises the liberality of the monarch and the flourishing state of Brahmanism and the performance of many Vedic sacrifices in his country (ibid. 397).[1] Nalliṟaiyanār is a poet known by only one song (ibid. 393) by which he solicits presents from Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan. The poetess Māṟōkkattu Nappaśalaiyār has other songs on this monarch besides the one (ibid. 226) already noticed in our study of Kāri and his sons; she expatiates on his ruthlessness towards hostile countries (ibid. 37) and avers that he waged successful war against the Cheṟa (ibid. 39). Lastly Veḷḷaikkuḍi Nāganār bestows high praise on the king's generosity (ibid. 35) and has his reward in the remission of the tax-dues from some of his lands.

Next, Kōvūr Kiḷār has a number of poems on Nalaṅgiḷḷi, also called Śēṭchenni. In one of them (*Puṟam* 31) he says that the king was ever bent on war, that the Pāṇḍya and Chera followed him, and that the kings of Northern India were always anxious about his impending *digvijaya*—a clockwise tour of conquest round India (*valamuṟai*); in another (ibid. 32) the poet says 'Let us sing his praises, for he will then give us Vañji and Madurai', i.e. the wealth of the enemy capitals captured in war; and a third song (ibid. 33) celebrates the glory of his conquests and makes particular mention of the strong door of the fortresses of the Pāṇḍya country, which is interesting in view of references in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and elsewhere to the *Kapāṭa* (door) of the Pāṇḍyas, usually regarded as the name of a city. Other songs of Kōvūr Kiḷār bear on a civil war between Nalaṅgiḷḷi and another Chola prince Neḍuṅgiḷḷi, possibly the same as the homonymous prince reputed to have died at Kāriyāṟu; thus one song (ibid. 44) rebukes Neḍuṅgiḷḷi for shutting himself up in Āvūr while it was besieged by Māvaḷattān, the younger brother of Nalaṅgiḷḷi. The poet says that Neḍuṅgiḷḷi must open the gates of the fort if he claims to be virtuous (*dharmik*) or come into the open and fight if he claims to be brave; it was shameful that he did neither, but instead caused untold misery to the people of the besieged city by hiding like a coward behind the walls. Another poem (ibid. 45) on the siege of Uṟaiyūr by Nalaṅgiḷḷi himself, Neḍuṅgiḷḷi being again the

[1] The same poet mentions (*Aham* 149) a Pāṇḍya siege of Muśiri followed by the seizure of an image; also the pepper trade of that port which attracted foreign ships that came with gold and returned with cargoes of pepper. In another song (ibid. 213) he refers to Vēṅgaḍam of Toṇḍaiyar, beyond which lay the country of Vaḍugar.

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besieged, is more considerate and less partial; it is addressed to both the princes and exhorts them to cease from so destructive a war, for whoever was the loser he would still be a Chola, and a war to the finish must end in the defeat of one side. Another poem (ibid. 47) relates to a somewhat piquant situation. A poet Iḷandattan by name entered Uṟaiyūr from Nalaṅgiḷḷi, and was suspected by Neḍuṅgiḷḷi of being an enemy spy; Neḍuṅgiḷḷi was about to kill the poet when Kōvūr Kiḷār interceded with this song on the harmless and upright nature of poets, and thus saved the poet from Neḍuṅgiḷḷi's wrath. Even a conventional *pāṇāṟṟuppaḍai* (ibid. 68) contains a hint of the internal dissensions which divided the royal family and vexed Nalaṅgiḷḷi of Uṟaiyūr, inducing his soldiers to rush to war when the occasion arose in utter disregard of omens. Two songs (ibid. 382 and 400) are tributes of Kōvūr Kiḷār to the liberality and the sacrifices of Nalaṅgiḷḷi.

Other poets who have celebrated Nalaṅgiḷḷi are: Ālattūr Kiḷār who recalls his marches in the course of his *digvijaya* (*Puṟam* 225); and Uṟaiyūr Mudukaṇṇan Śāttanār who has four songs on him, and is not known by any others. In one of them (ibid. 27) he dwells on the mutability of human fortune and the reward for good deeds in another life, and prays that Nalaṅgiḷḷi may practise liberality while his enemies may not; another poem (ibid. 28) contrasts his condition with that of his enemies, and a third song (ibid. 29) is an expression of the poet's fervent hopes for the king's wellbeing, affording incidentally some idea of his daily routine including his darbar (*nāṇmagiḷirukkai*); lastly the poet describes the might of Nalaṅgiḷḷi which is hidden and immeasurable, and mentions the lucrative maritime trade of Puhār carried on by large ships which entered the mouth of the river without slacking sail (ibid. 30)

Another Chola prince, by name Iḷañjēṭchenni, of Neydalaṅgānal, with the attributes Śeruppāḷiyeṟinda (conqueror of Śeruppāḷi) and Pāmuḷūr-eṟinda (conqueror of Pāmuḷūr) is celebrated in four songs (*Puṟam* 10, 203, 370, 378) by a single poet who praises his good rule, liberality and heroism, and mentions the conquest of the two places which gave him the titles noted above; one of the poems (378) contains a humorous reference to the monkeys sporting with the jewels dropped by Sītā when she was abducted by Rāvaṇa.

Śeṅgaṇān, the Chola monarch famed in legend for his devotion to Śiva, figures as the victor in the battle of Pōr against the Chera Kaṇaikkāl Iruṁpoṟai; the Chera was taken prisoner and asked for drinking water when he was in prison, but got it rather late, and died without drinking it after confessing the shame of his condition in a song (*Puṟam* 74). But perhaps *tuñjiya* in the colophon to this poem should be taken to mean 'slept' (or fell into a swoon) and not died, if we are to trust the colophon to the *Kaḷavaḷi*, a poem of forty stanzas, in which Poygaiyār, a poet and a friend of the Chera, is said to have secured his release from the Chola prison. According to this poem, the battle was fought at Kaḷumalam, near Karuvūr, the Chera capital. In later times Śeṅgaṇān became the

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theme of many pious legends which need not be detailed here.[1] It is probable that Śeṅgaṇān lived later than the Śaṅgam age strictly so called.

The last prince to be noticed is Ōymān Nalliyakkōḍan (perhaps Ōymān Villi Ādan also belonged to his family), the ruler of Perumāvilaṅgai. He is the hero of the *Śiṟupān-āṟṟuppaḍai* by Nattattanār, one of the poems in the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. He is also celebrated by Puṟattiṇai Nannāganār in three poems which are a pleasing expression of the gratitude of the poet to his patron and a fine exposition of the mutual relations that should obtain between patron and protégé (*Puṟam* 176; also 376, 379). Nalliyakkōḍan, as already stated, may be taken to stand almost at the end of the Śaṅgam age. In his day charity had dried up in the capitals of the three Tamil kingdoms, and all the ancient patrons of learning and the arts were no more;—such at least is the testimony of Nattattanār who also says that Giḍangil, a village near Tindivanam, Eyiṟpaṭṭinam—modern Maṟkāṇam, and Āmūr and Vēlūr, also places in the South Arcot district, all lay in Nalliyakkōḍan's territory. We may assign him to a date about A.D. 275.

After the Śaṅgam age, a long historical night descends on the Tamil country and when a new day dawns after the lapse of nearly three centuries, we find the land recovering from the disorders caused by the intrusion of an obscure tribe or dynasty known by the name of Kaḷabhras; the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas take the lead in the revival; but the Cholas have sunk into insignificance in the Tamil land, though they have established flourishing branches in the Telugu country.

A Greek farce found in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus is supposed to mention the capture of a Greek lady by a chief of Malpi, a harbour near Udipi in S. Kanara, and to contain a bilingual dialogue, part Greek and part old Kannaḍa of about the second century A.D. It is very doubtful if the rise of Kannaḍa as a separate language can be dated so early and the suggestion has been made that the so-called Kannaḍa words are at least in part Greek words deliberately distorted to produce the impression of a foreign speech. The question is too complicated to be pursued further here.[2]

GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

Though the literature of the Śaṅgam age does not enable us to trace a connected political history of the time, it portrays the social and economic conditions with remarkable vividness and we shall do well to dwell on them a little. The first thing that strikes us is the pronounced fusion that had occurred between the northern or Sanskrit and the southern or Tamil cultures. The Tamil poets are quite at home in the entire gamut of the mythological, religious and philosophical notions of the Indo-

[1] See *Colas*, I, pp. 63 ff. An old commentary says that the *Kaḷavaḷi* was addressed to Vijayālaya; if this is correct, the poem loses its contemporary character. It contains no clear reference to Śeṅgaṇān.

[2] *MAR.* 1926, pp. 11-21; *JRAS.* 1904, pp. 399-405; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XII, 1926, pp. 13-15; *Indologica Pragensia* I pp. 41-2

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Aryans, and the social framework has also been considerably influenced by the same conceptions. The claim of the Tamil monarchs to have fed the armies of both sides in the Mahābhārata war and the concept of the three-fold debt (*ṛiṇatraya*) to gods, sages and ancestors have been noticed already.[1] The overthrow of the hundred brothers in battle by the five, and the heroism and liberality of Akkura (Akrūra), attached to the former, are likewise mentioned;[2] so also the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest by Arjuna and the skill of his elder brother Bhīma in cookery.[3] There is reference to Rāma's council (of war?) held under a banyan tree in Dhanushkōṭi of the Pāṇḍyas and a humorous allusion to monkeys sporting with the jewels of Sītā which she dropped when being carried off by Rāvaṇa.[4] The sage Agastya is said to have enchanted Rāvaṇa by his music and persuaded him to quit South India and put an end to his depredations there; this sage was also the *purohit* of the Pāṇḍyas.[5] The burning of the triple flying fortresses of the Rākshasas by Śiva; Arundhatī, the ideally chaste woman; the Uttarakurus, the land of perpetual enjoyment are all known to the authors of the *Paḍiṟṟuppattu*,[6] as also the submarine fire to which is compared an army laying siege to a fortress. The practice of accompanying the parting guest for some distance, conventionally described as seven steps, is mentioned in a poem in the *Ten Idylls*.[7] The appearance of Brahmā, the Creator, in the lotus springing from the navel of Vishṇu is known.[8] Other Sanskrit ideas found in the *Ten Idylls* are: the growth of Vāmana into Trivikrama;[9] the singing of *sūtas* and *māgadhas* and *vaitālikas* in royal palaces in the morning and the announcement of the hours of the day by persons appointed for it;[10] the painting of the sun, moon and Rohiṇī with the signs of the zodiac on canopies of oil cloth, the sight of which excites a woman separated from her lover;[11] the thousand-rayed sun traversing the sky every day in a chariot drawn by seven horses and setting behind the *astagiri*;[12] and the comparison of the moon and the Makhā-nakshatra to a temple on a tank bund.[13] We have instances of Sanskrit expressions being accurately rendered into Tamil. Thus leather sandals are described in one context as *aḍi-pudai-araṇam*, obviously a translation of *pādarakshā*;[14] the phrase *dāna-dhuraṁ-dhara* seems to be translated in *īgaich-chennugaṁ-tāṅgiya*;[15] to the notion of omens being read in the flight of birds must be traced the curious expression *vāyp-puḷ*, lit. mouth-bird, used to indicate words of food augury;[16] and lastly, *Jāmbūnada*, the name of gold of the best quality, is rendered by *nāval-oḍu peyariya pon* i.e. gold which has *nāval* (*Jambu*) in its name.[17] The evidence of the *Puṟānānūṟu* is no less decisive on the fusion of cultures. Some leading

[1] *Puṟ.* 2; *Paḍiṟṟ.* 70 *ll.* 18-23
[2] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 415-7; *Paḍiṟṟ.* 14 *ll.* 5-7
[3] *Śiṟupāṇ. ll.* 238-41
[4] *Aham* 70; *Puṟ.* 378
[5] *Maduraik ll.* 40-2 Śinnamanūr plates
[6] 31 *ll.* 18-19; 89 *l.* 19; 68, 62, *ll.* 4-8.
[7] *Porunar. l.* 166.
[8] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 402-4
[9] *Mullai. ll.* 2-3
[10] *Maduraik. ll.* 670-1
[11] *Neḍu. ll.* 159-63
[12] *Kuṟiñji. ll.* 215-6
[13] *Paṭṭin. ll.* 35-6
[14] *Perumbāṇ. l.* 69. also *Paṭṭina. l.* 265
[15] *Śiṟupāṇ. ll.* 113-5
[16] *Mullai. l.* 18
[17] *Tirumur. l.* 18

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instances like Auvaiyār's comparison of the three Tamil kings seated together to the three fires in a sacrificial hall have been noted already. Others may now be briefly mentioned. The snake is said to dread a peal of thunder to which the sound of the war-drum is compared.[1] Artha (*poruḷ*) and Kāma (*inbam*) are said to follow Dharma (*aṟam*).[2] The story of Śibi rescuing a bird from a hawk by the sacrifice of his own flesh is often alluded to.[3] The rôle of the Vālakhilya sages who surround the chariot of the sun and prevent his heat from troubling the inhabitants of the earth is mentioned;[4] the idea occurs first in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*. The gods wear garlands which do not fade, they do not wink, and they feed on the flavour of viands.[5] A long arm reaching to the knee is recognized as the sign of a heroic warrior.[6] Kṛishṇa is said to have contended with the Asuras, with Kaṁsa in particular according to the *Mahābhāshya*, for the possession of the sun.[7] Yama with his *pāśa* for binding dead souls,[8] the *chakora* bird with its longing for raindrops—its only food,[9] the sacrificial altar in the shape of a bird (*garuḍa*) for the *śyena* sacrifice and the sacrificial post under the name of *yūpa*[10] and the transformation of the raindrop into a pearl[11] are other ideas borrowed from Sanskrit sources. The employment of the mote seen in sunlight as a measure of size,[12] and of the terms *āmbal* (*kumuda*) and *veḷḷam* (*samudra*) to indicate very large arithmetical numbers[13] may also be noticed. The whole tenor of this literature thus affords unmistakable evidence of the most friendly reception accorded in the Tamil country to the rich and varied culture of the North which not only contributed to the cultural advancement of the peninsula of India, but crossed the seas to civilize and humanize the Eastern lands.

Land, which was already measured by the *mā* and *vēli*,[14] was abundant and the necessities of life plentiful. The poets are proud of their respective countries and celebrate their fertility and excellence. The Chera country was noted for its buffaloes, jack-fruit trees and turmeric.[15] The fertility of the lands watered by the Kāvērī is a recurring theme, and one poet affirms that the produce of the small area on which a female elephant could lie down was enough to feed seven tuskers.[16] The natural forest produce of Pāri's principality included bamboo-rice, jack-fruit, the *vaḷḷi* root and honey.[17] The cultivation of millets in the same principality is described at some length in one poem.[18] As regards wild beasts, there are two references to the lion in the *Paḍiṟṟuppattu*, one to the dread of other animals in mountain slopes haunted by lions, and the other to the lion killing the tiger and fighting the elephant;[19] but it may be doubted if they

[1] *Puṟ.* 17 end
[2] Ibid. 31 *ll.* 1-2.
[3] Ibid. 37 *ll.* 5-6; 39 *ll.* 1-3; 43 *ll.* 4-8
[4] Ibid. 43 *ll.* 1-4
[5] Ibid. 62 *l.* 16
[6] Ibid. 90 *l.* 10
[7] Ibid. 174 *ll.* 1-5; *JRAS.* 1915; pp. 840-1
[8] Ibid. 195 *ll.* 4-5
[9] Ibid. 198 *l.* 25; and *Paṭṭin. ll.* 3-4
[10] Ibid. 224 *ll.* 8-9; also 400 *l.* 19
[11] Ibid. 380 *l.* 6
[12] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 20 *l.* 6
[13] Ibid. 63 *ll.* 19-20
[14] *Porunar. ll.* 180, 246; *mā* is 1/20 of a *vēli* of 6. 74 acres
[15] *Śiṟupāṇ. ll.* 41-6
[16] *Puṟ.* 40 *ll.* 10-11
[17] Ibid. 109
[18] Ibid. 120 *ll.* 1-10
[19] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 12 *ll.* 4-6; 75 *ll.* 1-2

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are based on the personal knowledge of the poets or are a mere literary tradition. More realistic is the reference to the sound made in the morning by the tiger, bear, and other animals caged in the menagerie of the royal palace.[1] The tiger is said to dwell in mountain caverns at a great height.[2] The method of capturing wild elephants by trapping them in deep pits is mentioned.[3] Even in shallow water the crocodile is said to prevail against an elephant,[4] and there is a charming pen-portrait of a rabbit in three short lines.[5]

Society was organized in castes with habits and tradition of their own, but the population of large cities and port towns tended to be cosmopolitan in its constitution. The language spoken by the people changed from Tamil to Vaḍugu in the region of the Tirupati hill, which was recognized as the boundary and called *moḻi-peyar-tēm* (region where the language changes).[6] A curious statement in the *Puṟanānūṟu* seems to have reference to the state of society before it was aryanized; it says that there are no other *kuḍis* (tribes) than 'the four', viz. *tuḍiyan*, *pāṇan*, *paṟaiyan*, and *kaḍamban*, and no god worthy of worship with the offering of paddy but the memorial stones set up in honour of heroes who fell fighting before the tuskers of fierce enemies.[7] Elsewhere there is reference to unlettered hunters who spend the day in hunting for food and are aided by low-caste *pulaiyar* who beat their drums so hard that their strong dark arms turn red.[8] The shepherd with his garland of green leaves, dust-laden clothing, and curved lips, and his small-headed flock of sheep are neatly sketched in a few lines.[9] Realistic pen-pictures of the residences of hunters, shepherds, and Brahmins are found in one of the *Ten Idylls*. The hunters lived in fortresses surrounded by thorny hedges; their residences were thatched sheds of grass, guarded by fierce dogs, and well stocked with bows, arrows, spears and other implements of war and of the chase.[10] The dwellings of shepherds with their flocks of sheep, cows and buffaloes, their beds of straw and leather, their womenfolk engaged in churning the curd early in the morning and the sale of ghee and buttermilk for grain in the course of the day are also vividly portrayed.[11] The houses of Brahmins were marked by a small shed in front where a calf was tied to one of the posts, and the threshold was smeared with cow-dung; they had idols for worship inside, and were not approached by cocks or dogs; parrots were brought up as pets and repeated the Vedic chants; the ladies of the house cooked fine food for offerings to the gods and to guests.[12] The Brahmins cultivated the Veda, performed twenty-one kinds of sacrifices, and wore deer-skin on such occasions. They had a relish for the meat and toddy served to them at the feasts held by the chieftains and princes of the land.[13]

[1] *Maduraik.* *ll.* 676-7
[2] *Puṟ.* 52 *ll.* 1-4, 135 *ll.* 21-
[3] Ibid. 17 *ll.* 14 f.
[4] Ibid. 104 *ll.* 3-4
[5] Ibid. 333 *ll.* 1-3
[6] *Aham* 127
[7] *Puṟ.* 335 *ll.* 7-12
[8] Ibid. 170 *ll.* 3-6
[9] Ibid. 54 *ll.* 10-12
[10] *Perumbāṇ.* *ll.* 117-29
[11] Ibid. *ll.* 147-66
[12] Ibid. 297-310
[13] *Puṟ.* 166, 113

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Learning was held to transcend caste, and in a song of Pāṇḍya Āriyappaḍai Kaḍanda Neḍuñjeḻiyan occurs the statement that a man of higher caste would gladly take lessons from a learned person even of a lower caste.[1] We hear of public disputations among scholars, one of them challenging others to a discussion by hoisting a flag indicating his purpose; these disputations were conducted with much gesticulation of the hands.[2] Elsewhere the life of the fishermen (*paradavar*) of Puhār or Kāvēripaṭṭinam, their fishing excursions into the sea, their worship of fish-bone as their deity, the style of their huts and of their pastimes on the foreshore are described in considerable detail.[3] The large numbers of wandering minstrels (*pāṇar*, not the tribe mentioned earlier) and their womenfolk (*viṟalis*), who accompanied their songs with appropriate dances attended with gestures, formed a notable feature of social life at the courts of kings and chieftains; there are numerous references to these minstrels and danseuses, their musical instruments and their ineradicable poverty which attracted presents—food, clothing, ornaments including flowers of gold and what not, from the patrons whom they visited. Worth mentioning is a fine little sketch by the poetess Auvaiyār of a *viṟali* with her *padalai* and her *muḻā* (types of drums), her few bangles, and, above all, her begging-bowl which remained inverted for want of persons who would drop things into it.[4] Equally notable are the references to *yavanas*, doubtless Graeco-Roman merchants, sailors and others, with perhaps an admixture of Arabs. They are described as fierce in their appearance, wearing armour, whip in hand, while guarding the palace and its bedrooms along with other *mlechchhas* who wore coats and could only express themselves by signs made with eyes and hands, not knowing the language of the country.[5] They exhilarated themselves with toddy and served as watchmen at night in the broad streets of Madurai.[6] A swan-shaped lamp shone at the mast-head of their ships; other ornamental lamps held by finely wrought female figures of *yavana* manufacture are also mentioned.[7] The foreign wines imported in bottles of *yavana* make were served to kings in golden goblets by bright-looking young women.[8]

A word may be said about the poets of the period and their relations to their patrons. If the *padigams* to the *Paḍiṟṟuppattu* (already summarised) may be trusted, letters must have formed a lucrative profession; but the tradition recorded in these epilogues is doubtless late and exaggerated. Many of the other poems show that though the poets were frequently rewarded for their labours with food, drink, and raiment, besides gold, and sometimes even with elephants (what the poets did with these unwieldy animals is nowhere explained), the vast majority were evidently not very well off. Instances have been given already of poets venting their anger in song against patrons who kept them waiting too long for a present

[1] Ibid. 183 *ll.* 8-10
[2] *Paṭṭin. ll.* 169-71; *Malaipaḍu. l.* 112
[3] *Paṭṭin. ll.* 77-105
[4] *Puṟ.* 103 *ll.* 1-4
[5] *Mullai. ll.* 59-66
[6] *Neḍu. ll.* 29-35
[7] *Perumḍāṇ.* 316-7; *Neḍu. l.* 101-3
[8] *Puṟ.* 56 *ll.* 18-20

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or gave a niggardly guerdon. One poet declines to accept a present offered to him without an interview with the patron,[1] saying that he was not a mercenary (*vāṇigap-pariśilan*). Another, Peruṅgunṟūr Kiḷār, has left a song of bitter irony against a Chera monarch who tantalized him with the offer of a gift that did not materialize; the poet expatiates on his penury and mentions the many rat-holes in the old walls of his house and the famished condition of his wife which unfitted her for nursing her child.[2] Another poet, as already noted (p. 549), entered Uṟaiyūr during a siege, and being suspected as an enemy spy, was about to be put to death, when Kōvūr Kiḷār interceded and saved him. Kōvūr Kiḷār says that, like birds seeking a tree with ripe fruit, poets as a rule went long distances over difficult country in search of generous patrons, sang their praises, and were pleased with any presents they got, being enabled thereby not only to maintain themselves but to feed their relations and friends; their lives knew no fault except a little pride in the victories they won by their learning.[3] Some poets on the other hand became the intimate and respected friends of their kings and patrons; of such relationships the friendship between Kapilar and Pāri, between Piśir Āndai and Kōpperuñjōḷan, and between Auvaiyār and Adigamān Añji are conspicuous instances.

Monarchy was the prevalent form of government, and there is no hint, even in passing, of the non-monarchical (*araṭṭa*) form of government familiar to many tribal states of the North. The king's qualities are compared to those of the five elements--he is said to be patient like the earth, his plans are broadly laid like the sky, he is strong and destructive in his anger like the wind and fire, and cool and merciful as water to his friends.[4] He is asked to look after his country like a nurse tending the child in her charge[5] —an idea put before his officers by Aśoka. Strict impartiality should mark his conduct to his subjects.[6] He was to hold daily darbars and be always alert to put down the wicked and to raise up the good.[7] His duties were necessarily heavy, and are compared to the labour of the strong bull dragging salt-laden carts from the plains to the uplands;[8] he is likened to an expert carter, and extolled as the very life of the world, even more than rice and water.[9] The world follows the king in its ways, and the king's life is prolonged by the good deeds of his subjects.[10] Anger, fear, love, lying, partiality, hastiness, and other qualities of the kind are counted among hindrances to good rule; good rule is promoted by knowledge of correct speech, economics, astrology and the Veda, and by the control of the senses,[11] and owes much to the assistance of the *sabhā*. The king is required to maintain secrecy in counsel, to devote the day to the execution of his plans, and the night to a calm consideration of them[12] He is to make gifts with gold flowers and water, entertain guests with rich foods

[1] Ibid. 208
[2] Ibid. 211. See also *Śiṟupāṇ. ll.* 129-40
[3] *Puṟ.* 47
[4] *Puṟ.* 2 *ll.* 1-8, also *Padiṟ.* 14
[5] *Puṟ.* 5 *l.* 7
[6] Ibid. 6 *l.* 9.
[7] Ibid. 29 *ll.* 5, 9; and 54 *l.* 3
[8] Ibid. 60 *ll.* 6-9
[9] Ibid. 185; 186
[10] *Padiṟṟ.* 24 *ll.* 8-9; 63 *ll.* 18-21
[11] Ibid. 22 *ll.* 1-3; 21 *ll.* 1-2
[12] *Puṟ.* 366 *ll.* 9-12

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and fine dresses, and perform sacrifices.[1] Good rule is somehow bound up with the cosmic order; the rain obeys the call of a righteous king, and his subjects blame his government if the rain does not fall in time or water grows scarce or if any unnatural occurrences take place;[2] and the agriculture which depends so much on the king's righteousness is at once the basis of the state and its martial strength. The traditional ideal of a *chakravartin* ruling all India as its emperor (whose golden jewelled wheel rolls unhindered on its aerial route in all directions) is clearly adumbrated, and the earth-maiden is said to lament her destiny of subjection to many masters like a harlot, and to long for the day when she will be the sole queen of a matchless emperor.[3] The same idea is treated as a fact of forgotten history when a poet refers to the universal rule of some unnamed and remote ancestors of the Chera 'king of the elephant-look.'[4] The canons of economy and convenience in tax-collection are vividly brought home to a king by a striking analogy: if an elephant is fed on grain reaped and carefully stored in advance, it will last for many days; if he is turned loose on a ripe corn-field, he will trample and destroy more grain than he manages to eat.[5] The Brahmins aided the king in the performance of sacrifices and the conduct of state affairs, particularly the administration of justice. The mark of a good king was to do nothing that would scandalize the feelings of Brahmins.[6] It was the duty of the king to prevent the emigration of his people by making life attractive to them, and to rehabilitate the subjects of defeated countries who had suffered in wars of conquest.[7] The obligation to ensure an abundance of grain, and to promote irrigation was fully realised, and a poet goes so far as to say that a king who brings water and land together may well be deemed the creator of the bodies and lives of his subjects.[8]

Justice was administered in the king's *sabhā* where even ancient animosities were appeased by a just award as soon as the disputants entered it.[9] The Chola *sabhā* of Uṟaiyūr finds conspicuous mention as the abode of justice; the cancellation of the death-sentence, passed by that *sabhā* on the sons of Kāri, at the intercession of poet Kōvūr Kiḻār, has already been mentioned.[10] Internal security was maintained, and the rule of Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan is praised because his country was free from the robbers who assailed wayfarers and stripped them of their possessions; but the factual value of this statement suffers much from what follows, viz. that even thunder, snakes, and wild animals do no harm to people.[11] More credible is the reference to the Maṟavar (robbers) who killed travellers with one shot from their bows and heaped stones on their dead bodies along the roads of the Pāṇḍya country.[12] There is a detailed description in the *Maduraikkāñji* of the nocturnal activities of burglars in the city of Madurai

[1] Ibid. 367, 397
[2] Ibid. 35; 117 *ll.* 6-7
[3] Ibid. 365
[4] Ibid. 17 *ll.* 1-8; also *Maduraik. ll.* 70-4
[5] *Puṟ.* 184
[6] Ibid. 26 *ll.* 12-3; 43 *ll.* 13-14
[7] *Aham* 141 *l.* 22; *Paḍiṟṟ* 69 *l.* 10
[8] *Puṟ.* 18 *ll.* 22-3
[9] *Porunar. ll.* 187-8
[10] *Puṟ.* 39 *ll.* 8-9; 46
[11] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 39-44
[12] *Puṟ.* 3 *ll.* 17 f.

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and the rounds of the night-watch (*ūr-kāppāḷar*, lit. guardians of the town) designed to forestall them.[1] The tiger-emblem of the Cholas is said to have been stuck on the front doors of the great mansions in Kāvēripaṭṭinam, and on the merchandise that had passed the examination of the customs-officials in its port.[2] The roads were guarded by soldiers told off to detect the smuggling of contraband, particularly donkey-loads of pepper which were liable to octroi duties.[3]

Interstate relations formed the most unsatisfactory feature of ancient Indian politics. The acceptance of the ideal of the *vijigīshu*, a king bent on aggrandizement, was its bane. It made lasting peace an utter impossibility. In one poem a Pāṇḍyan king is praised for keeping his country free from the foreign invader, but, at the same time for waging war against his two neighbours in order to secure the means of rewarding the many poets who sought his patronage;[4] this may be just conventional praise, but the line it takes must have had some relation to facts. The notion that a king established his hegemony by victories won against seven neighbouring rulers and wearing a garland of their crowns has been mentioned in our review of Chera history; it is also mentioned in relation to Ādigamān Añji.[5] There is a reference, doubtless exaggerated, to the kings of the North living in dread of a possible expedition by the Chola monarch in the course of his *digvijaya*.[6] Two of the most recurring causes of warfare were cattle-lifting and the refusal to give princesses in marriage.[7] There are scores of inscribed stones erected in later times to the memory of rustic heroes who were killed in the defence of the cattle of the village. These are proof that the traditional method of opening hostilities by driving off the enemy's cattle, was kept up in South India for many centuries after the Śaṅgam age. We learn that sometimes a Brahmin messenger was despatched to announce the declaration of war to an enemy, and it was usual to make presents to Brahmins evidently to secure their blessings on the enterprise, before the army marched out to war.[8]

In the art of warfare, methods of fortification, and of assaulting and defending fortresses appear to have been fairly well developed. The high battlemented walls of fortresses, their heavy wooden doors and cross-bars are alluded to, as also different types like mountain-forts and sea-forts.[9] The walls, ditch and the towered gates of the large Pāṇḍyan capital Madurai, its tall mansions and broad streets and its bazaars bright with flags of various kinds, are described in the *Maduraikkāñji*.[10] The fortress of Kānappēr had an additional fence of impenetrable forest.[11] The sufferings of a beleaguered fortress form the subject of a poem by

[1] *Maduraik. ll.* 635-52 also *Puṟ.* 37 *l.* 9
[2] *Paṭṭin. ll.* 40, 120-35
[3] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 80-2
[4] *Puṟ.* 42. also 201 *l.* 14
[5] Ibid. 99 *l.* 7
[6] Ibid. 31 *ll.* 14-17; 225 *ll.* 4-5
[7] Ibid. 257-8; 336 f.
[8] Ibid. 305 and 362.
[9] *Padiṟṟ.* 16 *ll.* 1-11; 20 *ll.* 17-19; 22 *ll.* 21-5; 50 *ll.* 12-13
[10] Also *Puṟ.* 18 *ll.* 10-12
[11] Ibid. 21 *ll.* 1-6

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Kōvūr Kiḷār.[1] The traditional four-fold army comprising chariots, elephants, cavalry and infantry is often mentioned,[2] and the importance of elephant and horse is regularly stressed.[3] Chariots were drawn by oxen or horses. Sword and shield were used in close combat,[4] and the *tōmaram* is mentioned,[5] evidently as a missile to be thrown at the enemy from a distance. Body-armour made of tiger-skin for the protection of the body, and a cover of leather for the forearm were in use.[6] The drum and the conch were sounded on the battle-field.[7]

Young soldiers, particularly among the Kōśar, learnt the use of weapons in peace-time by target-practice.[8] The summons to arms was usually by beat of drum,[9] and in the army the van (*tūśi*) and the rear (*kūḷai*) were distinguished besides the flanks (*pakkam*).[10] Sometimes kings took vows invoking many imprecations if they should fail to secure the victory; these vows incidentally throw welcome light on the ideals of good rule.[11] Aged soldiers sometimes turned ascetics.[12] Soldiers in the field drank toddy, (sometimes heated), and wore garlands of flowers.[13] The war-drum was worshipped as a deity with loudly uttered *mantras*; it was occasionally bathed in water, and when out of use laid on a special cot.[14] If crows and kites ate the *bali* offered to the war-drum on the eve of battle, and if the tree called *unnam* faded, these were considered good omens of victory.[15] Instruments of war made of steel were put in covers of tiger-skin.[16] On the anklets worn by soldiers were pictured the scenes of their heroic deeds in the field.[17] The stitching of the wounds on the battle-field is mentioned[18] and the slain were believed to attain the 'heaven of heroes' (*vīrasvarga*)[19] and were often honoured by the erection of memorial stones (*naḍukal*) inscribed with the details of their warlike achievements.[20] Camp-fires were kindled to keep off the cold at night, and the posting of sentries in the camp at night is fully described.[21]

A military camp (*kaṭṭūr* i.e. an artificial town) often contained soldiers speaking a variety of languages,[22] and was in any case apparently an elaborate affair. There is a long description of such a camp in the *Mullaippāṭṭu*.[23] It is said to have been as wide as the ocean; it was erected on enemy territory cleared from the hunters who originally occupied it. It was surrounded by a thorny hedge and was laid out in streets, with elephants to guard the important junctions; there were many tents, of which the most conspicuous was the royal pavilion decked with gaily coloured

[1] Ibid. 44
[2] *Maduraik. ll.* 43-54; *Puṟ.* 55 *ll.* 7-9; 63
[3] *Puṟ.* 3 *ll.* 7 f., 299 *ll.* 1-2
[4] Ibid. 4.
[5] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 54 *l.* 14
[6] *Puṟ.* 13 *l.* 2; *Padirr.* 19 *l.* 9
[7] *Puṟ.* 158 *l.* 1
[8] Ibid. 169 *ll.* 9-11
[9] Ibid. 89 *ll.* 7-9; 270 *ll.* 8-9; 279 *l.* 7
[10] Ibid. 88, 275 & *nn.*
[11] Ibid. 71, 72
[12] Ibid. 251-2
[13] *Puṟ.* 304 *ll.* 1-2 *Paḍiṟṟ. ll.* 1. 15
[14] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 19 *l.* 6; 30 *l.* 33; *Puṟ.* 50
[15] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 30 *ll.* 36-9; 40 *l.* 17
[16] Ibid. 19 *l.* 4; 24. *l.* 2
[17] Ibid. 34 *l.* 2. (Commentary).
[18] Ibid. 42 *ll.* 1-4
[19] Ibid. 52 *l.* 9
[20] *Mālaipaḍu. ll.* 384-9; *Puṟ.* 260 *ll.* 25 f.; 263-5 etc.
[21] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 82 *l.* 9; 84 *l.* 5
[22] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 90 *l.* 30
[23] *ll.* 24 f. See also *Puṟ.* 22 *ll.* 1-25

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curtains and spears and shields, and guarded by armed women who patrolled with lights at night; there were also male guards and time-keepers who tended water-clocks and announced the correct time. Elsewhere we hear of the drum being beaten in camp at early morning and of a gnomon to fix the exact time of midday.[1] The king is said to grieve at the thought of the war-elephants and horses wounded in fight and of the brave soldiers who fought to the death in loyalty to their lord.[2] Soldiers were rewarded by the grant of *mārāya* (military honour or fief) and the *ēnādi* title for particular acts of heroism such as 'stemming the advance of enemy forces single-handed like a stone dam arresting the onrush of the river's flood.'[3] Women captured in war were reduced to slavery and employed in places of public worship, where they were expected to bathe every evening and light the lamps besides sweeping the threshold and adorning it with flowers.[4] In a righteous war women were spared along with cows, Brahmins and the sick.[5] The enemy's cattle as well as the gates of his fortresses were often carried off by the victor as trophies;[6] his guardian tree was cut down and its stem converted into a war-drum,[7] the gold from the face-ornament (*ōḍai*) of his elephants converted into lotus-flowers as a present for minstrels,[8] and his crown made into an anklet,[9] or worn as part of a garland by the victor, as already noted. Further, the conquered country often suffered great destruction in the course of the war, not even the corn-fields being spared, and a particularly hated spot was ploughed with asses, and coarse grain and gram were sown on it.[10] Death on the battle-field was considered to be the only proper end for kings and soldiers; the bodies of those who died in their bed were laid on a couch of grass and cut with the sword by Brahmins and this was supposed to secure for them a place in the heaven of heroes.[11] There are many references to heroic mothers, proud of the warlike deeds of their sons and more elated on the day they fell in battle fighting the enemy's elephants than on the day of their birth.[12]

Clothing usually comprised two pieces of cloth.[13] Women in high society used corsets and hair-paste.[14] Scissors for clipping the hair of the head were made of steel, and the finger-holes in them are said to have had the shape of a pretty woman's ear.[15] The use of starch for stiffening clothes was known.[16] Ornaments were worn by both sexes when they could afford it, and the *hāra* of pearls on the chest, and *kaṭaka* on the forearm are specially alluded to.[17] Children wore a necklace of tiger's teeth.[18] Grain, flesh, and fish formed the chief articles of food, with

[1] *Maduraik. ll.* 230-32; *Neḍu. ll.* 72-5
[2] *Mullai. ll.* 67-76
[3] *Maduraik. ll.* 725-6 & *n.*
[4] *Paṭṭin. ll.* 246-9
[5] *Puṟ.* 9 *ll.* 1-3
[6] *Maduraik. ll.* 690-4
[7] *Aham* 347, *Paḍiṟṟ* 11 *ll.* 12-14
[8] *Puṟ.* 126 *ll.* 1-2
[9] Ibid. 40 *ll.* 1-4
[10] Ibid. 15; 16; 52 *ll.* 9-11; 57 *ll.* 5 ff. 392 *il.* 9-10
[11] *Puṟ.* 74, 93.
[12] Ibid. 86 *ll.* 4-5; 277-9; 295; 312
[13] Ibid. 189 *l.* 5
[14] *Aham* 150 *ll.* 2-3; *Paḍiṟṟ* 89 *l.* 16
[15] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 64 *l.* 9; *Porunar ll.* 29-30
[16] *Maduraik. l.* 721
[17] *Puṟ.* 150 *ll.* 20-1
[18] Ibid. 374 *l.* 9

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vegetables, milk, and milk products. Grain was husked in hollows mad in the ground (*nila-ural*), and converted into flakes (*aval*).[1] The tenderness of the cooked meat is compared to the softness of carded cotton.[2] *Āppam* (*apūpa*) or rice-cake soaked in milk was a luxury;[3] so too was the flesh of tortoises and of pigs, the latter when fattened and kept away from their females for a long time; so also the cooked *āral* fish when piping hot.[4] An animal roasted whole was valued for its taste.[5] Many references occur to toddy kept in jars and wines imported in green bottles. A bite of raw ginger during a potation is said to add to the enjoyment of the toper.[6] Toddy when kept long underground in bamboo barrels perceptibly improved in taste.[7] A 'cocktail' of toddy mixed with the juice of sugar-cane and cocoanut-water was known as *munnīr* (triple-liquid) and was much appreciated.[8] This sketch of the food and drink of the age may be concluded with a poet's account of the days he spent with the great Chola king Karikāla :[9]

> 'In his palace beautiful women decked in fine jewels and sweet smiles, often poured out and filled the ever-ready goblet of gold with intoxicating liquor, unstinted as rain; thus drinking my fill, and expelling my fatigue and great distress, I experienced a new elation...In good time, he plied me with soft boiled legs of sheep fed on sweet grass, and hot meat cooked on the points of spits, in large chops which were cooled by being turned in the mouth from one side to the other. When I said I would have no more of these, he made me keep on, and gave me to eat sweets fashioned in varied shapes and of excellent taste. In this wise, entertained by the music of the sweet drum and the well-tuned lute of the bright-faced *viṛaliyar*, I spent many pleasant days. On occasions, he entreated me to eat food prepared from rice; then I ate fine cooked rice which, with unbroken edges and erect like fingers, resembled the buds of the *mullai* (flower), together with curries sweetened with milk, in such quantities that they filled me up to the neck. So I stayed happily with him, and by chewing flesh day and night, the edges of my teeth were blunted like a ploughshare after ploughing dry land.'

The habit of eating betel leaves with nuts and lime was well known. Women are said to cease from eating betel and bathing in cold water when their husbands fall in battle.[10]

In summer, princes resorted to shady groves in the riverside in the company of their friends and relatives, and they sought refuge from the heat of the day which was felt more intensely under a roof.[11] Boys and girls enjoyed bathing and playing together in the water, and sometimes they jumped into the water from the overhanging branches of trees.[12] In winter on the

[1] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 96 and 226.
[2] *Puṛ.* 125 *l.* 1; 393 *ll.* 11-12
[3] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 377-8
[4] Ibid. *ll.* 342-5 ; *Puṛ* 212 *ll.* 3-4.
[5] *Puṛ.* 320 *l.* 13
[6] *Paḍiṛṛ* 42 *ll.* 10-12
[7] *Puṛ.* 120 *l.* 12 ; 129 *ll.* 1-2
[8] Ibid. 24 *ll.* 10-6
[9] *Porunar. ll.* 84-9 ; 102-21-translated in *Cōḷas*, I pp. 89-90
[10] *Puṛ.* 62 *l.* 14
[11] *Paḍiṛṛ.* 48 *ll.* 14-8
[12] *Puṛ.* 243

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other hand people shut themselves indoors, making the windows fast to keep out the cold wind; women used flowers sparingly, and warmed themselves at fires fed with fragrant wood and resin; even the strings of musical instruments had to be warmed against their bodies before they would sound the correct notes.[1] Among the fine arts there is clear mention of mural painting.[2] Music and dancing filled a good part of the spare time of men and women. Travelling troupes of dancers carried their *yāḻ* (lute), *padalai* (one-sided drum), and other stringed and percussion instruments in specially made bags.[3] The dances of *viṟalis*, (professional dancing-girls), took place at night, and lamps with large flames and big oil-containers carried on stands illuminated the performances.[4] Different kinds of lutes like *pēriyāḻ*, *pālai-yāḻ*, and *śengōṭṭiyāḻ* are described in detail in different contexts.[5] The flute is quaintly called 'a tube with dark holes made by red fire'.[6] There is a full-length description of a *pāḍini*, a singing woman of the *pāṇar* caste, in the *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai* in which Karikāla is himself described as the master of the seven notes (of music).[7] There were well-established conventions regarding the time and place proper for particular tunes.[8] The dancers made gestures with their hands to represent the meaning of their songs, or sometimes simply to beat the time (*tālam*).[9] There were mixed dances known as *tuṇaṅgai* and *alliyam* (*hallīsa*) which, as may be expected, did not fail to arouse misunderstandings between lovers.[10] The dancing-girls of Madurai are said to exert their wiles on the rich young men of the city making them unfaithful to their wives but to discard them when they had no more money to spend.[11] Mixed bathing parties are mentioned.[12] Country women delighted to wear girdles of flowers and leaves.[13] The terraces of the houses of the well-to-do were used by girls for ball games, and games with Molucca-beans and so on.[14] Children played in the *maṇṟam* of the village either beneath a shady tree or possibly in a simple open shed where the village-assembly met for the transaction of public business.[15] The children of hunters played with toy bows and arrows.[16] The procession of elephants in the streets of large cities such as Madurai on festive occasions was a great source of diversion to the citizens.[17] Old men are said to while away their time with dice.[18] Wrestling and hunting were among the more manly pastimes. There is a short but vivid description of a wrestling match in which a Chola prince who won a striking success against a professional wrestler from Āmūr is compared to a hungry elephant tearing down the leafy bamboo.[19] Wrestling

[1] *Neḍu. ll.* 45-72
[2] *Maduraik l.* 723
[3] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 41 *ll.* 1-5 ; *Malaipaḍu. ll.* 1-13
[4] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 47 *ll.* 5-6
[5] *Malaipaḍu. ll.* 21-37 ; *Porunar. ll.* 4-22
[6] *Perumbāṇ. l.* 179
[7] *Porunar. ll.* 25-47 ; 63
[8] *Puṟ.* 149.
[9] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 61 *l.* 17
[10] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 52 ; *Puṟ.* 33 *l.* 17
[11] *Maduraik. ll* 559-89
[12] Ibid. *ll.* 263-6 ; *Pari.* 6, 20
[13] *Puṟ.* 116 *ll.* 1-3
[14] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 333-5 ; *Puṟ.* 53 *ll.* 1-3
[15] *Puṟ.* 325
[16] bid. 324 *ll.* 5-6
[17] *Maduraik. ll.* 590-9
[18] *Puṟ.* 52 *l.* 14
[19] Ibid. 80

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matches between soldiers and the open comment of partisan spectators on the course and issue of the contest form the subjects of other poems.[1] The hunting of the pig and the hare with dogs and nets, and the laying of stone traps for tigers are also alluded to.[2]

Kings' palaces and the mansions of rich merchants and nobles were built of brick and mortar, and were sometimes several storeys high. The *Neḍunalvāḍai* gives a minute account of the building of a palace, begun in an auspicious hour fixed beforehand according to *sāstraic* rules, and describes the luxurious style of the finished interior, including the women's apartments and bedrooms. The palace was usually well guarded, open to friends and seekers of patronage, but unapproachable by enemies.[3] The dwellings of the common people were much humbler though by no means devoid of gaiety and happiness. We have a charming description of a small hut on the roadside with its live fence and open yard, from which the house-wives watched the salt-laden carts as they passed along the road.[4] Beds were made of hides or mats, and rope cots were made by *pulaiyar* who handled their needles with deftness.[5] Mills for crushing sugar-cane and making jaggery were common in the countryside.[6] The rich fed the poor in large numbers in long sheds erected for the purpose, and rice was spread in front of palaces[7] for crows to feed on. Silver plate was laid out in great profusion in royal palaces for the children of visitors to eat from, the visitors themselves being provided with golden dishes, according to the annotator.[8] Ruts were made in the thoroughfares of large cities by the constant running of chariots.[9]

The common people had many quaint beliefs of their own. They made little children wear as an amulet small necklaces consisting of replicas of the five weapons of Vishṇu.[10] They had an elaborate procedure including the sticking of margosa leaves on the roof, singing songs, and applying collyrium and white mustard to the child, for warding off the evil machinations of *pēy* (goblins).[11] They read omens in the movements of birds (*śakuna*).[12] A woman with dishevelled hair was a bad omen, to be counteracted by prayer.[13] The crow was believed to announce in advance the return of the absent husband to his wife.[14] The banyan tree was the abode of a deity, and the eclipse of the moon was the result of a snake eating her up.[15] The Kuṟavas believed that they could bring down rain by offering *bali* to their deity.[16] There is reference to a magic stick with which fortune-tellers were enabled to ply their trade.[17] Astrology was much in vogue, and people were ready to make empirical deductions from

[1] Ibid. 84, 85
[2] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 106-17; *Puṟ.* 19 *ll.* 5-6
[3] *Puṟ.* 177 *ll.* 1-5; 67 *ll.* 8-10
[4] Ibid. 116 *ll.* 1-7
[5] Ibid. 317 *l.* 3; 82
[6] Ibid. 322 *l.* 7; *Paṭṭin. ll.* 9-10; *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 261-2
[7] *Puṟ.* 331 *ll.* 7-9; 11-12
[8] *Perumbāṇ. ll.* 477-8
[9] Ibid. *l.* 397
[10] *Puṟ.* 77 *l.* 7
[11] Ibid. 281
[12] Ibid. 20. *l.* 18; 68 *l.* 11
[13] *Puṟ.* 260 *ll.* 4-5
[14] *Kuṟun.* 210
[15] *Puṟ.* 199 *l.* 1; 260 *ll.* 16-17
[16] Ibid. 143 *ll.* 1-3
[17] Ibid. 152 *l.* 18

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exceptional natural phenomena.[1] A whole poem is devoted to an account of the astrological portents that foreboded the death of 'Śey of the elephant-look' within seven days.[2]

Women enjoyed much freedom of movement in society and the number of women poets of the age is sufficient indication that they were not excluded from the best education then available. *Satī* was common, particularly among the higher martial classes, and the ideal wife was held to be she who mounted the funeral pyre of her husband with no more concern than if she was entering a tank of cool water for a bath.[3] If she was with child, *satī* was forbidden.[4] A widow's lot was rather hard. The beating of the breast in mourning for the deceased, the shaving of the head, and the breaking of bangles are mentioned. The widow had to discard all ornaments including the *tāli*, the one thing that no woman could give away in the lifetime of her husband.[5] She had to abstain from good food and to lead a life of austerity.[6] The references to widowhood in the poems, taken together, leave no doubt that sensitive women must have seen very good reason to follow their husbands in death as in life, rather than face the hardships and social contempt which was the widow's fate.

The general code of ethics was of a high standard. One poem[7] in the *Puṟanānūṟu* gives sharp expression to a detached and fatalistic outlook on life; but the bulk of the poems evince a keen enjoyment of life and its opportunities. It was the duty of householders to entertain guests, and the man who hides himself at the sight of a guest is held to lead a fruitless existence.[8] Attention is drawn to the uncertainties of fortune, and men are exhorted to pursue the path of good leading to abiding happiness.[9] Even if one is unable to do active good, one should abstain from evil, as being the only way to win the approval of society and happiness hereafter.[10] A true friend will stand by you in adversity, though he may be indifferent to you in your prosperity.[11] Patience, sympathy with the poor and indigent, the employment of armed strength so as not to rouse hatred, and noble speech and conduct in the *sabhā* of the king are upheld as worthy ideals.[12] Ingratitude, the worst sin, can never be expiated; it was deemed worse than even the mutilation of the udder of a cow, the destruction of a foetus, or the injuring of a Brahmin.[13] Family life was held in high honour and the wife is described as the light of the household.[14] The sanctity of virginity may be inferred from a quaint simile which compares an impregnable thorn fence round a military camp to the hair on the head of a virgin which no man may touch.[15]

[1] Ibid. 30 *ll.* 1-5
[2] Ibid. 229
[3] Ibid. 246
[4] Ibid. 222
[5] Ibid. 127 *l.* 5
[6] Ibid. 25; 62 *l.* 14; 224 *ll.* 13-17; 237 *ll.* 10-11; 238 *l.* 6; 246 *ll.* 4-9; 250 *ll.* 4-5; 253; 261 *ll.* 17-9; 280 *ll.* 11-4
[7] Ibid. 192
[8] Ibid. 266 *l.* 11
[9] Ibid. 194
[10] Ibid. 195
[11] Ibid. 215
[12] Ibid. 157
[13] Ibid. 34 *ll.* 1-6
[14] Ibid. 314 *l.* 1
[15] Ibid. 301 *ll.* 2-4

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Next to agriculture in all its forms including the raising of sugar-cane, cotton and pepper, the most important industry of the land was the production of cloth. Early European writers and Sanskrit sources confirm the truthfulness of the numerous references to the fine quality of the textiles produced in the Tamil country at this period. They are compared to the slough of the snake and to a cloud of steam; yet these muslins carried much fine floral work and were of different colours.[1] Silk, wool and other fabrics are referred to as cloth not spun by any one (*nūlāk-kaliṅgam*).[2] Production was generally for local consumption, and only articles of great value in small bulk, or necessities like salt which could not be made everywhere, entered into trade. Much trade was carried on by barter; examples occur of honey and roots being exchanged for fish-oil and toddy, and of sugar-cane and corn-flakes (*aval*) for venison and toddy.[3] Salt merchants moved about with their families in trains of carts; the roads were hard, and often the merchants had to negotiate ups and downs and thought it necessary to carry a spare axle (*śēmav-achchu*) for every cart.[4] Pepper was carried from place to place by caravans of asses.[5] The bazaar in big cities was a busy place with many flags (hoisted over the shops), plenty of cash (gold), and a number of taverns.[6] References to the different aspects of maritime trade are many and important. An elephant running amok is compared to a storm-tossed ship, and there are other references to shipwrecks in storms.[7] Salt, dried fish, and processed tamarind were conveyed in boats, evidently a reference to the coastal trade of the country. Foreign ships came laden with horses in the company of merchants who were eager to take the precious products of the Tamil country in exchange for them.[8] Śāliyūr was an important port on the Madurai coast, often visited by great ships.[9] Nīrpeyaṟṟu, probably somewhere near Māmallapuram, was another seaport to which were brought horses from the west and other products from the north; this was in the territory of Toṇḍaimān Iḷandiraiyan.[10] Near the port was a tall lighthouse in which a bright lamp burnt all night. Access to the lamp was by means of a steep ladder not easy to climb.[11] In between Śāliyūr and Nīrpeyaṟṟu, lay the still larger emporium of Puhār or Kāvērippaṭṭinam, the Khaberis of Ptolemy, which is described at great length in the *Paṭṭinappālai*. Large boats had carried white salt and returned laden with paddy in exchange, and when lying in harbour, they resembled a row of horses tethered in a garden.[12] Great ships sailed straight into the harbour of Puhār without slacking sail,[13] a description that cannot apply at the present day to any place in the

[1] Slough of snake *Porunar*. *ll*. 82-3; slough-like and flowered *Puṟ*. 383 *ll*. 9-11; like steam *Perumbāṇ*. *l*. 469; red flowered muslin, *Maduraik*. *ll*. 432-3
[2] *Paḍiṟṟ*. 12 *l*. 21
[3] *Porunar*. *ll*. 214-7
[4] *Puṟ*. 102 *ll*. 4-5; also ibid. 84 *l*. 6; *Śiṟupāṇ*. *l*. 55; *Perumbāṇ*. *ll*. 51-65
[5] *Perumbāṇ*. *ll*. 78-80
[6] *Paḍiṟṟ*. 15 *l*. 19; 68 *l*. 10
[7] *Maduraik*. *ll*. 377-9; *Puṟ* 238 *ll*. 14-5; 368 *l*. 9
[8] *Maduraik*. *ll*. 317-25
[9] Ibid. *ll*. 75-88
[10] *Perumbāṇ*. *ll*. 319-21
[11] Ibid. *ll*. 346-51
[12] *Paṭṭin*. *ll*. 29-32
[13] *Puṟ*. 30 *ll*. 10-12

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Tanjore delta on account of changes in the course of the Kāvērī river and in the shape of the seaboard. The merchandise brought to the port of Puhār included war-horses that came by sea, bags of black pepper brought overland by cart, gems and gold from the northern mountain, sandal and *agil* woods from the western mountain, pearls of the southern and coral of the eastern sea, the produce of the Ganges basin and the Kāvērī valley, foodstuffs from Ceylon and luxuries from Kaḍāram besides other rare and precious products.[1] Puhār was a cosmopolitan city where people from different countries speaking various languages lived amicably together and contributed to its vast and increasing wealth and prosperity.[2] Its merchants were not greedy cheats, but honest dealers who were content with a modest profit, feared wrong, spoke the truth, and gave the same consideration to the interests of their customers as to their own.[3] The ports were even more numerous on the west coast than on the east and in closer contact with the traders of the Roman empire. Muśiri was perhaps the leading emporium; a song in the *Puṟanānuṟu*[4] speaks of the sale of fish for paddy, of bales of pepper, and of the transport of a variety of merchandise in small boats from the large ships to the shore. Bandar and Koḍumaṇam were other ports with a wealth of sea-borne imports, Bandar being noted for its peals, and Koḍumaṇam for rare jewels,[5] Mention is made of the abundance of quartzite precious stones in the hills of the Chera country, and we find allusions to artisans skilled in the repair and refitting of ships, called here 'the timber that swims the great ocean (*peruṅgaḍal nīndiya maram*).'[6]

In the sphere of religion we find a mixture of practices and beliefs of diverse origin often jointly observed and held by the same sections of the people. The Vedic religion of sacrifice was followed by kings and chieftains, and as we have seen, references are not lacking to the performance of Vedic sacrifices and to the sacrificial posts, the *yūpas*, those of the Pāṇḍya king Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḻudi being the best known.[7] Individual Brahmins maintained and regularly worshipped the three sacred fires in their houses, and made sacrifices and feasts for gods and guests respectively,[8] rice, ghee and meat figuring prominently in both. Rice mixed with flesh was offered to crows daily in the thresholds of houses.[9] Gifts made to Brahmins were always accompanied by a libation of water.[10] A pantheon of many gods honoured with temples where public worship was offered to them had arisen. The worship of Vishṇu with *tulasi* (basil) leaves, bells and other accompaniments is mentioned, as also the custom of devotional fasting in the precincts of the temple with the object of obtaining the grace of Vishṇu.[11] Vishṇu sleeping on the coils of Ananta in Kāñchīpuram is mentioned in the *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*.[12] Śiva as *ardhanārīśvara*

[1] *Paṭṭin. ll.* 185-93
[2] Ibid. *ll.* 216-8
[3] Ibid. *ll.* 206-12
[4] *Puṟ.* 343 *ll.* 1-9
[5] *Padiṟṟ.* 55 *ll.* 3-4; 67 *ll.* 1-2; 74 *ll.* 5-6
[6] Ibid. 66 *l.* 18; 76 *l.* 4
[7] *Puṟ.* 15 *ll.* 16-21
[8] Ibid. 2 *ll.* 22-3; *Padiṟṟ.* 21. *ll.* 1-15
[9] *Porunar. ll.* 182-4
[10] *Padiṟṟ.* 64 *l.* 5
[11] Ibid. 31 *ll.* 1-10
[12] *Perumbāṇ. l.* 373

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(half-man half-woman), his bull Nandi, his *gaṇas*, in fact the whole gamut of Śaivite legends are found together in the invocatory verse of the *Puṟanānūṟu*.[1] Śiva, Balarāma, Kṛishṇa and Subrahmaṇya are mentioned together in one poem.[2] The birth of Subrahmaṇya from Kāli, and his warlike achievements like the destruction of the *asura* called Śūra are favourite themes with the poets.[3] The worship of this deity, better known as Murugan in Tamil, was attended by primitive dances known as *vēlanāḍal*,[4] possibly a survival of an ancient Tamil religious fashion like the dances connected with the worship of Kṛishṇa as a shepherd hero. The reference to the worship of the deity of the forest (*kāḍuṟaikaḍavuḷ*) often identified with Durgā, may be another survival of a similar nature.[5] Though Buddhism and Jainism must have found a footing in the land, there are few references to them in this literature. The mention of *śrāvakas*, the lay followers of Jainism, and of Jain monasteries in Madurai and of Indras in the plural are the more noteworthy pieces of evidence pointing to the presence of Jainism.[6] Ascetics wearing orange robes and carrying a *tridaṇḍa* (*mukkōl*) are referred to.[7] The enjoyment of the pleasures of life is compared to the performers of *tapas* (austerities) reaping their fruit even in this world.[8] We hear relatively little of domestic ritual. There is, however, a detailed account of pre-natal rites designed to ensure that the unborn child will excel in the desired directions after its birth.[9] There are references both to cremation and burial urns,[10] and to judge only from the trend of these references, cremation and burial appear to have been alternative modes of diposal, and the *Maṇimēkalai* furnishes evidence that both these and other methods of disposal survived together up to a relatively late age, say the sixth or seventh century A.D. Archaeological evidence points to burials of cremated remains as well as of decarnated bodies. Some light on the funerary rites of the time is got from the references to the wife offering a *piṇḍam* (rice-ball) to her dead husband who was supposed to eat it at the instance of a *pulaiyan*, before his pyre was kindled.[11]

In this picture of Tamil social life there are some inevitable gaps. For instance we should like to know rather more about the institution of marriage than we are able to gather from the Śaṅgam anthologies. There is in fact little definite information on this subject barring a reference to the *tāli*; two *Aham* poems[12] indeed refer to the feasting of relations at a meal of rice mixed with black gram and flesh before the marriage, the bathing of the bride by four women who had their husbands and children living, the marriage *pandal* strewn with fresh sand, the music of the marriage drum, the

[1] *Puṟ.* 1 and the notes to it by Dr. V. S. Aiyar.
[2] Ibid. 56
[3] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 11 *ll.* 4-6; *Perumbāṇ ll.* 457-9
[4] *Maduraik. ll.* 611-20
[5] *Porunar. ll.* 52-5
[6] *Maduraik. ll.* 475-87 ; *Puṟ* 182 *ll.* 1-2
[7] *Mullai. ll.* 37-8
[8] *Porunar. ll.* 91-2
[9] *Paḍiṟṟ.* 74 *ll.* 4-17
[10] Cremation, *Puṟ.* 231, 246 ; urns ibid. 228, 256, 364 *l.* 13; *Paḍiṟṟ.* 44 *ll.* 18-23
[11] *Puṟ* 360 *ll.* 17-20 ; 363 *ll.* 10-16 ; 249 *ll.* 10-14 ; 234
[12] 68 ; 136

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worship of gods, and the preference for the celebration of marriage on a day in the bright half of the month when the moon was with Rōhiṇī. The marriage was consummated the same night. We hear nothing of the ritual if there was any. Later works like the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Kaḷaviyal* indeed say that the Aryans introduced the ritual and ceremony of marriage (*karaṇam*); but there is no clue to the date when this happened. These works also mention the spontaneous coming-together of the sexes (*kāmak-kūṭṭam*); they distinguish secret marriage (*kaḷavu*) from the open alliance contracted with the consent of parents (*kaṟpu*); they mention also unrequited or unilateral love (*kaikkiḷai*) and improper love (*perundiṇai*) as between a youth and a woman older than himself, or a woman of different caste, or one otherwise unfit to marry him according to the code; lastly they refer to the eight forms of marriage known to the Sanskrit *Dharmaśāstra* and show great ingenuity in fitting them into the framework of the Tamil scheme. Though the *gāndharva* form of marriage is easily equated to *kaḷavu*, the other Aryan forms do not fall into line so easily. And we have no data to decide how far these developments may be assigned to the earlier period, the Śaṅgam age proper with which we are concerned in this chapter. In spite of these lacunae in the picture of social life, its main features stand out clearly enough. Society consisted of a fairly gay crew of kings, chieftains, and nobles at the top befriended by Brahmins and entertained by poets, musicians, and dancers, and indulging in war, the chase, and the company of women. The life of the masses was simple but by no means devoid of joy and amusement. There was an abundance of the necessities of life and a reasonably brisk inland and maritime trade. The level of material culture was fairly high and in the spiritual sphere there was occurring a progressive integration of the new Aryan with the old pre-Aryan forms and conventions. The general impression left on the mind by this early Tamil literature is one of social harmony, general contentment, and happiness.

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Chapter XVIII

CEYLON

The Sources

No part of India has such an uninterrupted historical tradition as Ceylon for the period prior to the fourth century A.D. This tradition is found in two Pāli Chronicles, the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, which give the story from the settlement of the Aryans to about A.D. 302, and in the Introduction to the Pāli Commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, the *Samantapāsādikā*, while other Pāli commentaries based on earlier Sinhalese works provide evidence for a study of social conditions. There are in addition nearly two thousand inscriptions, many ruins of buildings, some works of sculpture, and a large number of coins that shed considerable light on the history of the island in these times.

All this evidence, however, is insufficient to give an accurate and comprehensive history of this period, showing changes in its political, institutional, economic and social conditions. The Pāli chronicles are essentially religious narratives. Unlike the Purāṇas they do not offer any information derived from royal courts or from secular sources. The *Dīpavaṁsa* is a sketchy account of the story of Theravāda Buddhism with a sprinkling of other legends. It is a compilation of Pāli verses, containing sometimes more than one version of the same episode, and some of its early chapters may go as far back as the first century B.C. The Introduction to the *Samantapāsādikā*, which gives the story of Theravāda Buddhism up to its arrival in Ceylon, is mainly valuable as representing an intermediate stage in the development of the tradition. It is more or less a translation of the Introduction to the Sinhalese commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (no longer extant) which was compiled probably in the Mahāvihāra about the first half of the first century A.D. The *Mahāvaṁsa* is an expanded account of the story in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and is to a great extent the story of the Mahāvihāra, the most famous of the ancient Buddhist *vihāras* of Anurādhapura. It was similarly based on a Sinhalese chronicle, and its early portion up to the introduction of Buddhism was probably written about the second half of the first century A.D. From the first century A.D., when the Sinhalese commentaries to the Pāli canon began to be written down, records of important religious events in Ceylon seem to have been kept. The evidence in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and in the *Mahāvaṁsa* on the whole is reliable from about the same time.[1]

Both these chronicles are set in a framework of political history. They

[1] G. C. Mendis, 'The Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon', *UCR.* iv p. 1

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provide a list of kings with their regnal years, an account of their religious activities, and refer briefly to invasions, rebellions and usurpations. Their chief value, however, is to the student of social history or rather of Buddhism, for the main narrative deals with the story of Theravāda Buddhism as represented by the *bhikshus* (monks) of that sect.

The inscriptions with one exception[1] are lithic records, most of which were inscribed below the drip-ledges of caves inhabited by Buddhist *bhikshus*, and cover the period from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. The cave inscriptions, with a few exceptions, can be assigned palaeographically to the period from the middle of the third century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D. The last cave inscription that can be dated regnally belongs to the reign of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi (A.D. 19-29). The inscriptions that record grants of tanks and fields and other gifts are generally late, but a few may go back to the second century B.C. Though the number of all these inscriptions is considerable, their value is limited. Not one of them is dated according to any era. Nor does a single one from the third century B.C. to the first century A.D. give even the regnal year of a king. The changes of script noticeable in later times are not clearly marked in these four centuries. These inscriptions cannot therefore be definitely assigned to any time within these centuries, except for a few which contain the names of kings and sometimes their genealogy, and, with the help of the Pāli chronicles, can be placed in their appropriate chronological position.

These are not the only drawbacks of epigraphical evidence. The inscriptions give little material for history. Those inscribed on caves record briefly their donation in a sentence or two in a stereotyped form. Those granting lands, tanks and gifts, though they afford some idea of the economic conditions of the time, do not add considerably to our knowledge of the period. The donees in these inscriptions are always the *Saṅgha*, in general, or the *bhikshus* of a particular *vihāra*. The descriptions of the donors, some of which trace their genealogy up to two or three generations, with their titles, and their occupations, incidentally shed some light on the society of the day. A few of these inscriptions also contain information on dynastic history, kingship, its probable origin and growth, rules of succession and royal revenues. But they refer mainly to the religious activities of a few kings, such as the grants of caves, or endowments made to *vihāras*. Only five inscriptions differ from these. Three of them are connected with events in Buddhism. The fourth refers to a council of Tamils. The fifth records the death of some lapidaries of King Mahāchūḷi Mahātissa.[2]

[1] *EZ.* IV p. 229

[2] I am much indebted to Dr. L. S. Perera who allowed me the use of his Thesis on *The Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions* submitted for the Ph. D. degree of the University of Ceylon in 1949. I am similarly indebted to Mr. C. W. Nicholas who placed at my disposal his classified collection of the ancient inscriptions of Ceylon.

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Ancient monuments of this period are found in various parts of the island. There are innumerable caves with and without inscriptions. Throughout the Dry Zone are *dāgābas* and other Buddhist buildings either restored or still in ruins. Some of them have inscriptions while others contain bricks with Sinhalese characters from which they can be roughly dated. The monuments are an index of the cultural attainments of the people. They reveal their standard of art, architecture, and sculpture as well as the foreign influences that affected their development. A large number of the tanks and canals of this period are still extant. They reveal the remarkable knowledge and skill attained by the ancient peoples and point to the extent of economic development reached at the time. Improvements and extensions of the monuments effected in later times cannot always be distinguished; it is at times difficult to fix their dates as new materials have been used in restoring old buildings while old material taken from ruined buildings has been embodied in later works.[1]

The coins that have been discovered in the island give some indication of the trade of Ceylon. The best known of these are the *kahāpaṇas* mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*[2] and the early inscriptions. Kahāpaṇas, called *purāṇas* in Sanskrit, are punch-marked coins of thin silver cut from a hammered sheet and clipped to the proper weight, and appear to have been issued by goldsmiths, merchants, or guilds. They were in use in North India in pre-Christian times, and some of those found in Ceylon may have been brought by traders who made voyages along the coast from the west and the east of India. But the majority seem to have come from South India with which Ceylon had a common coinage in ancient times. The *purāṇas*, though they ceased to be current in North India by the beginning of the Christian era, were in circulation in the South till about the end of the second century A.D. or even later.[3]

Another class of coins that were current in Ceylon in the early centuries of the Christian era were those of the Roman empire. Up to the second century A.D., these coins, like the *kahāpaṇas*, seem to have filtered down from South India where they were current in large numbers. Very few Roman coins of the time before Nero have been found in Ceylon. Even those of his successors before the second century A.D. are not many. Not all the coins found in Ceylon were, however, imported. Some seem to have been minted in Ceylon as they contain the same symbols as some of the ancient inscriptions. Another type which cannot be traced to India is that containing the stamp of a maneless lion on one side and was in circulation under Mahāsena (274-302).[4]

[1] The chief sources for a study of the ancient monuments are the Memoirs and Reports of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon and *The Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sec. G. Of the Memoirs, the most valuable is *The Stūpa in Ceylon* by S. Paranavitana.

[2] *MV.* xxi. 26; xxv. 99, 100; xxvii. 21; xxx. 18; xxxvi. 125.

[3] H. W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, Colombo 1924.

[4] Ibid. p. 25

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THE EARLY INHABITANTS

1. *The Väddas*

ALL the early settlers of Ceylon came from India. Of these the Väddas were the earliest people of whose settlement we have some definite evidence. A few of them still live by hunting in the jungles in the interior of the island, and it is most probably these primitive hunters that the *Mahāvaṁsa* meant by the term Pulinda.[1] The other early inhabitants of Ceylon recognized the Pulindas to be a race distinct from themselves and they traced the descent of these folk to Vijaya, the leader of the Sīhaḷas, and the *yakshiṇī* Kuveṇī who is said to have been his first wife.

Ethnological studies have shown that the Väddas are of the same racial stock as the Iruḷas, the Malaveḍans, the Sholagas, and other hunting tribes of India. They are classed among the proto-Australoids, the dolichocephalic type, but they also reveal, like the Indian tribes referred to, traces of a Negroid blend in their frizzly hair and low stature. The earliest settlers of India are said to have been negritos, who were followed by the proto-Australoids. There is no evidence to show whether the admixture in the Väddas took place in Ceylon or in India before their arrival in this Island.[2]

It has been suggested that there is further evidence of the ancestors of the Väddas in the considerable number of stone implements, consisting of chert and quartz of the Palaeolithic or Mesolithic Age, discovered in various parts of the island.[3] The implements reveal that there existed in Ceylon in prehistoric times one of the most highly developed quartz and crystal industries so far discovered. But there is no evidence to show when it came into existence or when it came to an end.[4] Even the people who used these implements probably came from India; for similar tools have been discovered around the valley of the Narmadā and in other parts of Peninsular India.[5] It is possible.that the Väddas spread over the Dry Zone and retreated to the mountainous districts in the south-west with the arrival of the later immigrants. But there is neither skeletal nor any other evidence to connect these implements with them.[6]

It is sometimes assumed that it was not the Väddas but the *yakshas*, whom the Buddha is said to have expelled during his first visit, and the *nāgas*, whose war he is said to have prevented during his second visit, who were the original inhabitants of the island. The legend of the war of Vijaya with the *yakshas* recalls a struggle between the Aryan immigrants and the aborigines while Paṇḍukābhaya's union with Chetiyā before his final

[1] *MV.* VII. 68
[2] *CJS.* Sec. G. iii Parts 1 & 2; *Census of India*, I p. 444
[3] There are also some paintings in caves at Tantrimalai and in other parts of the island, but it is not certain they are prehistoric. See 'Tantrimalai' by John Still, *JRASCB.* XXII p. 73; Seligmann *The Veddas*, p. 319
[4] N. A. and H. V. V. Noone 'The Stone Implements of Bandarawela', *CJS.* III p. 1
[5] *PIHC.* 1947, p. 179
[6] *CJS.* I p. 27; III p. 21

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struggle with his uncles tells of an alliance with a native princess. The *nāgas*, it is claimed, were the ancestors of the Tamils who formed a Dravidian kingdom in the north.[1]

Such interpretations, however, will not bear criticism. The Pāli commentaries of this period class *yakkhas*, *nāgas*, *gandhabbas* and *kumbhaṇḍas* together and refer to them as non-human beings (*amanussa*).[2] These represent them as beings of the first of the upper worlds while the *nāgas* at times are said to inhabit also the first of the lower worlds. In any case the *yakshas* who appear in the later legends could not have played any part in the history of the island if the earlier story that they were expelled by the Buddha is accepted. Of a people called the *nāgas* no trace has been found in the later chapters of the chronicles or in other records. Further, the early place-names of the island mentioned in the chronicles do not point to the existence of any civilized or semi-civilized races who spoke a tongue different from that of the Aryans.[3]

The remaining evidence of prehistoric settlements consists of a dolmen and some cists. The dolmen lies at Padavigampola in the Western Province, three miles to the north-west of Rambukkana. It is a stone chamber constructed with three upright slabs and a covering stone placed horizontally on them. The two longer upright slabs measure roughly 12′ by 5½′ while the third is 3½′ by 5½′. The covering stone measures 17′ by 15′ while the room measures 11½′ by 6½′. The cists are to be seen in the North-Central and the Eastern Provinces, and consist of square stone slabs, four on the four sides and one on top. It is probable that they were altars connected with early *yaksha* cults.[4] It is not known who constructed these lithic chambers any more than who used the stone implements. Whoever built them probably came from India as similar megalithic tombs have been discovered in South India as well.[5]

[1] The visits of the Buddha have no historical basis. The activities of the Buddha, according to the Pāli Canon, were confined to the eastern part of North India. It is doubtful if the immediate followers of the Buddha even knew of Ceylon, as the name Taṁbapaṇṇi by which Ceylon was first known in India occurs only in the later Pāli works, the *Mahāniddesa* (i p. 155) and the Jātaka (The Valāhassa Jātaka, no. 196). The stories of the subduing of *nāgas* on such occasions and the predictions made about shrines that would arise in the places visited are not peculiar to Ceylon. Like some Purāṇic legends, they seem to have grown around or later become associated with the shrines referred to in them (the first visit—the Mahiyaṅgana Chetiya; the second visit—the Rājāyatana Chetiya; and the third visit the Kalyāṇi Chetiya and others). They are the creative work of persons who believed in the supernormal powers of the Buddha especially his power to see into the future and to visit any place he liked. See also the 'History of the Saṅgha' by D. B. Jayatilaka in *The Buddhist*, Oct. 1. 1921.

[2] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, pp. 12-14, 26 *JRASCB.* xxi pp. 302-28.

[3] In contrast to this a number of place-names in the Jaffna Peninsula occupied mainly by the Tamils show that they are of Aryan origin. *CA.* ii. pp. 54, 167

[4] *CJS.* ii p. 96

[5] Ibid. p. 95

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2. *The Aryans*

The next people of whose arrival we have definite evidence are the Aryans whose dialect developed into the modern Sinhalese language. It is not known to what ethnic stock they belonged, from which part of India they came, and what forces drove them from their homeland. Nor is there any definite evidence to indicate when these people first arrived in Ceylon, in which districts they first settled, and how they spread over it.

To judge from the language of the early inscriptions, these people must have come from North India, but researches into this dialect have not progressed sufficiently to trace it to any definite region or even to ascertain with any degree of certainty whether it came from the west or the east of India or from both. Nor is it possible to draw any firm conclusion from the place-names found in the early chapters of the chronicles. The names are undoubtedly Aryan, but names like Ujjenī, Upatissagāma and Uruvelā may not have been adopted until after the introduction of Buddhism. The society and civilization represented in the early chapters of the chronicles and in the pre-Christian inscriptions is that of North India, but once more we cannot fix upon any definite part of North India as the region whence the Aryans came to Ceylon.

The Pāli chronicles in no way help the solution of these problems. The coming of the Aryans is represented in them by the story of Vijaya. The account of Vijaya's father, Sīhabāhu, is clearly an attempt to explain the origin of the name Sīhaḷa and is to a great extent an adaptation of the Padakusalamāṇava Jātaka.[1] Similarly the story of Vijaya's union with Kuveṇī owes a great deal to the Valāhassa Jātaka,[2] which also influenced the story of Siṁhala in the *Divyāvadāna*.[3] Many of the other details in these stories too can be traced to other Jātakas.[4] The story of Kuveṇī does not occur in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, and the author of the *Mahāvaṁsa* in introducing it ignored the earlier tradition that the Buddha on his first visit expelled all the *yakshas* from Ceylon and placed them on another island.

The influence of the Jātakas is not the only evidence that these stories came into existence after the introduction of Buddhism into the island. Buddha, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, prophesied the coming of Vijaya and entrusted him and his followers to the care of Sakka. Vijaya himself landed on the day of the *Parinibbāṇa* (Buddha's death). Other details, such as the statement that the arrow aimed at the lion's forehead by Sīhabāhu thrice rebounded and fell because of the affection the lion had for his offspring, also show the influence of Buddhist ideas.

The date of the arrival of Vijaya was no doubt fixed on the day of the *Parinibbāṇa* in order to connect the beginning of the history of Ceylon

[1] No. 432
[2] No. 196
[3] Ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge 1886, p. 526
[4] Nos. 360, 398, 422, 454, 463, 465, 546

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with Buddhism. No more importance can be attached to the view that this event took place 218 years before the accession of Aśoka. This reckoning is based on the regnal years of a list of Magadha kings which, even if the years allotted to each king are accurately given (this is doubtful as the numbers are mainly multiples of four and six), is open to serious objection as it places the Susunāga kings after Bimbisāra, contrary to all the Indian evidence.[1]

The region mentioned as the original home of Vijaya and his followers by each of the chronicles seems to be derived from the knowledge of the geography and of the routes from India existing at the time the traditions came into being. The *Dīpavaṁsa* story, which may go as far back as the first century B.C., suggests, probably following the Jātakas, that they came from the west of India, while the *Mahāvaṁsa* story, which perhaps is not earlier than the first century A.D., is definite that they came from the east.

This composite legend of Vijaya is thus nothing more than the conjectures of people of a later age about their early history. It reflects the conditions of the days of early Buddhism rather than of the age of the migration of the people whose descendants accepted Buddhism, and it is not safe to draw from such stories any conclusions as to the origin or the movements of the early Aryan settlers.

It has been assumed that the Sīhaḷas came from the west on the ground that they were a totemistic tribe, who must have known the lion at some stage, and so could have come only from the west of India. But this assumption can hardly be justified for the available evidence suggests that Sīhaḷa was first the name of the island and was only later applied to the people. In fact Sīhaḷa does not seem to have been a popular name for the island or for the people in pre-Christian times. The name used by Onesicritus, Megasthenes and the other Greeks was Taprobane, the Indian form of which was Tāmraparṇi. Aśoka in his inscriptions refers to Ceylon as Taṁbapaṁṇi. The name by which the island was next popularly known was Laṅkā. The term Sīhaḷa occurs in the *Mahāvaṁsa* only in the story of Vijaya and the account of the flight of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.[2]

According to the chronicles the first settlements of the Aryans were made on the north-western coast of the island, and this may be correct This was the coast at which ships sailing round the coast of India would touch in order to take in fuel and water.[3] It was also the region near which pearls were obtained, and Ceylon, as attested by Megasthenes, was famous for pearls from very early times. It is likely that the Aryans from the north-west spread over the northern plain and then over the regions lying on either side of the hills till they reached the Wet Zone of the island. The inscriptions in the Aryan dialect show that in the three centuries before the

[1] G. C. Mendis, 'The Chronology of the Early Pāli Chronicles of Ceylon, *UCR.* v p. 39 ; *E.J.* Thomas, 'Theravādin and Sarvāstivādin Dates of the Nirvāṇa', *B. C. Law Volume* I pp. 18-22

[2] *PIHC.* Eleventh Session, 1948. p. 84

[3] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 112

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Christian era the northern plain, the eastern and south-eastern parts as far south as the Valavē Ganga and the western parts as far south as the Kālaṇi Ganga were inhabited, whereas the south-western region between these two rivers watered by the Kälaṇi, the Gin, and the Nilvalā Gangas and the central highlands were hardly occupied.[1]

Geographically Ceylon is a continuation of South India, the south-west being a projection of the Malabar region and the rest of the island of Coromandel. The south-west, being subject to the South-West Monsoon, must have been thickly wooded and more difficult to open up, while owing to its mountainous nature, unlike the northern and the eastern parts, it was less suitable for the cultivation of rice which was the chief occupation of the Aryan settlers.

There is also the possibility that there were independent settlements from India in the east and the south-east. The symbol of the fish used by the early rulers of these regions (found in inscriptions at Bōvattagala and Koṭṭadämuhela near Kataragama, Hēnannēgala in the Batticaloa district, and Kandēgamakanda in eastern Tamankaḍuva in the North-Central Province) probably indicates that at first they had no connection with the early Anurādhapura kings.[2] They may have descended from leaders of independent settlers in these areas.

The Pāli chronicles give a continuous story from Vijaya to Devānaṁpiya Tissa, in whose reign Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon. But a critical examination of the chapters dealing with this interesting period reveals that they are no more historical than the story of Vijaya and that they owe as much to the Jātakas for their main themes as well as for their details.

The story of Paṇḍuvāsudeva, Abhaya, and Paṇḍukābhaya, the rulers who are said to have followed Vijaya, resembles too closely the Ghaṭa Jātaka[3] to be considered independent of it. The account of the attempt of Paṇḍukābhaya's uncles to put him to death by killing the children of the place and later by killing the shepherds, of which no trace is found either in the Jātaka or in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, is reminiscent of the stories of Kṛishṇa. The details remind one also of other Jātakas.[4] It is probable that the stories grew around the shrines of Chittarāja, Kālavela, and Valavāmukhī mentioned in the story of Paṇḍukābhaya as they explain their origin. The influence of the Jātakas and the attempt to connect the Sinhalese royal dynasty with the Śākya clan of the Buddha show that these stories too arose after the introduction of Buddhism.

The chronology of this period is of no greater value than the legends. As stated already, Vijaya's arrival is placed on the day of Buddha's death. The accession of Devānaṁpiya Tissa is fixed in some accounts after the

[1] C. W. Nicholas: Epigraphical Map of Ceylon, *UCR.* VII p. 142

[2] C. W. Nicholas, 'The Titles of Sinhalese Kings as recorded in the Inscriptions of the 3rd Century B.C. to the 3rd Century A. D.' *UCR.* VII p. 239

[3] No. 454

[4] Nos. 276, 309, 398, 432, 465, 510, 531, 539

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seventeenth year and in others after the eighteenth year of Aśoka, a year before Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon. The date of the accession was probably fixed when the date of the introduction of Buddhism had already been reckoned from the date of Mahinda who is said to have entered the *Saṅgha* six years after Aśoka's accession and come to Ceylon twelve years later. The years allotted to each reign are obviously made up to cover the regnal years of the Magadha kings referred to above. The reigns of all the kings except Vijaya are given in round numbers. Paṇḍukābhaya is made to reign 70 years, thus living to an age of 107. Muṭasiva, his son, who was considerably old at his accession, rules for another 60 years.[1]

Thus of the kings who played an important part in Ceylon before the introduction of Buddhism we know nothing for certain, or we possess only names with which the imagination of later generations has dealt at will. All that we can do is to draw whatever inferences seem legitimate about these times from the literary works and the inscriptions of the subsequent period.

The Aryans who came from India seem to have settled in Ceylon under the leadership of *gamaṇis*.[2] According to two inscriptions, princes (*aya*) who were rulers of districts trace their genealogy through a king (*raja*) to a *gamaṇi*. It is likely that even the rulers of Anurādhapura as well as those of Māgama were originally *gamaṇis*, as some of them like Uttiya, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Saddhā Tissa, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi and Gajabāhu continued to use this title even in later times. Further the form of succession in the Sinhalese royal family (from brother to brother instead of from father to son) as well as the names of early kings such as Abhaya, Tissa, Nāga, Uttiya and Asela, used also by people of higher ranks, strengthens the view that the kings of Ceylon rose from among these *gamaṇis*.

After some time many of these *gamaṇis* seem to have assumed the title of *raja*. The early inscriptions of rulers, other than those of the kings of Anurādhapura, belong mainly to *ayas* who lived in various parts of the Island. Many of these *ayas* of the east and south-east trace their immediate descent to *rajas*. It is likely that some time before the introduction of Buddhism the ruler of Anurādhapura, taking advantage of his central position on the northern plain, extended his lordship over the kings of this region and then over those of the east and south-east and called himself *maharaja*. Thus by the third century B.C. the government of Ceylon by independent rulers had yielded to a government under a *maharaja* who

[1] *UCR.* v p. 39

[2] In the *Ṛigveda*, *grāma* appears to have meant at first a horde, a wandering tribe or clan and *grāmaṇī* a leader of such a body. At times *grāmaṇī* also meant a ruler and was used as an epithet for Manu (*Ṛigveda* x 107, 5; 62, 11). In the *Brāhmaṇas*, *grāmaṇī* is an important official associated with royal ceremonies. In Buddhist books, as in Ceylon inscriptions, the term for a village chief is *gamika*. In Ceylon inscriptions *gamaṇi* never occurs in this sense. The explanation in the *Mahāvaṁsa* that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was so called because he was to be the chief of Māgama was probably thought of at a time when the original significance of the word had been forgotten. See also *UCR.* VII p. 244

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continued to allow kings and princes who were once independent to control the districts over which they claimed a right to rule.[1]

Next to the ruling class came the *parumakas*, several hundreds of whom are referred to in inscriptions found in all the inhabited parts of the island. They undoubtedly had a high status. One of them had a king's daughter for his wife. This title was used by Brahmins as well as by high officials of all ranks. In a few cases women who were either wives or daughters of *parumakas* also held this title. *Parumakas* owned tanks and some are said to have enjoyed the revenues of villages, and they made gifts of tanks and *vihāras* to *bhikshus*. They seem to have formed an upper grade of society and were probably a sort of landed gentry.[2]

The early inscriptions also show that there were Brahmins scattered over all the occupied parts of the island.[3] As in North India, they not only performed the duties of *purohitas* or ministers but also functions of physicians and merchants, and played an important part in the life of the people. The existence of Brahmins and the use in later times of names connected with Brahmanism show that at least a few among the early settlers followed their religion. The early settlers apparently introduced also other religious cults, including the cult of the *yakshas*. The Yaksha Chittarājā and the Yakshiṇī Vaḷavamukhī[4] referred to in the story of Paṇḍukābhaya, were worshipped in North India in ancient times.

Thus Ceylon appears to have attained a fair stage of development before the introduction of Buddhism. The Aryans had opened up the Dry Zone and made their settlements in villages in almost every part of this area. Unlike the earlier inhabitants, these adventurers had mastered their environment. They had cleared the forest, opened up the country, and developed paddy cultivation. They had no doubt introduced the use of iron which was well known in North India at the time, and extracted it in Ceylon from ore found not far below the surface in various parts of the island.

The Aryans had developed a system of government which satisfied their needs. The *maharaja* who ruled the country had his capital at Anurādhapura, which was no doubt chosen because of its central position on the northern plain and its strategic situation on the Malvatu Oya, a river which flowed into the sea near the fine harbour of Mantai near Mannār. The most important of the princes and chiefs was the ruler of Ruhuṇa who had his capital at Māgama, situated in the midst of the four rivers in the south-east, the Valavē Ganga, the Kirinda Oya, the Mānik Ganga and the Kumbukkan Oya.

The people of the northern plain and of Ruhuṇa, linked geographically by the Mahaväli Ganga, maintained a close contact while the common Aryan dialect used by all bound them further into one society. This society

[1] *UCR.* VII p. 235; See also S. Paranavitana, 'Two Royal Titles of the Early Sinhalese', *JRAS.* 1936, p. 443

[2] C.W. Nicholas, 'Some Offices and Titles in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom', *UCR.* VII p. 121

[3] C. W. Nicholas, 'Brāhmaṇas in the Early Sinhalese Kingdom', *UCR.* VIII p. 259

[4] Jātaka, 276, 432 (Assamukhi)

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was well graded and consisted of a ruling class, an aristocracy, and the common people who either cultivated the land or carried on useful crafts.

THE EARLY KINGS

Devānaṁpiya Tissa, according to the Pāli chronicles, succeeded Muṭasiva. The accounts of him furnished in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, though not very different from those of the earlier kings, contain much more historical matter. Fortunately for a study of this period, there are a number of inscriptions and ancient monuments as well as foreign literary and epigraphical evidence with which the narratives in the chronicles can to some extent be checked. The chronicles lay stress upon Devānaṁpiya Tissa's friendship with the Mauryan emperor Aśoka. Though Tissa had been just consecrated king, the two monarchs are said to have been friends for a long time though they had not seen each other. The correspondence between them was begun by Devānaṁpiya Tissa, who sent to Aśoka gems and other precious objects which rose to the surface of the earth at his consecration owing to his merit. Aśoka who had no such precious stones sent some gifts in return which included unguents brought by the *nāgas* at his own consecration as well as other objects (some of these are referred to in Jātaka verses)[1] necessary for the consecration of a king, and requested the ambassadors from Ceylon to consecrate Tissa once more. At the same time he sent also the gift of Dhamma saying that he had taken refuge in the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha and asking Tissa to do likewise.

The historicity of Devānaṁpiya Tissa there is no reason to impugn. He was probably the Devānaṁpiya *maharaja* whose wife, according to an inscription at Mihintalē, presented a cave to the Buddhist *Saṅgha*.[2] It is most likely that Aśoka and Tissa were contemporaries, and that Tissa adopted the title of Devānaṁpiya from Aśoka. There is definite evidence that about this time there was communication between India and Ceylon. According to the Rock Edicts *II* and *XIII* of Aśoka, Tambapaṁṇi was among the countries in which Aśoka arranged for the care of men and beasts, the planting of medicinal herbs and the spread of the *dhamma*.[3] But what is said beyond this in the *Mahāvaṁsa* it is difficult to accept. The inscriptions of Aśoka do not suggest that he was concerned in any king's reconsecration. This seems to be one of the many attempts made in the *Mahāvaṁsa* to connect persons of importance in Theravāda Buddhism and in Ceylon either with the Buddha or Aśoka. The details of the Ceylon legend appear to show that the story grew at a time when the nature of the cor-

[1] 530 Gāthā 4; 538 Gāthā 72

[2] *UCR.* VII p. 241

[3] V. A. Smith (*Aśoka*, 3rd Ed. p. 162) expressed the view that Taṁbapaṁṇi in Aśoka's inscriptions meant the river in Tirunelveli. As Prof. Rayachaudhuri has shown *Ketalaputo ā Taṁbapaṁṇi* could not have meant 'Ketalaputra as far as the river Tāmraparṇi', as this river is in Pāṇḍya which too is mentioned. *PHAI.* p. 273.

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respondence between Aśoka and Devānaṁpiya Tissa was no longer remembered. The story itself appears to have been influenced by, if not modelled on, a story in the Sutta Nipāta commentary.[1]

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Devānaṁpiya Tissa was followed by three of his brothers. The first of these, Uttiya, is mentioned in three inscriptions at Mihintalē as *maharaja* Uti.[2] The two other kings, Mahāsiva and Sūra Tissa, are probably the princes referred to in the inscriptions discovered to the east and south-east of Polonnaruva. An inscription at Mutugala, twelve miles north-east of Dimbulāgala on the other side of the Mahaväli Ganga, refers to an Aya Siva and an inscription at Dimbulāgala to an Aya Sura Tisa.[3] Mahāsiva was probably no other than this Aya Siva as the *Dīpavaṁsa* too calls him Siva. With regard to Sūra Tissa, the *Mahāvaṁsa* says that before his accession to the throne he was called Suvaṇṇapiṇḍa Tissa and was named Sūra Tissa only after he became king. It refers at the same time to the *vihāras* he built on the other side of the Mahaväli Ganga before he became king; the inscription at Dimbulāgala recording a donation by his wife, however, refers to him as Aya Sura Tisa. Two other inscriptions about eight miles south-east of Mahiyangana refer to Raja Siva. In the second of these he is the father of an Aya Siva and grandfather of another.

Sūra Tissa was put to death by two Tamils, Sena and Guttaka, who according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* were the sons of the captain of a ship trading in horses (*assanāvika*). An inscription, in old Sinhalese in the oldest type of Brāhmī characters, refers to a building of the Tamils in Anurādhapura, which seems to have been their assembly-hall.[4] The names of these men, engraved on the rock, like those of Sena and Guttaka, are not Tamil. One of them was the captain of a ship (*nāvika*), and it may be that he was the father of Sena and Guttaka. Further, the Pāli chronicles do not ascribe this change of rulers to an invasion from without.

The two usurpers were put to death by Asela, another brother of Devānaṁpiya Tissa. It is doubtful if so many brothers could have ruled in succession. Besides, if Asela were a brother of Devānaṁpiya Tissa, it is not likely that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi who killed Eḷāra, the murderer of Asela, could have been the great-grandson of Asela's brother, Mahānāga. An inscription at Mihintale refers to an Aya Asali, a son of Damaraja,[5] and if

[1] The righteous king Kaṭṭhavāhana of the north and the king of Benares were friends though they had not seen each other. King Kaṭṭahavāhana once sent through his ministers some priceless garments or rugs that came into existence in his country. The king of Benares finding no such precious gifts in his own country sent instead the gifts of the *dhamma* saying that the Buddha (Kassapa), the Dhamma and the Saṅgha had appeared in the world. *Paramattha Jotikā*, Vol II. Ed. Helmer Smith, *PTS.* 1917, p. 575. See also Rahula : *Some Aspects of the Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, (an unpublished thesis).

[2] *ASCAR.* 1933, paras 53 & 54

[3] *CA.* III pp. 4 and 211

[4] *JRASCB.* XXV pp. 54-6. 'Tamil Householder's Terrace, Anurādhapura', by S. Paranavitana.

[5] Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 444

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Asela is the same as this Aya Asali, he could not have been a brother of Devānaṁpiya Tissa.

Eḷāra, who put Asela to death and became king at Anurādhapura, was probably another Tamil of Ceylon like Sena and Guttaka. Even, if Sena and Guttaka ruled for twelve, and not twenty-two years,[1] they must have had a sufficiently large following to maintain themselves in power. But according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Eḷāra was a prince from Chōla. Both the *Dīpavaṁsa*, which does not support this statement, and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, mention stories which show Eḷāra's high sense of justice. According to one of the stories, he put to death his own son for killing a calf. This story is related also of a Chōḷa king in the *Periya-purāṇaṁ*[2] and referred to earlier in the Tamil epics *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai*; perhaps it got attached to Eḷāra somehow, so that subsequently he came to be regarded as a Tamil from Chōḷa. Sena and Guttaka as well as Eḷāra seem to have ruled only over the northern plain. Apparently they exercised no control even over the region around Kälaṇiya, as the story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi assumes that there was an independent king residing there. Among Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's ancestors, Goṭhābhaya and Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, who were probably the contemporaries of the Tamil kings, are called *rājās*, unlike Mahānāga who was styled *uparāja*.

Duṭṭhagāmaṇi seems to have claimed his descent from the Anurādhapura royal family. The *Mahāvaṁsa* traces his descent through Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, Goṭhābhaya, and Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa to *uparāja* Mahānāga, the brother of Devānaṁpiya Tissa. An inscription at Kusalānakanda, a few miles west of Batticaloa, mentions Tisa, son of Raja Abaya, son of Uparaja Naga.[3] If this Tisa is Kākavaṇṇa Tissa, the father of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa has to be omitted from the list, unless he was an elder brother of Goṭhābhaya. According to the *Pūjāvaliya*, Yaṭṭhālaya Tissa ruled at Kälaṇiya and built the Kälaniya Vihāra.[4] The *Mahāvaṁsa* also states that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's mother, Vihāradevī, was a daughter of King Tissa. According to the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, Tissa was a grandson of Uttiya.[5] His historicity is further supported by an unpublished inscription at Maṇḍagala in the Yāla district which refers to the family of Kälaniya Tissa.

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, while a young man, was not permitted to wage war against the Tamils. Thereupon, having charged his father with cowardice, he left Māgama in anger, and took refuge in Koṭṭamalaya, gaining for himself the name of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, the wicked Gāmaṇi. When Kākavaṇṇa Tissa died, he returned to Māgama, but his younger brother, Tissa, who ruled over the district of

[1] Geiger, *MV.* (tr.) p. xxxvii
[2] *JRAS.* 1913, p. 529
[3] *UCR.* VII p. 240
[4] The *Pūjāvaliya* is a religious work in Sinhalese prose written by the Thera Buddhaputta in the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1234-1269). Its last chapter contains an outline of the main religious and historical events in Ceylon. See Gunasekara, *A Contribution to the History of Ceylon*, Colombo 1895, p. 15
[5] p. 431

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Dīghavāpi, refused to acknowledge his supremacy. This led to a war between the two brothers, and Tissa was finally defeated.

After this victory over his brother, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi collected troops and marched from Māgama to wage war against the Tamils. Passing through Buttala he reached Mahiyangaṇa where he was opposed. After defeating his enemies he advanced, vanquishing a number of petty rulers, and then having crossed the Mahaväli Ganga occupied Vijitanagara, which was near Polonnaruva. From there he marched to Anurādhapura, defeated Eḷāra, and became the sole ruler of Ceylon.

These accounts of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi are not very much more historical than the account of Devānaṁpiya Tissa. The cause of his estrangement from his father is not in harmony either with the story of the longings of Vihāradevī, which definitely showed that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi would fight the Tamils, or with what happened at the name-giving ceremony where Kākavaṇṇa Tissa took the war for granted. Besides, the explanation given for the name Duṭṭhagāmaṇi cannot be taken seriously. The early inscriptions refer to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi as Gāmaṇi Abhaya, the name given by his father, but one three centuries later calls him Duṭakagamaṇi.[1] This name is not peculiar to him, as Duṭaga, another form of the same name, was borne by a brother of Vaṅkanāsika Tissa.[2] The *Dīpavaṁsa* makes no reference either to the story of the exile or to the war between the two brothers. This probably is not an accident, as the story of the rice-feeding ceremony, which seems to reflect later events, takes no note of this war. There the two brothers took the oath that they would be friendly with each other for ever.

The war with the Tamils by which he became sole ruler of Laṅkā is the chief event which stands out clearly in the account in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and is without doubt an historical occurrence. This war is also mentioned in the *Dīpavaṁsa*. In fact, in its main account, it refers only to this act of his life: 'King Abhaya, the son of Kākavaṇṇa, who had a retinue of ten warriors and an elephant called Kaṇḍula, put thirty-two kings to death and ruled alone for twenty-four years.'[3] A Pāli commentary too takes the war for granted and refers to it as a war against the Tamils.[4] Inscriptions refer to three of the warriors, Nandhimitta (Senāpati Mita), Velusumana (Paramata Veluśumana), and Phussadeva (Senāpati Parumaka Pusadeva).[5] The stories of the warriors and of the war, unlike the legends of Vijaya and Paṇḍukābhaya, are of popular origin. They show scarcely a trace of the influence of the Jātakas and do not seem to have been transformed much by the *bhikshus*. Thus the people too seem to have accepted the war as a fact and then to have created their own stories about the war and the warriors.

It is not possible, however, to be certain about the details of the war.

[1] *UCR.* VII p. 247
[2] *EZ.* IV p. 215
[3] XVIII 53-54
[4] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 65
[5] *ASCAR.* 1934, para 71 (ii); 1940-45, p. 149

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The *Mahāvaṁsa*, for instance, unlike the *Dīpavaṁsa*, says that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi fought against thirty-two Tamil kings, but in referring to them individually names only four besides Eḷāra as Tamils. Also there is no reason why Eḷāra should have replaced every Sinhalese chief by a Tamil when he had a Sinhalese general by the name of Mitta. Thus it appears that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi first defeated a number of Sinhalese and Tamil chiefs (*rājā*) and then fought Eṭāra and made himself the sole ruler of the island.

Saddhā Tissa (137-119 B.C.) succeeded Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and reigned for eighteen years. He was probably the Devanapiya Gamaṇi Tisa of the inscriptions.[1] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* he succeeded because Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's son, Sāli, took to wife a Chaṇḍāla woman. The *Dīpavaṁsa* makes no reference to Sāli, but in any case this could not have been the reason, seeing that the succession in the Sinhalese royal family was from brother to brother and only subsequently to the sons. This legend too probably shows the influence of the Jātakas where the royal succession is from father to son.

Saddhā Tissa was followed by his second son Thūlathana, who was with him at Anurādhapura. His eldest son Lañja Tissa, called Lajaka Tisa in inscriptions,[2] was at the time in Ruhuṇa, and the ministers (*amachchā*) with the consent of the *bhikkhu-saṅgha* at the Thūpārāma consecrated his younger brother as king. The *Mahāvaṁsa* does not explain why the ministers acted against custom. Lañja Tissa, however, seems to have had others to support him, for after a month and ten days he put Thūlathana to death and secured the throne for himself.

Lañja Tissa (119-109 B.C.) was succeeded by the third son of Saddhā Tissa, Khallāṭanāga (109-103 B.C.), His reign too was no peaceful one. His step-sister's three sons plotted to kill him, but failed.[3] Later he was put to death by his *senāpati* Mahārattaka. A king in those days depended ultimately on his army for the maintenance of his throne. Hence the *senāpati* who controlled the army exercised considerable power. Mahārattaka sought to take advantage of his position to secure the throne for himself, but failed to achieve his ambition. He was himself slain by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, the fourth son of Saddhā Tissa.

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Vaṭṭagāmaṇi on his accession made his brother's wife Anulā his queen, and adopted his brother's son Mahāchūḷika.[4] Within six months of his accession, a Brahmin named Tissa rose in arms against him in Ruhuṇa, and with the large numbers that followed him plundered the country. It is not known whether this rebellion had any connection with the events that preceded his accession. But before Vaṭṭagāmaṇi could deal with Tissa, seven Tamils landed with troops at Mātoṭa (Māntai), and according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* he surrendered the kingship to Tissa and left him to fight the Tamils. The Tamils conquered

[1] *EZ.* I p. 144
[2] *EZ.* I p. 148
[3] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, p. 612
[4] *ASCAR.* 1934, s. 71. iii p. 18 ; Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, p. 445

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Tissa and finally defeated Vaṭṭagāmaṇi at Kolaṁbahālaka, north of Anurādhapura. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi thereupon fled to Vessagiriya forest, probably near modern Galgiriyāva, south west of Kalāväva, and then took refuge in the neighbouring hill-country of Malaya for fourteen years.

In the mean time two of the Tamils returned to India. The remaining five ruled at Anurādhapura, each one being killed by his successor whom he had made his *senāpati*. Puḷahattha reigned for three years, Bāhiya for two, Panayamāra for seven years, Piḷayamāra for seven months and Dāṭhika for two years,. It is likely that these Tamils also ruled only over the northern plain, for at the end of fourteen years Vaṭṭagāmaṇi left Malaya for Ruhuṇa, collected troops and marched against Dāṭhika. He defeated him and reigned for another twelve years.

The *Dīpavaṁsa* likewise alludes to the rule of the five Tamils. The name *māra* borne by two of them may indicate that they were in some way connected with the Pāṇḍya royal family. A poem of Nakkīrar of the Śaṅgam Age refers to a Chōḷa king who was defeated at the hands of a Pāṇḍya commander-in-chief called Paḷaiyan Māṟan.[1] Possibly there was some connection between him and the invaders of Ceylon.

It is striking that the Pāli commentaries ignore this Tamil invasion and state that Vaṭṭagāmaṇi defeated Tissa and re-ascended the throne.[2] This omission and the statement that Tissa was defeated by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi are probably due to the fact that the commentaries were written at least three or four generations later when these events had been partly forgotten. It is equally striking that the *Mahāvaṁsa* makes no reference to the famine that followed the rebellion of Tissa and lasted for twelve years. Nevertheless, it was doubtless due to this famine that Vaṭṭagāmaṇi lived for fourteen years in Malaya, where food was available, before he went to Ruhuṇa and raised troops to fight the Tamils.

Mahāchūli Mahātissa (77-63 B.C.) according to the Pāli chronicles succeeded Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, though an inscription appears to refer to a son of Lañja Tissa who was a *maharaja*.[3] During his rule Mahānāga, the son of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, lived as a rebel and received the name of Choranāga (63-51 B.C.). He may be identified with the Mahānāga who according to a commentary, went abroad with his brother and became king after his return.[4] At Mahāchūli's death he became king and reigned for twelve years.

Chorānāga's wife, Anulā, receives more attention in the *Mahāvaṁsa* than her husband. She had a career which was different but no less remarkable. She poisoned her husband as well as the next king, Tissa, after he had reigned for three years. She then kept Tissa's brother Kuṭakaṇṇa from the throne, and made four of her paramours king in turn, whom she destroyed by poison, one by one. The first of these was Siva, a military

[1] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas* I. p. 53
[2] Adikaram, *EHB*. pp. 73-6
[3] *EZ*. I p. 148
[4] *Samantapāsādikā* II p. 473

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official who was the chief guard of the palace gate. He reigned for a year and two months. The second was Vaṭuka, a Tamil craftsman of Anurādhapura, who ruled also for fourteen months. The third was a wood-carrier, Tissa, who lasted for a year and a month. The last was a Tamil Brahmin, her *purohita*, Niliya, who enjoyed his throne for only six months. After Anulā had reigned alone for four months, Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, who had fled and joined the *Saṅgha*, returned with the forces he had collected, slew her, and ascended the throne.

Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, usually called Kuṭakaṇa Abaya in his inscriptions,[1] was followed by his two sons, Bhātikābhaya (22 B.C.-A.D. 7) and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (A.D. 7-19). According to inscriptions the latter was *yuvaraja* during his brother's reign and ruled over Ruhuṇa.[2]

Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga was followed by his son Āmaṇḍa Gāmaṇi Abhaya (19-29). Once more there was dissension in the royal family and after he had reigned for nine years and eight months he was put to death by his younger brother, Kaṇirajānu Tissa. Kaṇirajānu Tissa (29-32) after his accession settled a dispute at the *uposatha* house at Chetiya-pabbata and the *bhikshus* who were displeased with his decision plotted to kill him. Thereupon he ordered sixty *bhikshus* guilty of high treason to be seized and flung down the precipice called Kaṇira at Mihintalē.[3]

On the death of Kaṇirajānu Tissa the succession passed to the children of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi. Chūlābhaya died after a year's reign and was succeeded by his sister Sīvalī. But after four months she, the second queen to rule over Ceylon, was dethroned by Iḷanāga (36-43), the son of Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi's elder sister.

It was natural that whenever a ruler was killed or dethroned a section of his subjects disapproved of the usurper. Soon after Iḷanāga's accession, the Laṁbakarṇas began to treat him with less respect than was his due, and so he humiliated them by setting them to work as labourers on the construction of a road and by appointing Chaṇḍālas as their overseers. The enraged Laṁbakarṇas thereupon captured and imprisoned Iḷanāga and carried on the government themselves. But Iḷanāga escaped from prison, fled to Māntai and sailed to South India. At the end of three years he returned with an army and landed at Sakkharasobbha in Ruhuṇa. After making further preparations there he marched against the Laṁbbakarṇas and defeated them at Kapallakhaṇḍa in Haṅkārapiṭṭhi which probably lay to the south of Anurādhapura.

Iḷanāga was followed by two of his sons, Chandamukhasiva (43-52) who reigned for eight years and seven months, and Yasalālaka Tissa (52-60) who reigned for seven years and eight months. Like Kaṇirajānu Tissa, Yasalalāka Tissa too made himself king by killing his elder brother, and he in turn was slain by Subha (Saba), a military official who guarded the palace gate.

[1] *UCR.* VII p. 253
[2] *JRASCB.* XXXVI p. 63
[3] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, II p. 640

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Thus came to an end a royal line which has been traced back to Devānaṁpiya Tissa. This dynasty, according to an inscription of Kuṭakaṇṇa, regarded itself as belonging to the Devanapiyakula.[1] Later it was identified with the Moriya clan, but there is no evidence that it bore such a name during this period. For want of another name this dynasty will be referred to henceforth as the Devanapiyakula.

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Subha killed Yasalālaka Tissa by taking advantage of an occasion when they had exchanged their places for sport. Even if this story is true, the chronicle does not explain how Subha maintained his power after his accession. It is probable that he secured the throne with the help of the Laṁbakarṇas since he employed one of them as his *senāpati*. These very Laṁbakarṇas, however, put an end to his rule. Subha, who in his inscriptions does not assume the title of *maharaja*, probably never gained control of Ruhuṇa; for Vasabha who served under his uncle, Subha's *senāpati*, went to Ruhuṇa and established himself there. After two years he marched to Anurādhapura with his army, and putting Subha to death, founded a new dynasty.

It is not known who these Laṁbakarṇas were. It is possible that they were of totemistic origin; the name implies a hare or a goat. The high offices some of them held show that they were of noble birth. Also, they were powerful enough in the first century A.D. to imprison Iḷanāga and carry on the government for three years. Later legends credit them with a nobler and more ancient origin, but these stories grew after the Laṁbakarṇas became the rulers of Ceylon. The change of dynasty made no difference to the system of government or to its aims and methods. It led only to a change of kings and perhaps of some of the high officials.

Vasabha (67-111) was succeeded by his son Vaṅkanāsika Tissa (111-114) who had been married to a daughter of Subha by his father, probably to strengthen his position on the throne. According to the Pāli chronicles he was succeeded by his son Gajabāhukagāmaṅi (114-136). But according to epigraphical evidence Vaṅkanāsika Tissa had two brothers, Utara and Duṭaga, who were both *maharajas*. Duṭaga has left an inscription about twenty miles away from Anurādhapura, and it is likely he made this city his capital. There is no evidence of any kind to explain why they are not mentioned in the chronicles. If they succeeded Vaṅkanāsika Tissa they probably reigned for very short periods, as Vasabha himself reigned for forty-four years.[2]

According to the *Pūjāvaliya*, Gajabāhu, learning that in his father's reign some people of Ceylon had been taken captive and made to work on the Kāvērī bund, invaded the Chōḷa country and brought back twice as many captives as had been taken fron Ceylon.[3] But neither in the Pāli chronicles, nor in the inscriptions of Vaṅkanāsika Tissa or of Gajabāhu nor in early Tamil literature is there any reference either to the invasion of

[1] *EZ.* III p. 156 *n.* 5
[2] *EZ.* IV pp. 214, 215
[3] B. Gunasekera, *A Contribution to the History of Ceylon.* p. 21

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Ceylon or to the counter-invasion. The first reference to the erection of the Kāvērī bund by Karikāla appears in a seventh or eighth century inscription. This legend grows, and records of the tenth or eleventh century state that the bund was constructed by enemy kings.[1] The Ceylon legend seems to be a further expansion of this story.

The Tamil epic *Śilappadikāram* written about the sixth century A.D. gives further information about Gajabāhu. It relates that Gajabāhu, hearing how a sacrifice to the goddess Kaṇṇagi (Pattini) brought rain to the famine-stricken Pāṇḍya country, built a shrine in Ceylon to this goddess for the performances of daily sacrifices to her. He also went to Chera and attended the consecration of a temple to her by Śenguṭṭuvan.[2] This epic is clearly not an historical work and contains many impossible legends such as invasions of North India by each of the three South Indian kings of Chōḷa, Chera and Pāṇḍya. No reliable evidence of the existence of Pattini worship in Ceylon before the fourteenth century has been so far discovered.

Gajabāhu was succeeded by his brother-in-law Mahallaka Nāga (136-143), who as *uvaraja* ruled over Ruhuṇa. An inscription makes it clear that he was the next heir to the throne as he was a son of *maharaja* Utara.[3] Mahallaka Nāga was succeeded by his two sons, Bhātika Tissa (143-167) and Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa (167-186), both of whom are mentioned in inscriptions.

Khujjanāga (186-188), the elder son of Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa, next became king. After a reign of one year he was slain and supplanted by his younger brother, Kuñchanāga (188-189) who had married a daughter of Bhātika Tissa. But when he had reigned for two years his *senāpati* Sirināga rose in rebellion and drove Kuñchanāga from the throne. According to an inscription Sirināga (189-209) was a son of Bhātika Tissa and thus had a better claim to the throne than either Khujjanāga or Kuñchanāga. Thus Khujjanāga came to be slain and Kuñchanāga was dethroned because they were usurpers.

Sirināga was succeeded by his son Vohārika Tissa (209-231). He was given this name for his knowledge of law and custom, and is said to have abolished the punishment of mutilation. The next king was his brother Abhayanāga (231-240). Fearing the penalty of his friendship with the queen, he had escaped to South India, but returned after some time with a Tamil army, like Iḷanāga, pursued the king to Malaya and put him to death. He then married the queen and reigned for eight years.

Sirināga II, the son of Vohārika Tissa, succeeded Abhayanāga. He ruled for a short time and was followed by his son Vijaya (242-243). Vijaya too had a short reign. According to the *Māhavaṁsa* his *senāpati* Saṅgha Tissa (243-247) assisted by two friends Sirisaṅghabodhi and Goṭhābhaya (all of them Laṁbakarṇas) put him to death. Saṅgha Tissa died by poison

[1] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration*, p. 29; *The Cōḷas* I p. 44

[2] *Śilappadikaram* Eng. Trans. Oxford University Press, 1939 pp. 81, 343

[3] *EZ.* IV pp. 215-6

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and was succeeded by his *senāpati* Sirisaṅghabodhi. The *Mahāvaṁsa* represents Sirisaṅghabodhi (247-249) as a saintly king and later legends make him a popular figure. His career was brought to an end by a rebellion raised against him by his friend Goṭhābhaya who held the post of treasurer (*bhaṇḍāgārika*). According to an inscription Goṭhābhaya was a brother of Vijaya. Thus he and not Saṅghatissa or Sirisaṅghabodhi was the heir to the throne.[1] Goṭhābhaya was succeeded by his son Jeṭṭha Tissa (263-274). He appears to have been resisted at once by certain ministers whom he slew and impaled around his father's funeral pyre.

The last king of this period was his brother Mahāsena (274-302) who built the largest tank and the largest *dāgāba* known up to that time and later came to be worshipped as a god. But politically Mahāsena did not show much wisdom. Sinhalese kings were usually tolerant in religious matters and helped all sects alike, until Vohārika Tissa and Goṭhābhaya took the side of the Mahāvihāra and suppressed the Vaitulyakas in the Abhayagiri Vihāra. Mahāsena, on the other hand, influenced by a *bhikshu* from Chōḷa called Saṅghamitta, forbade the people to give alms to the *bhikshus* of the Theravāda sect on the ground that they did not follow the correct rules of discipline. The *bhikshus* of the Mahāvihāra then left for Malaya and Ruhuṇa, and Mahāsena allowed his minister Soṇa to destroy the Lohapāsāda and other buildings of the Mahāvihāra and to use the material for new constructions in the Abhayagiri Vihāra. This spoliation of the most important *vihāra* in Anurādhapura infuriated the people and they put Soṇa to death. A carpenter, instigated by a queen, killed Saṅghamitta as he came to destroy the Thūpārāma. In the meantime a minister, Meghavaṇṇābhaya, who disapproved of the king's acts turned rebel. He collected an army in Malaya and marched towards Anurādhapura. There Mahāsena met him with his forces, but without fighting agreed to withdraw his order against the Theravādins. Thereupon Meghavaṇṇābhaya restored some of the cells that were destroyed and the *bhikshus* of the Mahāvihāra returned after nine years. Mahāsena's intolerance was not limited to the *bhikshus* of the Theravāda sect. He is said to have destroyed three Hindu *devāles* and probably the shrines of Yaksha Kālavela and erected Buddhist buildings in their places.

From what has been stated it will be seen that the political history of this period was governed by four main factors. The form of succession passing from brother to brother and then to their sons not only generally permitted a change from king to king peacefully but also prevented the accession of minors and the usurpation of power by one or more of the ministers. At the same time the fact that to maintain his power the king depended on his own abilities, on his influence over the landed gentry and ultimately on the army, and not on the people, led occasionally to interruptions of the normal mode of succession. The next heir to the throne or some other member of the royal family sometimes got rid of the reigning monarch and seized the throne. So did adventurers from India or

[1] *EZ.* IV p. 223

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within the island itself when they could muster sufficient forces to displace the king. So also did the *senāpatis* who had sufficient influence with the army.

Another important factor in the politics of the day was Ruhuṇa. Geographical and economic conditions, in which must be included its large size, the distance of its capital Māgama from Anurādhapura, and the lack of communications, added to the personal form of government, and the absence of any stable organization prevented the ruler of Anurādhapura from exercising effective control over this region. The result was that usually a usurper failed to extend his lordship over this region, and rebels found it a convenient place in which to build up their power until they were in a position to use its resources for their fight with the reigning monarch at Anurādhapura.

Lastly, what mattered most in politics was the landed gentry who controlled the resources of the country and supplied the chief officials of government. Thus the usurpers who, though not of royal stock, seized the throne from time to time, seem always, when they were natives of Ceylon, to have belonged to this class, if we except two of the paramours of Anulā. Among this class the two most powerful clans were the Devanapiya and the Laṁbakarṇa. In the early part of this period anyone outside the Devanapiyakula who became king was unable to maintain his power for long. In the latter part only a Laṁbakarṇa could be king.

The *bhikshus* on the whole seem to have kept outside politics. Their rules of discipline and the absence of a country-wide organization probably contributed to this. There were, however, two or three instances where they departed from their normal practice. Once they joined in preventing the rightful heir from ascending the throne. On another occasion some of them were found guilty of an attempt to kill the king and had to suffer the supreme penalty. It is also possible that they turned against Mahāsena when he persecuted them. But on the whole their influence seems to have been passive rather than active.

THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

There is no record available which describes the system of government that prevailed during this period. A system can, however, be reconstructed to some extent from the chronicles and the inscriptions.

The form of government was a sort of proto-feudal tributary state where a *mahārāja* ruled directly over the northern plain and exercised an overlordship over Ruhuṇa. This title of *mahārāja* appears to have been first used by Devānaṁpiya Tissa. After that most kings whose names appear in inscriptions were called *mahārājas*. Some of these used the titles *mahārāja* and *rājā* indiscriminately, while Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi, Subha and Goṭhābhaya used only the title *rājā*.[1] It is probable that the title

[1] C. W. Nicholas, 'The Titles of Sinhalese Kings as recorded in the inscriptions etc'. *UCR.* VII p. 235

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rājā was taken by the Anurādhapura kings after it had ceased to be used by subordinate rulers. It is also possible that Subha and the Tamil usurpers failed to extend their power over Ruhuṇa.

All the *mahārājas* ruled from Anurādhapura. This title was assumed also by two sons of Vasabha, Utara and Duṭaga, and probably by a son of Lañja Tissa, who are not mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. It is not known from what centre Utara and Duṭaga ruled or whether they preceded, or ruled contemporaneously with, Gajabāhu. Yaṭalaka Tisa and Kākavaṇṇa Tisa are also called *mahārājas* but in inscriptions inscribed centuries after their death.

The government of Ruhuṇa was generally entrusted to a member of the royal family, a brother or son of the reigning monarch or the next heir to the throne. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* Devānaṁpiya Tissa's brother Mahānāga, who ruled over Ruhuṇa, was an *uparāja*, and an ancient inscription at Kusalānakanda, mentioned already, refers to an *uparaja* Naga. Two other inscriptions in Ruhuṇa at Kirinda and Tissamahārāma refer to *Uvaraja* Naka, the later king Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga (A.D. 7-19).[1] Another unpublished inscription of the first century A.D. at Situlpahuva in Ruhuṇa refers to a *Uvaraja* Aya Tisa and still another of the same province to *Uvaraja* Naka,[2] who later as king was called Mahallaka Nāga (136-143). It is possible that at times Ruhuṇa was also ruled by ministers; for a second century inscription refers to a minister (*amati*) who enjoyed the revenues of Rohaṇa (*Rohaṇbojika*).[3]

Each district in turn had a ruler subordinate to the *mahārāja* or the *uparāja*. At this time the country was covered with forest except where it had been cleared for cultivation or occupation. The villages were self-sufficient and had little contact with other parts of the country. Thus no means of communication were developed and no form of organized government came into existence. The administration under such conditions could only be personal, and since the *mahārāja* and the *uparāja* could not deal directly with the people, they had to delegate their duties to others. According to early inscriptions found in various parts of the Dry Zone, the district rulers were kings (*raja*) or princes (*aya*). The wives of *ayas* bore the title of *abi*. Inscriptions also give the titles *mahaya* and *mahabi*. These princes were not necessarily connected with the royal family of Anurādhapura. Most of them were descendants of local kings who in turn were descended from *gamaṇis*.

Another term used for a district ruler is *raṭika* or *raṭiya*[4] (*Skt.-rāshṭrika*) which occurs in inscriptions from the beginning of the first century A.D. when this official probably replaced the *aya*. Sometimes the district over which he ruled is mentioned. *Raṭikas*, like *ayas*, donated *thūpas* as well as tanks, fields, revenues from water-rates, paddy and money to the

[1] S. Paranavitana: 'Brahmī Inscriptions in Sinhalese Verse', *JRASCB.* XXXVI p. 63

[2] *EZ.* IV p. 217

[3] *CJS.* II p. 18

[4] *UCR.* VIII p. 127

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saṅgha. Ministers also at times ruled districts, and they made similar gifts. According to inscriptions they are said to have enjoyed the revenues of the areas (*bujameni bojika*)[1] over which they ruled.

Lowest in these grades of officials came the chiefs of towns and villages. The *Mahāvaṁsa* refers to a *nagaraguttika* of Anurādhapura while an inscription mentions a *nakaravudika*.[2] Inscriptions also refer to *gamikas*, village headmen. This office seems to have been hereditary as no less than twenty-one cases have been found in extant inscriptions where the son succeeded the father.

Another term found in inscriptions and the *Mahāvaṁsa* is *gapati* (*gahapati*).[3] It probably referred to an elder in a market-town (*nigama*) or a warden or official of a guild. The Tamils of Anurādhapura who formed an assembly are given this title. There seems to be also a reference to a sculptor who bore this title. It is not clear whether all villages were governed by *gamikas*. The *parumakas* probably ruled over the villages from which they drew their revenues, but they never bore the title *gamika*. It is also not known how villages gifted to *vihāras* were governed at this time. Nor is there evidence of any form of self-government in the self-contained villages, unless the term *puga*, found in a few inscriptions, connoted village assemblies too. But it is more likely that *puga* meant only a guild. One of them had a *jeṭe* and an *anujeṭe*, a chief and a deputy.[4]

Besides these, the king had a number of officials at his court as is seen from the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the inscriptions. The most important was the *senāpati*,[5] the commander of the army, who was usually a close relative or a friend of the king. He exercised considerable influence for the king ultimately based his power on the army. In a number of instances *senāpatis* did away with kings and seized the throne themselves; anyone, other than a *senāpati*, who wanted to seize the throne, had either to win him over or raise a sufficiently large force to achieve his object. There were a number of ministers (*amati*),[6] the chief of whom was called *mahamata* or *Maha ameti* (Pāli *mahāmachcha*). This office, like most others, was generally hereditary. An inscription refers to five generations of ministers. Ministers held a variety of posts. One of them was *bhaṇḍāgārika* (*baḍakarika*),[7] store-keeper or treasurer. Another official was a *gaṇaka*, an accountant. A *nagaragaṇaka*, according to an inscription, exchanged a grant for *dakapati* (water-rate) of the Nakaravävi (Nuvaravāva).[8]

There were also officials of the palace. One was the guardian of the palace gate who was no doubt responsible for the personal safety of the king. Subha was one of these and put the king to death and mounted the throne himself, while Siva who held this post in the time of Anulā was

[1] *EZ.* IV p. 237
[2] *UCR.* VII p. 118
[3] *Gapati rupadaka. CJS.* II 214
[4] *ASCAR.* 1931-2 p. 59
[5] *UCR.* VIII p. 116
[6] Ibid. p. 118
[7] Ibid. p. 124
[8] *EZ.* III p. 116

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a military official. Another official was the *purohita* who was the priest and adviser of the king. Two others, the sword-bearer and the parasol-bearer, are mentioned in connection with later kings. But from the legends of this period as well as other evidence, one may infer their existence even in this period.[1] There are references to one scribe (*lekhaka*) whose daughter was a wife of Mahāsena and to another employed by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

The chief duty of a king at this time was to maintain peace and order—the conditions most essential for an agricultural people. He protected the kingdom against enemies from without and suppressed rebels and robbers within. He was normally not a law-maker and his duty was to see that the customs of the country were maintained. He therefore acted as a judge and punished offenders. He also considered it his duty to construct irrigation works which brought him revenue as well as merit, and to serve the *saṅgha* by building *vihāras* and providing the *bhikshus* with food and other necessities.

The district rulers performed similar duties both executive and judicial within their areas. They had officials of their own to assist them. An early inscription at Pichchandiyāva near Puttalam refers to a minister of an *uparaja*.[2] Other inscriptions refer to *baḍakarikas* (*bhaṇḍāgārikas*) of ministers and *gamikas*. There appear to have been *gaṇakas* also of villages and guilds.[3]

The king derived his power partly from his right of succession and partly from his army. The king's power was absolute, but in practice its exercise was limited by the economic and social conditions of the time. He could not exert much control over his district chiefs nor the district chiefs over the village chiefs. Their posts were usually hereditary, and as a result they commanded local influence. Besides, they enjoyed the revenues of the area, performed judicial duties, and unlike the king came into personal contact with the people. To the people in fact they were the rulers and not the more revered but more remote king.

It is difficult to assess the extent of power the king derived from his army as neither its size nor its method of recruitment is known. It consisted of elephant-riders, archers and foot-soldiers. Inscriptions refer to an elephant-trainer (*ati achariya*)[4] and archers (*dhanuga*). There is no evidence to show whether there was any direct recruitment by the king. It is likely that the troops were supplied by the district rulers and the *parumakas* who enjoyed revenues from land. Otherwise it would not have been so easy for dispossessed rulers or others aiming at power to collect troops and fight the reigning king.

In any case the king of Anurādhapura seems to have strengthened his position during this period. By the first century A.D. or earlier the descendants of earlier local kings disappear and their places as district rulers

[1] *Samantapāsādikā* I p. 58. *Mahāvaṁsa* XXV 56

[2] *ASCAR.* 1935, para 42; Müller, *Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon*, no. 84.

[3] *UCR.* VIII p. 126

[4] *JRAS.* 1936, p. 446

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are taken by officials called *raṭiyas* who owed their position to royal appointment. The main changes probably took place either in the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi or that of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, each of whom fought his way to the mastery of the whole country.

The evidence is not always clear with regard to the king's revenues. Ceylon was at first ruled not by one king but by many. These kings and their descendants, the *ayas*, and later the *raṭikas*, no doubt claimed the revenues of the areas they ruled.[1] It is likely that the *parumakas* too drew revenues from the villages they owned. There is no doubt that all these received a share of the production of craftsmen too. All this local revenue is indicated by the term *bojikapati* in the inscriptions. When the king of Anurādhapura asserted his power over the rest of the island, he appears to have further obtained a tax (*bojikapati kara*) from those who received *bojikapati*. When tanks and canals came to be constructed, those who made them levied a water-rate (*dakapati*) from the cultivators. The king, as soon as he began to build tanks and canals, collected this water-rate himself. In addition he charged a tax (*dakapati kara*) from other owners of tanks and canals. Other sources of revenue included a share of the fines realized in courts[2] and of customs duties collected at the ports.[3]

The king was not held to be the owner of all the land. Only unoccupied lands belonged to him.[4] Two inscriptions record that Subha and Gajabāhu bought tanks for money.[5] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* the king seems to have had a right to the labour of the people, which made it possible for him to build gigantic *dāgābas* and large tanks. Nevertheless, both Subha and Gajabāhu are said to have paid money to get tanks dredged. This shows that either his right to exact labour was restricted or else that the services he could command were not gratuitous.

There is not much evidence of the political ideas that prevailed at this time. The accounts of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and other Pāli literary works indicate that the people of Ceylon did not endow their kings with the divine attributes and character usually ascribed to them by most ancient peoples. The kings themselves in their inscriptions do not trace their descent to the Sun or the Moon nor use any titles which suggest divine qualities. The title Devanapiya, probably adopted from Aśoka by Devānaṁpiya Tissa and used by his successors up to Yasalālaka Tissa, would have suggested, if anything, that the king held himself responsible to the gods and not to the people. But according to the inscription of Kuṭakaṇṇa the title seems to have been adopted later as a family name. The title *maparumaka*, first used by Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa, signified only that he was the chief *parumaka*, just as earlier the title *maharaja* meant simply the chief *raja*.

A popular, instead of a divine, conception of the kingly office seems to have been inculcated by Buddhism. According to the Pāli Canon the

[1] *MV.* x. 29
[2] *ASCAR.* 1934, p. 18
[3] *CJS.* II no. 586, p. 197
[4] *MV.* xxxvii. 9
[5] *EZ.* III p. 165; I p. 203

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mythical first king, Mahāsammata, was raised to this position and promised a share of their paddy by his subjects, but only on his undertaking to perform certain duties to their satisfaction.

But it is perhaps not proper to treat Buddhist and Hindu ideas of monarchy as quite divorced from each other. In the *Mahāvaṁsa* there is evidence to show that kings were consecrated as among Hindus though certain parts of the ceremony stressed the king's obligations to the people and the punishment that would follow if they were not fulfilled. Also the kings were served by Brahmins who acted as *purohitas*, teachers, physicians, and ministers, and these perhaps stressed the divine attributes of kingship.

Thus Ceylon had a system of government suited to an agrarian society. A graded system of officials with the king at the head maintained peace and order and made economic and cultural development possible. The king's control may not have been strong enough to restrain such misgovernment as occurred in distant provinces, but there was the compensation that semi-independent chiefs functioned satisfactorily even when the central government was disorganized by court intrigues, rebellions and wars, or by the weakness of an ineffective ruler.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Ceylon at the beginning of this period was mainly a land of villages generally surrounded by forest. The Aryans did not open up the whole country but only those parts near the banks of rivers and streams where they settled and formed villages. The chief feature of the village was the field in which paddy was cultivated. Near it was a cluster of huts where the people lived. The highland around was partly used as grazing ground for cattle and partly cultivated with dry crops such as beans, *undu*, sesame, turmeric, pepper, betel and such trees as the coconut, the jack, the palmyra, the arecanut and the mango. The surrounding land remained under forest supplying firewood and timber for the building of huts until another village arose close by.

There were, however, a few towns,—the seats of rulers, or seaports at which foreign vessels called or places where trade and crafts were carried on. These too were generally situated by tanks or canals which furnished the inhabitants with water enabling them to carry on agriculture in addition to their own crafts. Perhaps there were only two large towns during this period, Anurādhapura and Māgama. Of Māgama hardly anything is known. Anurādhapura was a large town with many thoroughfares and side streets. It was divided into four quarters and had market-places at the four gates. Its numerous shrines made it a place of pilgrimage and the residence of thousands of *bhikshus*. The tanks provided the water necessary for agriculture, which supported its large population.

Rice was produced throughout the Dry Zone, favoured by the warm climate and the fertile soil. Its cultivation was carried on without much

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interruption, Ceylon being surrounded by sea and not often disturbed by invaders. But there were other drawbacks far more serious than invasions against which the people had to contend. Rice needs a good deal of water. In the Dry Zone rain fell only during the north-east monsoon, from November to February. Even then it was not heavy enough to produce more than one crop in a year. In years of drought even this crop failed and the people had to exist with insufficient food. Such conditions compelled them to find ways of improving the supply of water in the villages, and they constructed tanks and canals to irrigate their fields. Early inscriptions contain references to such constructions by *parumakas*, who probably took the lead in developing agriculture in order to increase their income.

Whenever a drought was intense or lasted long, even these village tanks dried up. Then the people were unable to cultivate either paddy or the dry crops which required less water. At such times they suffered from famine, and it is likely that even the cattle died in large numbers for lack of grass or water. When the rains came again the people were without buffaloes to plough their fields.

A famine is referred to incidentally in the *Mahāvaṁsa* in the narrative of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's reign (161-137 B.C.). It was so severe that people were reduced to a diet of *akkha* nuts (*Terminalia bellerica*) which at other times were used as dice, and the famine itself came to be called *Akkha-khāyika* famine.

There occurred a famine even more devastating in the reign of Vaṭṭa-gāmaṇi (103-89 B.C.), According to many commentaries of the Pāli Canon this famine followed the rebellion of the Brahmin Tissa and lasted for twelve years. During this time *bhikkhus* from all quarters assembled at Jambukolapaṭṭana in the Northern Peninsula and crossed over to India. The Mahāvihāra was deserted, and castor plants grew in its grounds. The *chetiya* was covered with moss and half-buried by bushes. The *bhikshus* who remained behind in Ceylon had a most difficult time. Two of them fed for a whole week on the skins of the *madhu* fruit, the kernels of which the people had eaten. On other occasions they had to live on the stalk of the water-lily and the outer sheaths of plantain trees. Some other *bhikshus* in south Malaya existed on roots and leaves. The people suffered equally if not more, though there is little evidence of their case. It is said that near the Däduru Oya they had nothing but leaves for food. In another place the famine had grown so acute that people maddened by hunger resorted to human flesh for food and devoured even an aged *bhikshu* who fell into their hands. Those who died of starvation, both *bhikshus* and laity, in the northern plain and in Ruhuṇa could not be counted.[1]

Drought led to two other famines in the reigns of Kuñchanāga (A.D. 188-189) and of Sirisaṅghabodhi (247-249). During the former the

[1] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 74-5

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measure of food available for each person was so small that it was called the *Ekanālika* famine.[1]

At such times people could obtain no food from the Wet Zone and the highlands which received their water mainly from the south-west monsoon; for during this period these areas were hardly developed.[2] They had therefore either to starve and perhaps die or else remove to the highlands and the South-West and live on fruits and leaves, or go to some part of India where food was available. To meet this recurrent scourge the only remedy was to construct irrigation works on a much larger scale, tapping the rivers and converting large streams into tanks. Work of this magnitude was gradually undertaken by kings with the labour of the people, both to increase their revenue, and earn merit by their services to the people.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* and the inscriptions mention a number of tanks and canals built during this period. But the evidence of these sources does not suffice to trace their development or to describe the way they were constructed. It is not always possible, even when names are given, to locate them owing to subsequent changes of nomenclature.

It is likely that the need for large tanks first arose at Anurādhapura where the population increased faster than elsewhere under the impulse of the activities of the kings and the rise of the *vihāras*. The Abhayavāva (now called Basavakkulam), the Tisāvāva, and the Gamaṇivāpi (probably Perimiyankulam)[3] are referred to in the earliest legends related in the *Mahāvaṁsa*. A second century inscription mentions the large tank Nuvaravāva.[4] There are references to the construction of other tanks in other parts of the island as well. Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (44-22 B. C.) constructed the Ambadugga and the Bhayoluppala tanks and the Vaṇṇaka canal in the region between the Mahaväli Gaṅga and the Maduru Oya. Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi (A.D. 19-29) built the Mahāgāmeṇḍi tank to the south of Anurādhapura. Iḷanāga (A.D. 36-43), whose association with Ruhuṇa has already been noted, built in this region the Tissamahārāma and the Dhūra tanks. His son Chandamukhasiva is said to have built a tank near Maṇikārgāma,[5] which was situated in the western division of the northern plain.

Greater interest was taken in irrigation by Vasabha (67-111) during his long reign. He is said to have built eleven tanks and twelve canals. One of the tanks is believed to be either the Nachchadūva tank or the Ēruvāva, to the south-east of Anurādhapura. It is not known whether one of the canals was the Älahara canal which taps the waters of the Amban Gaṅga. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* it was in existence during his reign. Of his successors, Gajabāhu (114-136) is said to have built the Gāmaṇitissa tank, Bhātika Tissa (143-167) the Randhakaṇḍaka

[1] *Nāli* is a measure equal to four handfuls.
[2] C. W. Nicholas, 'Epigraphical Map of Ceylon, 3rd. cen. B.C. to 3rd. cen. A.C.', *UCR.* VII p. 142
[3] *CJS.* I p. 52
[4] *EZ.* III p. 116
[5] *MV.* XXXV. 47; *EZ.* IV p. 222

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tank and the Mahāmaṇi tank in the Maminiya Kōralē in the North-Central Province; and Jeṭṭha Tissa 1 (263-274) the Ālaṁbagāma tank. But according to an inscription Malu Tisa (Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa) built the Gamaṇitisa tank as well as the Nilarajiya tank.[1]

The greatest of the tank-builders during this period was Mahāsena (274-302) who constructed sixteen tanks and one canal. One of these tanks appears to be the Kavḍuluväva which lies to the south of Kantalai tank and another the Māgalaväva near Nikaväraṭiya. The best known of his works is the Minnēriya tank which lies to the north-west of Polonnaruva. The canal he built is called the Pabbatanta canal, a name which probably implies that it came from the mountains.

The only tank in Ruhuṇa besides those built by Iḷanāga of which there is mention in the *Mahāvaṁsa* is the Dikväva (Dīghavāpi) which lies about twelve miles to the west of Kalmunai. It is likely that few tanks were built in the south-east during this period as the four rivers, Valavē Gaṅga, the Kirindi Oya, the Mänik Gaṅga, and the Kumbukkan Oya, which had their sources in or near the central highlands, could be tapped for irrigation purposes.

The larger irrigation works of the period indicate the extent to which rice cultivation expanded. They probably reduced to a minimum the type of suffering that droughts had inflicted in the early part of this period. At such times the large tanks stored with water must have rendered the cultivation of rice possible at least to a small extent. In normal times they must have enabled the production of rice even during the dry part of the year. An inscription of Siri Meghavaṇṇa, the son of Mahāsena, shows that by the end of this period there were fields which yielded as many as three harvests a year. The names Piṭadaḍa, Akala, Mada, seem to correspond to the present Mahā, Yala and Mäda harvests.[2]

It is reasonable to infer that this construction of tanks and canals not only served to exorcise the spectre of recurrent famine and to pave the way for a more intensive cultivation than the single annual crop, but that it also led to a considerable extension of the area under cultivation.

There is little evidence with regard to clothing. Much cloth no doubt went to supply the innumerable *bhikshus* who were clad with an ample outer robe and inner garments even if the mass of the people living in a tropical climate needed little clothing. It is reasonable to infer from the references to weavers in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, in the commentaries, and in the inscriptions, that a considerable amount of the cloth used during this period was woven within the island.

As for shelter there is even less evidence. The *Mahāvaṁsa* refers to palaces built by kings. There were besides innumerable residences for *bhikshus*. In the earliest times *bhikshus* lived in caves for which walls were built to cover the openings and drip-ledges cut to prevent the rain water flowing into them. Many others no doubt lived in huts made of

[1] *EZ.* I p. 256 [2] *EZ.* III p. 184

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leaves as the word *paṅsala* (*parṇaśālā*), used even today for a *vihāra*, suggests. These, of course, have disappeared. In the larger *vihāras pariveṇas* (cells) of mud or brick were constructed for the *bhikshus* within the *vihāra* premises.

No remains are left of houses occupied by chiefs or ordinary people. Nor can their survival be expected seeing that they were made of the timber so readily available or of mud or of both. The *Mahāvaṁsa* relates how mud, collected from the Abhayavāva when it was dry, was used for building the Thūpārāma *chetiya*. A foreign writer states that houses in Ceylon were of wood or reeds.[1]

The people, in addition to clothing, used pots and pans as well as iron tools—knives, hammers and axes, for agricultural purposes. Thus there must have been potters and smiths at least in the larger villages.

There are also references in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and the inscriptions to other craftsmen such as sculptors (*rupada(sa)ka*) and jewellers (*maṇikāra*) as well as bricklayers (*iṭṭhakavaḍḍhakī*) and carpenters (*vaḍḍhakī*). The richer classes no doubt used a considerable amount of jewellery and according to foreign accounts pearls and gems were exported from Ceylon. The *Mahāvaṁsa* refers to a village of jewellers (*maṇikāragāma*)[2] the revenues of which were allotted to the queen. The sculptors embellished Buddhist and probably royal buildings. The early Buddhist buildings had stone for their foundations and for their pillars. The *Mahāvaṁsa* refers also to bricklayers and to the village they inhabited.[3] For the construction of the larger *dāgābas* millions of bricks were needed. Carpenters too must have found plenty of work as the buildings, apart from foundations and pillars, appear to have been of wood.

These craftsmen were organized into guilds probably in order to safeguard their business as well as their other interests. The guilds also carried on a primitive form of banking. Certain persons are said to have deposited with these guilds grain and money so that the interest therefrom might be utilized for religious purposes.[4]

In contrast to the agriculture and crafts carried on in villages, trade seems to have played a much less important part in the life of the people. The Pāli chronicles make a few references to trade. There were some well-known routes. The account of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi shows that there was one from Māgama to Anuradhāpura and thence to Māntai (Mahātittha) and another from Anurādhapura in the direction of Kurunägala. There was a third from Anurādhapura to Jambukola, probably modern Sambulturai. There are also references to the wagons used by merchants. But this trade could not have been large and was probably confined to the towns. In the absence of roads there could not have been much internal trade between villages situated far apart. Under the conditions then existing, it would have been expensive to carry anything in

[1] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notice of South India*, p. 42
[2] *MV.* xxxv. 47
[3] *MV.* xxx. 5, 8, 30; xxxv. 48, 101, 109
[4] *EZ* III p. 177

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bulk, and heavy articles so conveyed would have been beyond the means of village purchasers.

Foreign trade too would not have been extensive. It was carried on with India and the countries to the west of Ceylon, especially those within the Roman empire, not by the people of Ceylon but by foreigners.

The evidence for this foreign trade apart from coins that have been discovered in Ceylon, is rather meagre. Very little can be gleaned from the *Mahāvaṁsa* except references to coins, seaports and voyages to India. An inscription refers to customs duties charged at a seaport.[1] Reference has already been made to a guild of Tamils, probably merchants, presided over by a ship's captain who lived in Anurādhapura in pre-Christian times. A Tamil poem of the Śaṅgam Age enumerates among articles imported into Chōḷa from various countries edible things that came from Ceylon, but it does not explain what they were.[2] The developments in Buddhist architecture and sculpture show that there was much communication by sea between Ceylon and Āndhradeśa, and this probably implies a certain amount of trade between the two countries.

It is likely that the traders who came to Ceylon during this early period were from South India and that their merchandise was taken by sea to South Arabia and East Africa from where they were carried along the Red Sea to Alexandria and the countries of the Mediterranean. This is supported by the fact that the names for spices used by Greek and Roman writers are of Dravidian origin.[3]

There is also a certain amount of Greek and Roman literary evidence concerning this trade. It tends to show that the Greeks began to trade directly with Ceylon only in the second century A.D. There is, it is true, a reference to a garden occupied probably by Greeks (*yonasabhāgavatthu*) in the *Mahāvaṁsa* in the chapter on Paṇḍukābhaya, but it cannot be stated definitely when this account came to be written.

The early Greek writers seem to have obtained their information about Ceylon from Indians. Onesicritus, the follower of Alexander the Great, knew the ancient name of Ceylon, Tāmraparṇi, which he calls Taprobane, and says that it possessed elephants larger than those of India.[4] To Megasthenes, who visited India about the end of the fourth century B.C., has been attributed much the same information with a few additional details. Ceylon according to him was also known for its pearls and exported gold. He calls the people of Ceylon Palaigoni which is perhaps a corrupt form of the Sanskrit *pārajanā*, the people on the other side of the sea. Megasthenes, however, seems to have held the impression that Ceylon was separated from India by a river.[5]

After this there is no fresh information about Ceylon till the first century A.D. Then it comes from men interested in the eastern trade who received

[1] *CJS.* II p. 197 no. 586
[2] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōlas*, I p. 100
[3] *CHI.* I p. 594 *n.* 2
[4] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 49
[5] Ibid. p. 41

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their information at second hand. In the first century B.C. when the western world, united firmly under Rome, and Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt came under Roman control, merchants of the Roman empire, backed by the power of Rome and Roman capital, began to push eastwards by land and sea.[1] The desert routes from Alexandria to the Red Sea were carefully guarded in the time of Augustus, and in his reign, about 25 B.C., an expedition was sent under Aelius Gallus to explore South Arabia and Ethiopia. Soon after a fleet was stationed in the Red Sea; and Aden, the only safe and shoal-free harbour between Suez and India, was occupied. Thenceforth about one hundred and twenty ships visited India every year, making the voyage along the coast of South Arabia and India.

A further advance was made in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) when the Greek and Egyptian subjects of Rome discovered that they could utilize the monsoons, as the Indians did, in travelling to India and back again. By A.D. 50 they began to make the direct voyage from the Gulf of Aden to the Malabar Coast, no longer worried by the pirates who infested the coastal waters of the Arabian coast. Roman ships sailed in increasing numbers. On an average one ship a day is said to have left the Egyptian ports for the East.

In the reign of Claudius, according to Pliny, a freedman named Annius Plocamus who had farmed the collection of the Red Sea revenues, while sailing round Arabia, was blown off his course as far as Hippuri, a port in Taprobane. The king of that place entertained him and despatched with him an embassy of four led by Rachia.

The new details supplied by Plocamus and the ambassadors are not such as would have been given by people well acquainted with Ceylon. Ceylon, according to them, had a river called Palaesimundu which was also the name of their capital. Such a name was unknown in Ceylon. It is perhaps a corrupt form of Sanskrit Pārasamudra, the land across the sea, by which Ceylon was referred to in India.[2]

The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*c.* A.D. 80), probably a merchant of Berenice, the African port on the Red Sea, also had no first-hand knowledge of Ceylon. He probably did not travel beyond the Malabar Coast. The *Periplus* is a merchant's practical guide-book for Indian seas containing details of harbours, marts, anchorages, tides, prevailing winds, local tribes, rulers, imports, etc. Like the accounts that immediately preceded it, this work calls Ceylon Palaesimundu, exaggerates its size tenfold, and makes it almost touch the Azanian district of the east coast of Africa; it mentions no ports or marts of Ceylon. The exports of Ceylon are stated to be pearls, precious stones, muslins and tortoise-shell. Muslins at this time were manufactured in south-east India, and were probably imported to Ceylon. There is no evidence that they were woven in Ceylon.

[1] E. H. Warmington *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India.* This summary of the trade with the Roman empire is based mainly on this work.

[2] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI.* p. 273

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The *Geography* based on material collected by Claudius Ptolemaeus, mathematician, astronomer, and geographer, who lived in Alexandria about the first half of the second century A.D., on the other hand, shows a closer acquaintance with Ceylon. Unlike the descriptions of other places, it gives a detailed account of Ceylon probably because new information derived from contemporary merchants, who had begun to visit the island, was now available.

This work, though professedly scientific, was not based on scientific observations, and is, therefore, not free from error. Though it does not make the island extend close to Africa, it continues to overestimate its size. According to it, the island was called Salica and its inhabitants Salai. It is said to possess mines of gold and silver and other metals; to produce rice, honey, ginger, beryl, and hyacinth; and breed elephants and tigers. As Ceylon did not possess tigers, perhaps the leopard was meant. There is no evidence to show that it had mines of gold and silver either. This work either confused the new data with the old or the merchants who supplied the information included objects that came from farther east.

The account, nevertheless, reveals a better knowledge of the island. It names its two chief cities, Anurādhagama and Māgama, though the latter is located too far to the north. It is possible that Anurādhapura was still called Anurādhagama, the form given in the *Dīpavaṁsa*. Of the two marts it mentions, Modottou may be Mātoṭa (Māntai) though its geographical position too is incorrect. Margana may be identified with Magana of the early inscriptions.[1] Nagadouba may be Nagatuba (Nāgathūpa) of Māgama. Of the two mountain ranges Malaya is marked correctly, but Ganges (Gaṅgā as the Mahaväli was called at this time) is not traced to it. The names of tribes are derived from towns and districts. Nāgadīpa (Nagadiboi), the name for Jaffna Peninsula in ancient times, is made to extend up to the Ganges, but Rohaṇa (Rhogandonoi) is located more correctly. The other places mentioned have not yet been successfully identified.

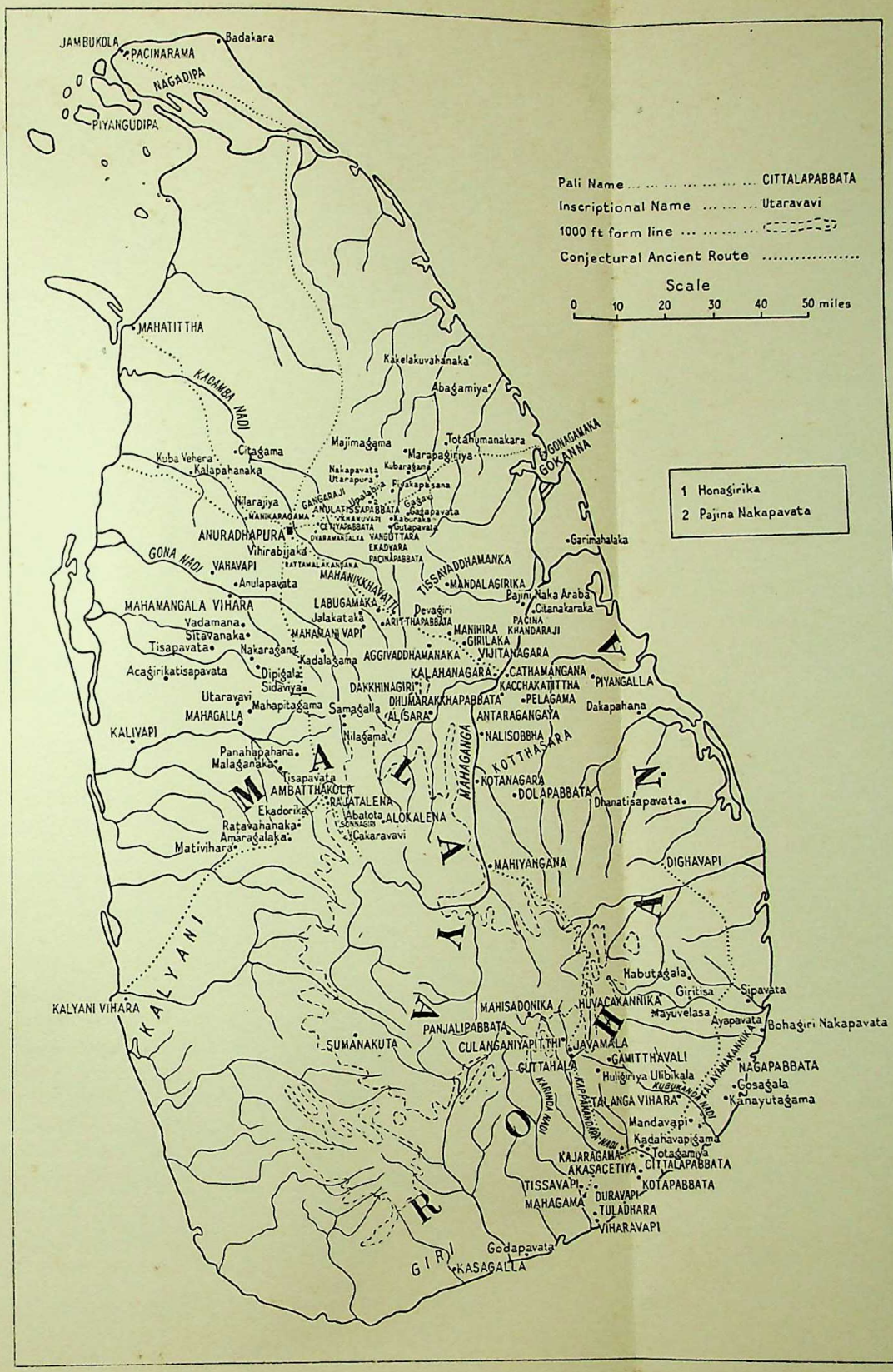
All these details clearly show that the Greeks of Egypt had reached Ceylon in quest of trade by the beginning of the second century A.D. The Roman coins found in Ceylon in increasing numbers from the time of Hadrian (117-138) are further evidence of this direct trade between Ceylon and the Roman empire. But the overseas traffic began to dwindle by the end of the second century A.D. and the latest Roman coins actually found in Ceylon are those of Caracalla (211-217). Nevertheless, even after the direct connection had ceased, the trade was continued by middlemen—the Africans and the Arabs.

The most striking fact, however, is that no account, not even the *Geography* of Ptolemy, refers to the cinnamon of Ceylon. At this time cinnamon and pepper were the two chief spices consumed in the Roman

[1] *JRASCB.* XXVIII no. 73 p. 54

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7. CEYLON

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empire, and cinnamon was brought exclusively by sea. The Romans knew that malabathrum, a hellenized form of *tamālapatra*, came from India, but did not know that it was a species of the cinnamon leaf. The earliest name by which they knew Ceylon was Tāmraparṇi which means 'that which possesses the copper-coloured leaf'. The cinnamon shoots are copper-coloured. So are its roots and bark when dried. But the Greeks wrongly believed that cinnamon was produced in Arabia and Africa. It is possible that cinnamon was taken from Ceylon and Malabar, to Africa and Arabia, and this fact was kept a secret from the Greeks by the Africans and the Arabs.

This trade with the West, as stated already, was not very large. Its significance was for the future, the time when this little stream gradually grew in size and asumed such proportions as to become a major factor in Ceylon history. What really affected the progress of the country during this period was the development of irrigation works. These enabled the people to produce food not only for their own subsistence but also for the maintenance of the king and his household, the landed gentry, the hierarchy of officials at the court and in the country who maintained peace and order, innumerable Buddhist *bhikshus* who helped the development of a higher standard of civilization and culture, and the thousands of craftsmen who constructed *dāgābas* and *vihāras* as well as the tanks and canals that fostered the cultivation of the fields. An improved technique in the production of the basic necessity, in short, rendered possible a greater differentiation of social functions, and further elevated the ruling class which doubtless existed from the earliest historical times.

Economic conditions naturally determined social divisions, and society can be classified somewhat simply into persons of noble families and the common people while a monastic order was in the process of evolving into a third class recruited from both, but in most ways apart.

The two principal noble clans, the Devanapiya and the Lambakarṇa, have already been mentioned. An account of the *parumakas*, based on the inscriptions, has also been given. The word *parumaka* never occurs in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, but there are many references to persons who enjoyed the revenues of villages and towns. The *kulanagara* of Brahmin Tissa, according to the reading accepted by Geiger, appears to have been such a town. The villages of the Brahmins, Tivakka and Kalanda, probably belonged to them in this sense. According to the *Chūlavaṁsa*,[1] in the fourth century (immediately following this period) men of noble family who joined the enemy were deprived of their villages. The terms used for such persons are *kulinī* and *kulagāmakā*, though the term *kula* often connoted nothing more than a family.

The references to *parumakas*, the term apparently corresponding to *kulinī* in the chronicles, disappear in the inscriptions after the first century A.D. But this class of persons no doubt continued to exist. Just as when

[1] xxxviii. 28

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a number of *rajas* lived in Ceylon the king of Anurādhapura called himself *mahārāja*, Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa in the second century A.D. called himself *maparumaka* (the great *parumaka*) and Kitti Siri Meghavaṇṇa referred to his father, Mahāsena, by this title.[1] This suggests that the king considered himself one among the *parumakas*, only having the distinction that he was their chief.

The common people were mostly either farmers or craftsmen. The craftsmen lived side by side with the cultivators, or sometimes in separate villages. When they had villages of their own they probably practised agriculture too.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* also distinguishes people as countryfolk and townsfolk.[2] The great majority of the people no doubt lived in villages whether as cultivators or as craftsmen. Both in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and in the inscriptions a man is often distinguished by reference to his village as were the fields and tanks. There are a few references to towns which were either market-places or centres of trade, probably inhabited by craftsmen and traders. These men seem to have been used to a money economy, for in two towns, according to an inscription, fines levied in courts appear to have been paid in money.

The towns in these times had a rural aspect. Both craftsmen and traders probably practised agriculture too and presumably they had lands of their own. As noted already even a city like Anurādhapura had a number of tanks to irrigate the surrounding fields.

Apart from the nobility and the common people stood the *saṅgha*, the community of Buddhist *bhikshus* numbering thousands, drawing their recruits from both these classes. At first they seem to have been mainly persons devoted to meditation who dwelt in caves, parks and woods away from the people, but yet not too far for the people to provide them with alms. The rest who dwelt in villages and cities seem to have been more concerned with learning and teaching. But with the development of the country those of the second class seem to have increased in numbers. The *bhikshus* probably found it more convenient to live in villages where they could more easily obtain their alms and minister to the people by their preachings.

This was not the only adjustment to take place in the economic and social conditions. From about the second century B.C. the practice of endowing *vihāras* began, and the *bhikshus* who were so far provided with shelters and alms, now began to receive a regular source of income for maintaining buildings and providing themselves with food, clothing and other necessities. The *bhikshus* of the *vihāras* so endowed no doubt now commanded influence not only by the sanctity of the life they led but by reason also of the landed property attaching to their *vihāras*. It is reasonable to suppose that they now took greater interest in the affairs of t he world and that situations arose when they counted politically.

[1] *UCR.* VII p. 246 [2] xvii. 63

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It is not clear whether at this time there was in Ceylon anything like the caste system of India. There are references on the other hand to Brahmins who lived in various parts of the island, as well as to Chaṇḍālas[1] who lived separately from other townfolk and performed menial work. The story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi's son Sāli clearly shows that people of the upper classes did not associate with the latter. But in neither case do the numbers appear to have been large.

Society as a whole could not have been based on caste, for the story of queen Anulā does not suggest that she was confronted with any of the difficulties that under a strict caste system she would have had to face by marrying a Tamil craftsman and a wood-carrier in turn.

This does not mean that no importance was attached to birth. The Buddha himself, it was taught, attained Buddhahood by his good actions and efforts in numerous births. But the acceptance of a lineage for the Buddha tracing his descent from Mahāsammata and Okkāka, the great king of the Solar dynasty, is significant of the ideas of the time.[2] And under the static economic conditions prevalent when a son naturally and almost invariably followed the occupation of his father, such emphasis on birth was alike inevitable and natural.

[1] *MV.* x. 89, 93

[2] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 126

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CHAPTER XIX

CEYLON II

RELIGION AND CULTURE

THE main influence on the society of this period was religion, but the sources do not provide a correct perspective of the part played by the different religions and cults that prevailed in Ceylon.

Reference has already been made to the existence of Brahmanism among the early inhabitants. The chronicles and the inscriptions refer to Brahmins found in parts so widely scattered as the present Northern and North-Central Provinces and the Puttalam, Kurunägala, Mātalē, Kandy, Batticaloa and Hambantota districts. They also show that, though few in number, the Brahmins exercised influence at court as *purohitas*, officials, teachers and physicians and held a privileged position in the country. We do not know how many of them were priests. The *Dīpavaṁsa* refers to a *purohita* of Kākavaṇṇa and the *Mahāvaṁsa* to a *purohita* of Anulā. The names of two early queens, Varuṇadata and Ramadata[1] as well as the names of kings and princes, e.g. Siva, show the influence of Brahmanism at least in the upper circles. According to two inscriptions, Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga, when he was *uvaraja* in Rohaṇa, abandoned false beliefs (*michchhādiṭṭhi*) and accepted the doctrines of Buddhism. This is probably another reference to Brahmanism.[2] One of the figures carved on the Kaṇṭaka *chetiya* is that of a *gaṇa* with an elephant's head, which is no doubt a prototype of the Hindu god, Gaṇeśa. Mahāsena, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, destroyed three *devāles*, which, the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* says, were those of the Hindu god, Śiva. One of these was in the village of Brahmin Kalanda.[3] There is further evidence in the *Mahāvaṁsa* in a description of Anurādhapura in the chapter on Paṇḍukābhaya.[4] But the account is not likely to be earlier than the first century A.D. when the Buddhist commentaries also came to be written down. Moreover, it refers to a Niganṭha named Giri who lived in the first century B.C. as well as to a garden of the Yonas who, if the term meant Greeks, are not likely to have come to Ceylon for trade before the first century A.D. The reference is to a residence of Brahmins in Anurādhapura, and they were probably priests, for it occurs in an account of the religions that existed in Anurādhapura. In the same passage also is found a reference to a *Sotthisālā*, and a *sivakasālā* which the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* defines respectively as a hall where Brahmins recited *svasti vachana* and a hall where a Śiva *liṅga* was set up.[5]

[1] *UCR.* VII p. 241
[2] *JRASCB.* XXXVI p. 63
[3] Ibid. p. 685
[4] *JRASCB.* XXXI p. 302
[5] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, I p. 296

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This evidence is undoubtedly scanty and sketchy. It shows, however, that Brahmanism existed in Ceylon throughout this period, though its influence may not have been widespread.

The account of Paṇḍukābhaya shows further that the *yaksha* cults referred to earlier were widespread in Anurādhapura. Below the Abhayavāpi there was the shrine of Chittarāja. To the west of Thūpārāma was that of Maheja (or Pabheja or Pamoja). At the eastern gate of the city near the Nakā Vehera was that of Kālavela. Vaisravana was believed to have had his abode in a banyan-tree near the western gate. Near the same gate was also a shrine of Pachchhimarājinī, who appears to have been a *yakshiṇī*. Another *yakshiṇī* was worshipped at the southern gate while the *yakshiṇī* Vaḷavāmukhī had her shrine within the precincts of the royal palace.

It is likely that *yaksha* cults were even more widespread in the rural areas. In times of drought and pestilence, of disease and suffering, people no doubt made offerings to appease them or win their favour. It is a striking fact that when there was a plague in the time of Siri Saṅghabodhi, this saintly king did not resort to the Buddhist practice of reciting the Paritta, but ordered offerings to be made at the entrances of villages to the *yaksha* Ratakkhi, in order to put an end to this scourge.

The account of Paṇḍukābhaya refers also to the worship of gods. Near the western gate of the city was worshipped the god of huntsmen who was believed to inhabit the palmyra palm that grew there. In a later chapter there is a reference to a shrine of the god of the city (*puradeva*) which stood outside the boundary of the Mahāvihāra.[1]

According to this account there were also a number of other religions in Anurādhapura at this time. Two buildings are said to have been the abodes of the Jains (Niganṭhas) Jotiya and Giri, while a temple (*devakula*) belonged to another Jain, Kumbhaṇḍa. Another building was occupied by members of the Ājīvika sect. Besides the residence of Brahmins referred to earlier, there were an *āśrama* (hermitage) for ascetics (*tāpasā*) and an *ārāma* for mendicant monks (*paribbājaka*). There were also other heretics (*pāsaṇḍikā*) and five hundred families who followed these heretical beliefs (*michchhādiṭṭhikulā*).

The *Mahāvaṁsa* contains no other references to these religious sects apart from the mention of Nighaṇṭha Giri who lived in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The inscriptions do not refer to them at all. Probably none of their members lived in caves. And since the last mention of them is dated before the famine that followed the Brahmin Tissa's rebellion, it is probable that they disappeared with it.

But while it has been necessary to begin by drawing attention to these non-Buddhist elements of which one is apt to lose sight in an exclusive reliance upon the *Mahāvaṁsa* narrative, it remains definitely true that the chief feature in the religious history of Ceylon during this period is the

[1] xxv. 87. See also *CJS.* I p. 147

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growth of Buddhism. What is most striking is its quick expansion into all parts of the inhabited area, the Dry Zone. Before the beginning of the Christian era, innumerable persons joined the Saṅgha and the number of occupants of caves alone far exceeded a thousand. Others lived in parks, either in huts or under trees. Persons of all ranks, who had the means, sought merit either individually or in groups by presenting caves to the Saṅgha. According to the inscriptions thirty-three were presented by queens and princesses, twenty-eight by princes and seven by kings.[1] Others were presented by ministers, Brahmins, *parumakas*, *gamikas*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikas*, craftsmen and others.

Before long kings, ministers, and district rulers went further and built innumerable *dāgābas*, *uposatha*-houses and other buildings such as refectories and halls as well as cells (*pariveṇa*). They also endowed many of these *vihāras* with the revenues from lands, tanks and canals, and other sources of income such as customs duties and fines realized in the law-courts, for their maintenance and for the provision of clothing and food for the *bhikshus*, and the expenses of special ceremonies such as the recital of the *Ariyavaṁsa* and the Giribhaṇḍa offering.

It is likely that Buddhism came to Ceylon from abroad like Brahmanism and Jainism, and that its more rapid diffusion was due to natural causes. But the accounts in the chronicles and in the *Samantapāsādikā*, which devote a considerable amount of space to the introduction and spread of Buddhism, present a rather different picture, and though they are more historical than the earlier stories, they appear to have been fashioned, as Oldenberg suggested some decades ago,[2] with the object of connecting Ceylon with Aśoka and to make ordinary events great and spectacular.

According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* Aśoka sent a message back by the ambassadors of Devānaṁpiya Tissa asking him to accept the *dhamma* of the Buddha.[3] A year later, after the Third Buddhist Council had been held under Aśoka's patronage, Moggaliputta Tissa, his friend, sent ten missions to different parts of India and other countries. One of these came to Ceylon led by Mahinda, a son of Aśoka. These missionaries were welcomed by king Devānaṁpiya Tissa who treated them with due respect and gave them every assistance. Devānaṁpiya Tissa, directed by a *deva*, met Mahinda and his companions, who came by air, at Mihintalē, then called Missakapabbata. The next day, on his invitation, they came to Anurādhapura. The day after, they were presented with the Mahāmeghavana where they had spent the previous night. Devānaṁpiya Tissa built sixty-eight rock cells at Missakapabbata and gave them to Mahinda and the other

[1] *UCR.* VII p. 235

[2] *Vinaya*, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879-83, Intro. to *Vinaya Piṭakaṁ* p. 4

[3] The story of the relations between Aśoka and Devānampiya Tissa appears to have been influenced by, if not modelled on, a story in the *Sutta Nipāta* commentary on Kaṭṭhavāhana, king of Benares, and Buddha Kassapa.—Unpublished thesis of Dr. W. Rahula on *Some Aspects of the Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, and *Dhammapada* v. 190. *Ante* p. 579 n. I

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members of the *saṅgha* for their residence during the rainy season (*vassa*). After this Buddha's alms-bowl and relics were obtained from Aśoka and his right collar-bone from the god Sakka. The king then built the Thūpārāma *chetiya* and enshrined the right collar-bone within it. Thousands of devotees including princes and noblemen entered the *saṅgha* within a short time. Anulā, the wife of *uparāja* Mahānāga, desired to become a *bhikshuṇī*, and Mahinda sent for his sister Saṅghamittā, and at the same time Aśoka was asked to send by her a branch of the Bo-tree at Uruvelā under which Buddha had attained enlightenment. Saṅghamittā arrived with the Bo-branch, and it was planted in the Mahāmeghavana. Further, the *Mahāvaṁsa* records that Devānaṁpiya Tissa erected for the advancement of Buddhism a number of other buildings in Anurādhapura and elsewhere in the island.

It is difficult to extract the kernel of truth embedded in these legends, which seem most probably to have grown around the shrines mentioned in them, after the actual events had been forgotten. A comparison of this account with the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Samantapāsādikā* reveals that the story developed by different stages.

The legends of Aśoka and Moggaliputta Tissa in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, apart from those based on the Jātakas or referring directly to Ceylon, seem to have been derived from Indian sources. Some of the stories of Aśoka can be traced to the *Aśokāvadāna* and other Buddhist works. Many accounts concerning Moggaliputta Tissa are similar even in detail to those related of Nāgasena in the *Milindapanha* (p. 7) and of Upagupta and Yasa in Northern Buddhist accounts.[1]

The *Mahāvaṁsa* story of Aśoka's connection with the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon is not confirmed by his inscriptions any more than the account of the second consecration of Devānaṁpiya Tissa. The *Mahāvaṁsa* too does not state that Aśoka sent any *bhikshus* to spread Buddhism. All that it says is that Aśoka summoned the Third Buddhist Council and at the end of it Moggaliputta Tissa sent ten Buddhist Missions. The places to which Moggaliputta sent missionaries do not coincide with the countries to which Aśoka in his inscriptions claims to have sent his messengers. The Pāli chronicles make no mention of missions to Chola, to Pāṇḍya, and to Kerala, or to the Greek kingdoms, but say that one went to Suvaṇṇabhūmi, a country not mentioned by Aśoka.

The early script of Ceylon does not suggest that the Buddhist missionaries to Ceylon were so closely connected with Aśoka. Though it is indeed possible that the art of writing came to Ceylon with the Brahmins before the introduction of Buddhism, the earliest extant specimens of writing are all associated with Buddhism. It is true that the characters of these earliest inscriptions are similar to those of Aśoka's inscriptions and are in the same stage of development, but they show greater similarity to those in the west and the south of India than to those in the north and the east. The forms of the letters *i* and *ma* found in Ceylon do not occur in Asoka's

[1] Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, pp. 60, 64-6, 103

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inscriptions while the Ceylon letter *e* is more primitive. Further, the long vowels and the conjunct consonants common in Aśoka's inscriptions do not occur in Ceylon. On the other hand the *i* and *ma* have been found inscribed on ancient caves in South India and a more developed form of *i* in Sāñchī and Amarāvatī some centuries later. The conclusion which this comparison points to is that the Buddhist missionaries came not from the centre of Aśoka's realm but from the west of India, from the region of Vidiśā and Sāñchī, and, probably, that while one party went to South India another section came to Ceylon.[1]

It is no longer questioned that Buddhist missions went to different countries. The mission to the Himalayas is confirmed by inscriptions found at Sāñchī.[2] What is doubtful is that these missions were all despatched about the same time and that they were organized by Moggaliputta Tissa. Geiger doubted whether a mission went so early to Suvaṇṇabhūmi.[3] Could Moggaliputta Tissa have sent the mission to Kashmir led by Madhyantika who belonged to the Sarvāstivāda sect ? Further, the Ceylon legends credit Moggaliputta Tissa with a status and with achievements that may be questioned.

It has been pointed out already that some of the acts attributed to Moggaliputta Tissa also belong to Nāgasena, Upagupta, and Yasa, according to northern Buddhist accounts.

But whether Moggaliputta Tissa sent the Buddhist missions or not, it is quite probable that Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon by a *bhikshu* called Mahinda and his four companions, Iṭṭhiya, Uttiya, Bhaddasāla and Saṁbala as recorded in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[4] It is also likely that a *bhikshuṇī* called Saṅghamittā came some time later with others and established an order of *bhikshuṇīs*. Inscriptions show that there were *bhikshuṇīs* in Ceylon in the first century B.C.[5] It is also likely that Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon in the time of Devānaṁpiya Tissa. Even if the Devānaṁpiya-mahārāja of the Mihintalē inscriptions was not Devānaṁpiya Tissa, it is known for certain from other inscriptions that in his successor Uttiya's time Buddhist *bhikshus* lived in Ceylon.

It is unlikely that Mahinda and Saṅghamittā were children of Aśoka, and that Aśoka sent relics and a branch of the Bo-tree to Ceylon. The only writing outside Ceylon which connects Mahinda with Aśoka and which has led to a controversy as to whether Mahinda was a son or brother of Aśoka is a statement of Hiuan Tsang.[6] Fa-hien in his *Travels* referred to a brother of Aśoka[7] who was no other than Vītāśoka of the northern Buddhist accounts and Tissa of the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Hiuan Tsang confused

[1] P. E. E. Fernando, 'Palaeographical Development of the Brāhmī Script in Ceylon from the 3rd century B.C. to the 7th century A.D'., *UCR.* VII p. 282; see also C. W. Nicholas's article on the same topic in *UCR.* VII p. 60

[2] *MV.* Eng. trans., p. xix

[3] Ibid. p. 86 *n.* 2

[4] An inscription of about the first century A. D. refers to Mahinda, Bhadrasala, Iṭika and Uti, but leaves out Saṁbala.

[5] *UCR.* VII p. 240; *CJS.* II no. 516 p. 124

[6] *MV.* Eng. trans., p. xviii

[7] Giles's Eng. Trans. p. 45

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this person with Mahinda of the Ceylon legends and called him Mahendra, the brother of Aśoka. V. A. Smith rejected the Ceylon legend and, preferring the statement of Hiuan Tsang, expressed the view that the legend which ascribed the conversion of Ceylon to the younger brother of Aśoka had probably a basis of fact.[1] Thus arose the myth that Mahinda was a brother of Aśoka.

It is only the Ceylon legends that make Mahinda and Saṅghamittā children of Aśoka. The *Aśokāvadāna* gives an account of the festival of the *ārāmas*, but does not bring Mahinda and Saṅghamittā into the story, as the *Mahāvaṁsa* does.[2] It was once believed that the story of the coming of the Bo-branch to Ceylon received confirmation in India. Grünwedel in *Buddhist Kunst in Indien* (p. 72) expressed the view that the sculptures of the lower and middle architraves of the east gate of the Sāñchī *śtūpa* may represent the bringing of the Bo-branch to Ceylon, and this view was accepted by Rhys Davids and Geiger.[3] In the revised edition (1932) of Grünwedel's work Ernst Waldschmidt has pointed out that these sculptures represent the abandonment of the worldly life by the Buddha and Aśoka's visit to the Bo-tree as described in the *Divyāvadāna*.

Nor does the circumstantial evidence in Ceylon favour the Ceylon tradition. In fact, this is not the only story of this type found in the Pāli chronicles. The Buddha, a member of the Sākya clan, is called a descendant of Mahāsammata and Okkāka, and is made to visit Ceylon and sanctify its holy places. Vijaya is made to land on the day of the Parinibbāṇa. The royal dynasty of Anurādhapura is connected with the Sākya clan through the union of Paṇḍuvasudeva and Bhaddakachchāna. Moggaliputta Tissa, the great Elder of the Theravāda sect, is made the special friend of Aśoka, just as other sects connect their Elders with him. Thus the connection of the Bo-tree in Ceylon with the Bo-tree at Uruvelā and of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā with Aśoka along with the story of the second consecration of Devānaṁpiya Tissa by Aśoka seems to be in the same strain as these traditions.

Perhaps the same is the case with the stories that so closely associate the introduction of Buddhism with king Devānaṁpiya Tissa. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* it was Devānaṁpiya Tissa who constructed the caves around Kaṇṭaka *chetiya* so that Mahinda and his followers might spend the *vassa* there. Though this is repeated in the *Samantapāsādikā* it is not supported by the *Dīpavaṁsa*. Inscriptions show that they were built at various times by a number of persons in a period ranging over much more than a century.[4] In fact there is no inscription that records the grant of any of these caves by Devānaṁpiya Tissa himself; only his wife is mentioned as the donor of one. The story of the acceptance of the Mahāmeghavana appears to be an attempt to connect the Mahāvihāra both with Mahinda and with Devānaṁpiya Tissa. Mahinda and his companions, who are

[1] *Aśoka*, p. 45
[2] *Légende de l'Empereur Aśoka*, p. 103
[3] *Buddhist India*, p. 302; *MV.* Eng. trans., p. xx
[4] *UCR.* VII p. 234

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said to have come by air from India to Ceylon and from Mihintalē to Anurādhapura, are obliged to stay at the Mahāmeghavana for the night as Mihintalē was far and it was getting dark! It is also noteworthy that the *Samantapāsādikā*, a work of the Mahāvihāra, omits most of the legends connected with the acceptance of the Mahāmeghavana. These stories no doubt came into existence after this commentary was written down and only when the Mahāvihāra had become important. The *Mahāvaṁsa* itself shows that even immediately after the death of Saddhā Tissa the Thūpārāma was recognised as the chief *vihāra* in Anurādhapura.

According to the chronicles the only important *thūpa* built at first was that of the Thūpārāma. This may have been built by Devānaṁpiya Tissa; but it is possible that it was attributed to him later in the same way as the construction of the caves. The other buildings attributed to him in the *Mahāvaṁsa* may also have been built in later times. Many of them find no mention either in the *Dīpavaṁsa* or in the *Samantapāsādikā*. One of them is the pillar on which is said to have been inscribed the prophecy that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi would build the Mahāthūpa. Hence the list of the buildings constructed by him is later not only than the building of the Mahāthūpa but also than the growth of the legends about its construction.

It is doubtful whether the *Mahāvaṁsa* delivers a correct account even of the religious activities of the immediate successors of Devānaṁpiya Tissa. There are four inscriptions that mention the grant of caves by Uttiya and his wife,[1] but the *Mahāvaṁsa* does not mention any *vihāras* as built by him. On the other hand the *Mahāvaṁsa* credits Mahāsiva with a *vihāra* in Anurādhapura and Sūra Tissa with eight *vihāras* in Anurādhapura and elsewhere. It adds that in all he built five hundred *vihāras* including those erected before he ascended the throne.

Vihāras, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, were also built by the rulers of Ruhuṇa. Uparāja Mahānāga built the Nāgamahāvihāra and others, and Kākavaṇṇa Tissa the Tissamahāvihāra, the Chittalapabbata-vihāra and others. These *vihāras* no doubt existed in early times, but there is not sufficient evidence to test whether the ascriptions are correct in each case. Inscriptions tell us only that Siva gifted a cave before he became king. According to a later chapter of the *Mahāvaṁsa* itself, Iḷanāga built the Nāgamahāvihāra and enlarged a *thūpa* that had been built earlier.

The spread of Buddhism in Ceylon was due to many causes. It was essentially a missionary religion. The Buddha himself preached to all classes of people, and his followers, the Saṅgha, followed his example wherever they went. In this respect Buddhism differed from Brahmanism to which only a section of the people adhered. The only recorded aspect of Brahmanism in Ceylon at this period is the sacrificial. Consequently one may suppose that it had no reason to come into conflict with a monastic religion like Buddhism. In fact Brahmins joined others in providing caves for the *bhikshus*. Buddhism also exerted a wider appeal than Jainism

[1] *ASCAR.* 1933, paras. 53 & 54, p. 14

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as it did not demand the practice of severe austerities but pursued a middle path in asceticism.

Nor would the worship of local gods, tree-deities, and *yakshas*, be an obstacle to the acceptance of Buddhism. Such deities could only reduce or avert suffering in this world. They would not satisfy an agricultural people who led a settled life and enjoyed considerable leisure. These people probably had already heard something of Brahmin ideas of life and the universe from their ancestors who came from North India, and so would require a religion which took account of the whole universe, explained the meaning of life, and enlightened them about future existences.

The Buddhist conception of the universe was almost the same as the Brahmin which is adopted with a few modifications, and thus it was not something entirely new. According to Buddhism six heavens existed above the human world (Manussaloka). The one immediately above was the Chatumahārājika, the Realm of the Four Great Kings called the Guardians of the World (Lokapāla) viz. Dhaṭaraṭṭha, Virūḷha, Virūpakkha and Vessavana, the rulers of the *gandhabbas*, *kumbhaṇḍas*, *nāgas*, and *yakkhas*. The next was Tāvatiṁsa ruled by Sakka whose attendant was Vissakamma, the god of craftsmen. The third was Yāma, and the fourth Tusita, where Metteyya who was to be the next Buddha lived as a *deva*. The fifth was Nimmāṇarati, and the last, Parinimmitavasavatti, the Realm of Māra. Above all these came the Rūpaloka, the abode of the Brahmas who have material body, and the Arūpaloka, the abode of Brahmas who possess no material body.

Below the Manussaloka was the Underworld or Apāya. These consisted of the Animal Kingdom (*tirachchhāṇayoni*) where the *nāgas* lived, the hells (*niraya* or *naraka*), the world of departed beings (*petaloka*), and the world of the *asuras* (*asuraloka*). The hells had each eight divisions one of which was *avīchī*, and each of these had further subdivisions. Apart from these were the *lokantarika* hells of eternal darkness each of which was situated between each of the three world-systems like the space between three bowls placed touching each other.

According to Buddhist ideas the dwellers in these worlds were not beings who had to be propitiated. Some of them such as Brahma Sahaṁpati and Sakka were followers of the Buddha. The *yakshas* were not considered as necessarily harmful beings. They were called *bhummadevas*, and some stories relate that they accepted the teachings of the Buddha.[1]

Buddhism took over other ideas also from Brahmins, the theory of cycles (*kalpas*) and the doctrines of *karma* and rebirth. The belief in birth and rebirth made people realize the brevity of this life compared with eternity, and so the problem of future existences became a matter of supreme importance to them. Again, this life was subject not only to mental suffering (*dukkha*) but to physical affliction as well. Government at this time lacked the means to afford sufficient security from violence

[1] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 145

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and robbery. Wild beasts, birds, and insects often destroyed the crops. These disasters presented a lurking danger to life itself of which they were instinctively aware. They often suffered also from droughts which led to famines, and from pestilences which they had not the knowledge to control. The aftermath of such disasters might well produce a sense, among the survivors, of the futility of the acquisition of wealth and other material goods of the world and even of nobler earthly endeavour. Hence large numbers entered the Saṅgha in order to put an end to this cycle of birth and rebirth and to attain Nirvāṇa.

Buddhism had a way also for those who were not prepared to follow the arduous path of asceticism. It showed, as was never done before, a way of morality by which people could avoid the sufferings of hell and attain a happier state of life in the next birth. The lay followers, however, were not provided with any organisation or definite and obligatory rules of conduct; they were free to carry on in addition any other religious practices they liked. Buddhism, unlike most other religions, made no serious attempt in Ceylon to incorporate existing cults. The only instances on record in the *Mahāvaṁsa* are the worship of the god Saman (Sumana) of Adam's Peak and of the *rājāyatana* tree in the Northern Peninsula. In the result the laity followed Buddhism without abjuring sacrificial Brahmanism and the worship of gods and spirits to which they were already accustomed.

When Buddhism came to Ceylon it had already assumed a popular form. The chief emphasis at this time was not on the Dhamma but on the Buddha himself. He was no longer looked upon merely as a teacher who showed a way of life but also as a saviour who possessed supernormal powers, knew what happened in the past, and saw into the future. He travelled by air, subdued *yakshas* and *nāgas* and other evil spirits, and saved people from disasters and pestilences. The commentaries show that he was now credited with divine attributes. It was accepted at this time that when alive he was not liable to disease or decay.[1]

The Buddhist scriptures provided a literature wide and varied enough to satisfy the needs both of *bhikshus* and laymen. Buddhism at this time also had ceremonies able to attract the laity. There was the veneration of *chetiyas* containing relics which were regarded as a substitute for the Buddha, and of Bo-trees under one of which he attained enlightenment. According to the *Aṭṭhakathā* it was believed during this period that merit could be acquired by venerating a relic, while one who destroyed a *dāgāba* or a Bo-tree forfeited a great deal of it. Buddhism also provided a substitute for charms; a certain Buddhist text when recited was believed to protect people against ill-disposed human beings, *yakkhas*, *gandhabbas*, *kumbhaṇḍas* and *nāgas*. It was believed that the Paritta ceremony, in which these verses were recited as well as other texts, which were really meant as a code of ethics to be practised, could protect people even from

[1] Adikaram, *EHB.* pp. 96-7

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plague. It was also believed that by chanting these verses evil spirits who had taken possession of human beings could be exorcised.[1]

The Buddhist missionaries found it easy to convey their message to the people of Ceylon. As the inscriptions show, the language of the people, unlike the South Indian languages, was in many respects similar to their own. Nor did it vary much in the different parts of the island. Early Sinhalese was in some respects akin to Vedic (OIA.). The chief difference lay in the shortening of long vowels, the de-aspiration of consonants (Skt. *bhāryā*, Sinh. *bariya*), the reduction of double consonants into single ones (Skt. *saṅgha*, Sinh. *saga*), and the change of *s* into *h*.[2] These differences could not have troubled the Indian missionaries much, as similar though slighter changes were taking place in their own spoken dialects.

Further the civilization of Ceylon was akin to that of North India where Buddhism arose. Hence the missionaries had no need to present the Buddhist doctrines in a new garb in order to make them intelligible to the people.

The Buddhist *bhikshus* who came to Ceylon as well as those who immediately joined the Saṅgha in the island seem to have been persons who devoted themselves mainly to meditation. They occupied caves in Mihintalē, Isurumuniya which included the so-called Vessagiriya, Situlpahuva (Chittalapabbata) and other numerous caves throughout the Dry Zone. Mahinda appears to have lived in Mihintalē, where he landed and was met by Devānaṁpiya Tissa, and where ultimately he died; Mahinda-guhā was situated there. Others seem to have lived in parks such as the Nandanavana and the Mahāmeghavana, where the Thūpārāma and the Mahāvihāra came to be established, and the Tissamahārāma near Māgama.

Very early, *chetiyas* appear to have been built and Bo-trees planted for purposes of worship. The *chetiyas* were at first small in size, and of these probably the largest were the *chetiya* at the Thūpārāma in Anurādhapura and those at Māgama and Kälaṇiya. Even these could not have been large, for what we see today are probably enlargements made in later times.

Buddhism probably became a powerful influence only from about the time of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi or Saddhā Tissa. It is even possible that Devānaṁpiya Tissa and his immediate successors did not specially favour any one religion. They had Brahmins as *purohitas*, teachers, ministers, and physicians, and it was the custom in India for kings to treat all religions alike. Probably by the time Duṭṭhagāmaṇi became king over the whole island, Buddhism had gained such a hold over the country that kings began to identify themselves more closely with it and extend to it a special patronage.

The *Mahāvaṁsa*, however, is not a reliable source even for the reigns of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and Saddhā Tissa. It is mainly a story of the Mahāvihāra, and just as it tried earlier to associate it with Devānaṁpiya

[1] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 143 [2] *EZ.* I p. 16

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Tissa and Mahinda, it now seeks to connect Duṭṭhagāmaṇi with its establishment. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built the Marichavaṭṭi *dāgāba* and *vihāra* as well as the Mahāthūpa and the Lohapāsāda, the *uposatha*-house of the Mahāvihāra. He also performed many other meritorious deeds, and as a reward, the chronicle concludes, he went to the Tusita Heaven at his death, to be reborn as the first disciple of Metteyya, the next Buddha.

It is not necessary to read far into this story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in order to note that the Buddhist *bhikshus* have transformed it to serve religious ends. This accords with Indian practice at this time, evident in the Purāṇas, and also later in such stories as those of Karikāla and Kōchcheṅgaṇān. In some respects the story is similar to that of Aśoka in the *Aśokāvadāna* with the difference that Aśoka was a good man who did much for Buddhism and the people, but is represented as having been wicked in his early days until he was converted to Buddhism, whereas Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, a warrior who became the sole ruler of Ceylon through the blood of innumerable men, is represented as the builder of the Mahāthūpa and the Lohapāsāda of the Mahāvihāra.

Buddhist *bhikshus* were not expected to indulge in tales of kings, wars, robbers, and ministers, (*rājakathā, yuddhakathā, chorakathā, mahāmachchakathā*) as these were deemed unsuited for *bhikshus* (*tirachchhāṇa*).[1] They were, however, according to the Pāli commentary, allowed to deal with such persons or events if their object was to show the impermanence of such persons of great power (*mahānubhāva*).[2] Therefore it is possible, as Geiger suggests, that priestly tradition seized the figure of the popular warrior who united the Kingdom of Laṅkā and made him a hero whose chief object was the advancement of the Buddhist faith and the service of the Buddhist Saṅgha.[3]

The *Dīpavaṁsa*, as already stated, makes no reference in its main account to the Marichavaṭṭi *vihāra* and credits Saddhā Tissa, not Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, with the building of the Mahāthūpa and the Lohapāsāda. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, Saddhā Tissa merely gave the finishing touches to the Mahāthūpa by completing the work on the parasol, doing the plaster work and building the elephant-wall. As the Lohapāsāda was burnt down accidentally, he is said to have built it anew seven storeys high.

The Marichavaṭṭi *vihāra* is undoubtedly an ancient *vihāra*, as many Pāli commentaries refer to an incident that occurred at the festival of the *vihāra* ;[4] but there is no other evidence to show that it was built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.

It is doubtful if Duṭṭhagāmaṇi built a Lohapāsāda. The description of the building ascribed to him seems to have been derived from the

[1] *Dīgha Nikāya* : Sacred Books of the Buddhists x p. 13

[2] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* I Ed. T. W. Rhys Davids & J.E. Carpenter, p. 89

[3] *Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa*, Eng. trans., p. 21

[4] Adikaram, *EHB*. p. 63

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vimānas described in the *Vimānavatthu* such as the Serīsaka *vimāna*.[1] The story of Bīranī as given in the account is derived from the Nimi Jātaka.[2] Further, this chapter seems to belong to a later age than the rest of the story of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The Mahāthūpa elsewhere in the *Mahāvaṁsa* is called the Hemamāli *chetiya*. In this account it is called the Soṇṇamāli.[3]

The story of the Mahāthūpa, though earlier than that of the Lohapāsāda, is also clearly late and probably arose when the actual course of events had been forgotten. Its lateness is evident from the reference to images of the Buddha, of the existence of which we have no reliable evidence until the reign of Vasabha. The Pāli commentaries based on the Sinhalese written down at the beginning of the first century A.D. have only one reference to images and this is held to be an interpolation.[4]

The account contains many mythical and contradictory stories. The relics are brought from the *nāga*-world in a miraculous way. This story, it is clear, is based not on the account of the distribution of relics in the Pāli canon, but on the later version that became current in India and reached Ceylon.[5] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (xxxiii.5) Duṭṭhagāmaṇi died before the Mahāthūpa was completed; but this is contrary to the earlier statement (xxix. 52) that the far-seeing *arahat* Siddhattha prevented Duṭṭhagāmaṇi from designing a much larger *thūpa* lest he might not complete it in his lifetime.

The Pāli commentaries make little mention of the religious activities of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.[6] Two of them refer to his practice of offering food to *bhikshus* before partaking of meals. Inscriptions make no reference to any at all.

Thus the older tradition of the *Dīpavaṁsa*, which is silent on the religious activities of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and is supported partly by the indirect evidence of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, may be correct. It is also possible that the *Mahāvaṁsa* story is an attempt to reconcile the *Dīpavaṁsa* narrative with another tradition which attributed the Mahāthūpa and the Lohapāsāda to Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, by making Saddhā Tissa complete the Mahāthūpa

[1] *Paramattha dīpanī* IV. Ed. E. Hardy, P.T.S. London, 1901 p. 331; *Vimānavatthu*, no. 77, pp. 69-70

[2] No. 541

[3] xv. 167; xvii. 51; xxxiii. 31. According to xv 173 a stone pillar was set up by Devānaṁpiya Tissa recording the prediction of Mahinda about the building of the Mahāthūpa, and this pillar is again referred to in xxviii 2. Mahinda according to xv 172 did not predict that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi would build the Lohapāsāda, and v 205 of the same chapter ascribes this building to Devānaṁpiya Tissa. Thus in the early part of the *Mahāvaṁsa* there is no indication that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi was to build the Lohapāsāda. But according to this chapter there was a golden plate in the palace in which was inscribed the prediction of Mahinda that Duṭṭhagāmaṇi would build both the Soṇṇamali *chetiya* and the Lohapāsāda. The earliest evidence we have of the use of gold plate for inscriptions is in the reign of Vasabha, and it is likely that this legend is much later than the other tales of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. Hence the negative evidence of the *Dīpavaṁsa* is not without some support in the *Mahāvaṁsa* itself.

[4] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 135

[5] E. J. Thomas, *The Life of the Buddha*, p. 158

[6] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 62

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which Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had begun, and accounting for his building the Lohapāsāda by saying that the one built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi had been burnt down.

It is, however, of no great consequence whether Duṭṭhagāmaṇi or Saddhā Tissa built the Mahāvihāra. The important point is that is was built about this time, and that within one and a half centuries it began to play an important part in the history of Buddhism in Ceylon.

The Pāli chronicles and the inscriptions show that Buddhism continued to flourish from the time of Saddhā Tissa. The accounts in the *Mahāvaṁsa* which are the most complete seem to be accurate, on the whole; and we need not compile a complete list of the buildings constructed, the improvements and additions made to them, and the endowments granted by kings and others. Kings built *dāgābas*, *thūpagharas* or houses for *thūpas*, *uposatha*-houses, refectories and other buildings, and endowed many of them with lands, tanks, and other revenues. Of the more important examples, the Riṭigala *vihāra* was built by Lajaka Tissa, the Kurundavasoka *vihāra* by Khallāṭanāga, the Abhayagiri *vihāra* by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya, the Dakkhiṇa *vihāra* by a minister of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the Ridī *vihāra* (Rajataleṇa) by Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi, and the Jetavanārāma by Mahāsena. Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa built the Silāchetiya and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga the Ambatthala Mahāthūpa (mahasäya). Gajabāhu made the Abhayagiri *dāgāba* larger than the Ruvanväli Saya, and Kaniṭṭha Tissa built the Ratanapāsāda, the *uposatha*-house of the Abhayagiri *vihāra*.

A *vihāra* at this time consisted of a *dāgāba*, a Bo-tree, an *uposatha*-house and cells or huts in which the *bhikshus* lived. The *Mahāvaṁsa* has a few references to images of bronze and stone, but the image house had not yet become such a feature of a *vihāra* as it is to-day. The larger *vihāras* like the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagiri and Jetavanārāma had refectories and many other buildings. These covered a wide area and accommodated a very large number of *bhikshus*. The grounds of the Mahāvihāra, for instance, extended from the boundary of the Thūpārāma to that of the Dakkhiṇa *vihāra* in the south.

The only king who worked against Buddhism during this period was Choranāga who destroyed eighteen *vihāras* which had not supported him when he was a rebel. In other ways too all did not go well with Buddhism. Reference has already been made to the famine that followed the rebellion of Brahmin Tissa; when the Mahāvihāra was abandoned, many *bhikshus* left for India, while those who remained died or suffered great hardships. The *bhikshus* then feared that parts of their scriptures might be lost. The Pāli canon at this time was handed down orally, its different sections being memorized by different *bhikshus* who recited them and taught them in pupillary succession. For instance the Dīghabhāṇakas knew the *Dīgha Nikāya* and the Majjhimabhāṇakas the *Majjhima Nikāya*. The *bhikshus*, therefore, made sure that every part should be known by more than one person. After the famine was over, those who remained in Ceylon

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checked their versions with those of the *bhikshus* who had returned from India.[1]

The danger to which the Pāli canon became exposed had two important results. After the famine the *bhikshus* of the Theravāda sect who hitherto emphasized the *Vinaya* more than the *Dhamma* began to lay greater stress on the learning of the texts (*pariyatti*) than on living a good life (*paṭipatti*). In a controversy on this subject the Dhammakathikas who attached greater importance to the learning of the texts are said to have won the day against the Pamsukūlikas who placed greater emphasis on a life of discipline.[2]

The second consequence was that the *bhikshus* put into writing the Pāli canon and the commentaries, though not immediately despite what the Pāli chronicles say. This event is recorded both in the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* in two verses which are identical. 'The text of the *Tipiṭaka* and the *Aṭṭhakathā* thereon did most wise *bhikshus* hand down in former times orally, but since they saw the decay of people they came together and in order that the doctrine might endure they wrote it down in books.'

As Geiger suggests, these have the stamp of traditional couplets,[3] and in both chronicles they appear to be an interpolation inserted in the section dealing with the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya.

The *Nikāya Saṅgraha*[4] states that when Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya was in hiding five hundred *arahants* assembled at Aluleṇa (modern Aluvihāra) in the district of Mātalē under the patronage of a chief, and recited and reduced to writing the *Tipiṭaka* which had been handed down from Upāli to Chūlābhaya, Tissa, Chūladeva and Siva.[5] But these last three Elders, as Adikaram has shown, lived about the time of Bhātikābhaya (22 B. C.-A.D. 7).[6] Therefore the *Tipiṭaka* could not have been put into writing at the time when Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was in hiding in Malaya (103-89 B.C.). Besides, Adikaram has shown that the Theras up to the time of Bhātikābhaya are referred to in the commentaries while those who lived later are hardly mentioned. It seems safe, therefore, to conclude that the commentaries could not have been put into writing before the first century A.D.

The commentaries themselves do not indicate where they were written down. According to the *Samantapāsādikā*, Chūlābhaya was a teacher of the *Vinaya* at the Mahāvihāra. It is most likely that they were transcribed in that monastery, where they were found in later times. Adikaram has assumed,[7] however, that the *Tipiṭaka* was put into writing in the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya though not the commentaries. If

[1] Adikaram, *EHB.* pp. 73, 77
[2] Ibid. p. 78
[3] *Dīpavaṁsa and Mahāvaṁsa* Eng. trans., p. 16; *MV.* pp. xxxiii, 100-1
[4] The *Nikāya Saṅgraha* was written by the Thera Devarakkhita Jayabāhu (Dharmakīrti II) in the reign of Vīrabāhu II (1391-1397). It gives a summary of the history of Theravāda Buddhism in India and Ceylon up to the fifteenth year of Bhuvanaikabāhu V (1372-1405).
[5] *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, p. 10
[6] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 87
[7] Ibid. p. 79

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such an event took place, it is strange that there is no indication in the commentaries that this happened.

The changes in the Sinhalese script, however, do not coincide in time with the writing down of the commentaries. This is not surprising, for these changes are not a natural evolution from the early Brāhmī script of Ceylon but follow deviations that took place in Āndhradeśa at about this time. The probable explanation is that these more developed forms of the script, along with the practice of commencing an inscription with the auspicious word *siddham* as in Āndhradeśa, were introduced by the *bhikshus* who went to South India and lived there during the famine that followed the rebellion of Brahmin Tissa.[1]

Buddhism also suffered from schisms during this period. Up to the time of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi there was only one Buddhist sect in Ceylon—the Theravāda, and during his reign the first schism in the Ceylon *saṅgha* took place. Vaṭṭagāmaṇi while in exile in Malaya was assisted by the Thera Kupikkala Mahātissa. In recognition of his services he allotted to his *vihāra* certain lands, recording the grant on a *ketaka* leaf. Later when he built the Abhayagiri *vihāra* he presented it to the same Thera. According to the *Nikāya Saṅgraha* the *bhikshus* of the Mahāvihāra expelled him from the Saṅgha for breaking the rule which prohibited *bhikshus* from frequenting the homes of lay folk. Mahadäliyā Tissa (Bahalamassu Tissa), his pupil, tried to prevent this expulsion, and for his obstruction he too was expelled. Thereupon Mahadäliyā Tissa followed by a large number of *bhikshus* went to the Abhayagiri *vihāra* and there constituted themselves into a separate group refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Mahāvihāra.

This story which is similar to the account given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* is the version of the *bhikshus* of the Mahāvihāra. The *Uttara-vihāra Aṭṭhakathā*, which probably gave the Abhayagiri *vihāra* version, is not extant. In any case the *Mahāvaṁsa* story appears to be a simplification of a complex situation; for this split in the *saṅgha* led to far-reaching consequences.

Like all schismatics who are prone to view new doctrines with favour, Mahadäliyā Tissa shortly afterwards accepted the teaching of some followers of the Dhammaruchi Āchāriya of the Vajjiputtaka sect who had come from India and assumed that title, thus bringing into existence the Dhammaruchi Sect in Ceylon.

It is not clear in what respects this new sect differed from the Theravādins. The only evidence available is that in the reign of Bhātikābhaya there was a dispute between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri *vihāra* over a *vinaya* rule. It was finally settled by the king's minister, the Brahmin Dīghakārāyana.[2]

In the meantime the Mahāvihāra continued to grow in importance, and in the same reign Thera Godha of the Mahāvihāra whom the king

[1] *UCR.* VII p. 294

[2] Adikaram, *EHB.* p. 88

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held in high esteem heard in appeal a case of theft first tried at the Chetiyapabbata *vihāra* at Mihintalē.[1]

The Saṅgha had no organization to control its entire body. The community of *bhikshus* in each *vihāra* or in each area managed its own affairs. Being an educated body they had a democratic form of government. They decided their affairs in a general assembly, punished offenders and expelled those who committed serious crimes. If they failed to settle a dispute they appealed to the king, who either dealt with it in person or appointed one of his ministers to inquire into it. The appeal from the decision of the Chetiyapabbata *vihāra* was probably of this nature and did not imply that the Mahāvihāra had any control over the Chetiyapabbata *vihāra*; for a dispute over the *uposatha*-house at Thūpārāma was settled by Kaṇirajānu Tissa. It shows, however, that at this time the Mahāvihāra was beginning to be accepted as the chief *vihāra* of the Theravāda sect.

The disputes between the Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri *vihāra* once more became acute in the reign of Vohārika Tissa. According to the Theravāda tradition embodied in the *Nikāya Saṅgraha* (p. 12) the *bhikshus* of the Dhammaruchi sect at the Abhayagiri *vihāra* accepted the Vaitulya Piṭaka and proclaimed it as the true doctrine, but the *bhikshus* of the Theravāda sect rejected its teaching. Vohārika Tissa thereupon got his minister Kapila to inquire into this dispute, and on his decision suppressed the new doctrine. The *Dīpavaṁsa* calls this new doctrine Vitaṇḍavāda, and according to the commentaries the Vitaṇḍavādins accepted the main canonical texts but differed only in their interpretation.

In spite of this action of Vohārika Tissa, according to the *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, in the fifth year of Goṭhābhaya, the *bhikshus* of the Dhammaruchi sect once more proclaimed the Vaitulyavāda. The king then summoned the *bhikshus* of the five great *vihāras*, doubtless those of the Mahāvihāra persuasion, and finding on their advice that the Vaitulyāvada was not the true teaching of the Buddha, purified the Saṅgha by banishing from the island sixty of the *bhikshus* of the Abhayagiri *vihāra*.

The situation, however, changed with the accession of Mahāsena, and the conflict came to a head. Mahāsena, when a boy, came under the influence of a Vaitulyaka called Saṅghamitta and accepted his teaching. When he became king, he was still under the influence of this *bhikshu* and worked against the Theravādins. According to an inscription, which is unfortunately mutilated, he appears to have rebuked the *bhikshus* of the five great *vihāras* and ordered them to study the Vaitulyavāda.[2] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* the point at issue were the rules of the Vinaya. According to the *Dīpavaṁsa* the Vaitulyakas held that the computation of the twenty years required for the *upasaṁpadā* ordination from the date of conception was not allowable and that the

[1] Ibid. p. 86

[2] *EZ.* IV p. 229. The script of this inscription shows the influence of the forms of writing found in inscriptions at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, in Āndhradeśa. (pl. opp. p. 237).

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practice of using ivory fans was allowable.[1] Mahāsena took the view that the Vaitulyakas were in the right and punished the *bhikshus* of the Mahāvihāra for not observing these rules.[2]

Even though Mahāsena withdrew this decree, he did not give up his opposition to the Mahāvihāra altogether. He built for the Thera Kohon Tissa of the Dakkhiṇa *vihāra* the Jetavanārāma in the Nandana-vana park within the precincts of the Mahāvihāra, and asked the *bhikshus* of the Mahāvihāra to do away with their boundary. But rather than do this, they abandoned the Mahāvihāra for the second time and did not return for nine months.

In the meantime the Thera Kohon Tissa was charged with a serious offence. The king's minister who inquired into the matter ordered him to be excommunicated from the *saṅgha*. But the Jetavanārāma, the *dāgāba* of which was now the largest in Anurādhapura, was not abandoned. When the Dhammaruchi sect in the Abhayagiri *vihāra* adopted the Vaitulyavāda in the reign of Goṭhābhaya, a Thera, Ussiliyā Tissa by name, refused to join them and departed with his followers to the Dakkhiṇa *vihāra*. There they came to be called the Sāgalikas because they followed a teacher named Sāgala. These now occupied the Jetavanārāma though Kohon Tissa was excommunicated. Thus the Jetavanārāma came to be associated with the third most important Buddhist sect of ancient Ceylon.

For want of evidence it is not possible to estimate the effect of these controversies on the people. It is likely that in the main they were confined to the *bhikshus*. As stated already, Buddhism in Ceylon at this time was essentially a monastic religion. It had no organization which comprehended the laity. In fact the *saṅgha* itself, though it had an organization, could not enforce discipline on any of its members who refused to follow its rules. In such cases it had to appeal to the king or the district ruler. Thus it was in no position to direct the lives of the people except in an indirect way; and it is not likely that the laity would have taken much interest in these internal quarrels.

It is not improbable, however, that, though the points of dispute arose on matters of discipline, these sects differed in other ways too. It is true that in fundamentals they differed very little and practically all followed in the main the first four *nikāyas*. But in matters of interpretation they held different views, and one sect developed the ideas of the Pāli canon to such an extent as to replace the ideal of the attainment of the state of an *arahat* with that of the attainment of Buddhahood. This sect, called the Mahāyānists, and in Ceylon Vaitulyakas, further developed a cult of *bodhisattvas*, emphasised the *bhakti mārga* or the way of devotion, and evolved much further the simple ritual and ceremonies of the Theravāda sect. These ideas and practices were soon to influence not only the laity but a large section of the *bhikshus* of the Theravāda sect itself.[3]

[1] *Dīpavaṁsa* XX 67
[2] *Nikāya Saṅgraha*, p. 12
[3] S. Paranavitana, 'Mahayanism in Ceylon', *CJS.* II p. 35

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Buddhism was also mainly responsible for the cultural development that occurred during this period. Reference has already been made to the writing down of the Pāli canon and the Sinhalese Aṭṭhakathā in the first century A.D. This act preserved for future generations not only the Theravāda canon but also the Pāli language which was to be the vehicle of much literature in Ceylon, Burma and other countries.

The writing down of the commentaries on the Pāli texts was the beginning of Sinhalese literature. These commentaries probably formed the Mahāṭṭhakathā or the Mūlaṭṭhakathā of the Mahāvihāra which gave expositions of the entire Pāli Canon. They elucidated difficult words and abstruse points of doctrine, and preserved amplifications of, and additions to, the texts, besides numerous anecdotes and stories dealing with Ceylon.

In course of time other commentaries came to be written. Separate commentaries were made on each of the texts, such as *Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*. Another compilation was the *Porāṇaṭṭhakathā* which included an account of the historical tradition of Ceylon on which the *Mahāvaṁsa* was based.

The writing of commentaries was not confined to the Mahāvihāra. The *Kurundi Aṭṭhakathā*, which belongs to this period, was compiled probably at the Kurundavasoka *vihāra*. The Abhayagiri *vihāra* probably preserved the canons of one or more of the other sects and its own commentaries. The *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* refers to an Uttaravihāra (Abhayagiri) Aṭṭhakathā which contained legends of early Ceylon.[1]

The Thūpārāma probably had its own traditions. The Sinhalese commentaries often quoted Pāli verses, and it is likely that verse composition in Pāli began to be practised even before the Sinhalese commentaries were written down. The Pāli verses strung together in the early part of the *Dīpavaṁsa*, which seem to be earlier than the Sinhalese *Vinaya Aṭṭhakathā*, were probably composed at the Thūpārāma, as this work places its emphasis on this *vihāra*.

Verses were also composed in Sinhalese. A few of them, in *yāgi*, *udgīti* and *upagīti* metres as well as in the variety of *āryā* metre called *pathyā*, have been found in inscriptions.[2]

The *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* also show that Buddhist *bhikshus*, probably about the first century A.D. or a little earlier, attempted to construct a chronology for the history of Ceylon from the year of the *Parinibbāṇa* up to their time. They appear to have begun by fixing the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon after the eighteenth or the nineteenth year of Aśoka's consecration, and then the accession of Devānaṁpiya Tissa a year earlier and Vijaya's arrival on the day of the Parinibbāṇa. Reckoning by a list of the regnal years of the Magadha kings they allotted two hundred and thirty-six years for the interval from Vijaya to Muṭasiva. Actually this period was too long, for it included the Susunāga kings who preceded Biṁbisāra, the contemporary of the Buddha. For the period from Devānaṁpiya Tissa to Saddhā Tissa they had no such list to go upon, and

[1] Adikaram, *EHB.* pp. 1-23

[2] *JRASCB.*, XXXVI p. 58

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their dates for these kings have, it seems, been fixed arbitrarily. The result was that in later times when the reigns of the kings were totalled, the reigns of Aśoka and Devānaṁpiya Tissa were placed sixty years too early. Hence in order to correct the chronology of the *Mahāvaṁsa* sixty years have to be deducted from the span assigned to these kings to make it correspond with the accepted Indian chronology of today.[1]

Developments in art and architecture also took place during this period. Though Buddhist *bhikshus* contributed little in these spheres, the inspiration for these arts was mainly derived from Buddhism. It has been noted already that *bhikshus* at first lived mainly in rock-caves and leaf-huts. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, kings and chiefs are said to have begun constructing *pariveṇas* (cells) for the *bhikshus* very early. These were probably built of brick since some of them seem to have continued for centuries. The other buildings such as *uposatha*-houses and refectories probably had foundations of stone, the rest being of wood. The chief structures of this period which required skill and a knowledge of architecture were the *dāgābas*.[2] According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* the earliest *dāgāba* was built in Nandanavana, called later the Thūpārāma *chetiya*. This was built of dried mud from the Abhayavāva. Its shape was then like a heap of paddy and its construction could not have been difficult. There is no evidence to indicate its original size, and even to-day its diameter is only fifty-nine feet.

The next important *dāgāba* to be built was perhaps the Kaṇṭaka *chetiya* which occupies the summit of one of the chief spurs of the main hill at Mihintalē. It is earlier than the time of Lañja Tissa, for according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* he enveloped it in stone. The Kaṇṭaka *chetiya* as it is to-day has three terraces stone-faced at the base, and the stone-facing continues for two feet up the hemispherical dome. The *vāhalkaḍas* or the four sides resembling the *āyakas* or platforms at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were probably added in the second century as in the case of the Abhayagiri *dāgāba*. This *thūpa* is four hundred and twenty-five feet in circumference at the base and could not have been less than one hundred feet in height.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* refers to the Kälaṇiya *chetiya* but gives no details about its founder or its size. Therefore it is not possible to state whether it was originally a large *dāgāba* as it is today. The Mahānāga *dāgāba* attributed to Uparāja Mahānāga is said to have been enlarged by Iḷanāga, and therefore it too is not likely to have been very large when originally constructed.

The Mahāthūpa was probably the first really gigantic *chetiya* to be built in Ceylon. Its diameter at the base is two hundred and ninety-eight feet, and it had a dome three hundred feet in height. The relic chamber stood on a level with the uppermost of the three terraces on which the dome

[1] *UCR.* v p. 39

[2] S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1947. This section is mainly based on the contents of this work.

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rose. These terraces at first were of brick but they were stone-faced by Lañja Tissa. Bhātikābhaya built a railing round the uppermost terrace and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga paved the floor round the lowest terrace. On the top of the dome was a cubical structure (*chaturassa*), and it was surrounded in later times by a railing, probably of wood. Through the centre of this cubical structure a pillar rose from the dome and upon it rested a stone umbrella (*chhatra*). The *vāhalkaḍas* were probably added in the second century A.D. Once the *dāgāba* was built it was covered with lime plaster. It was next adorned with flags and garlands and the latter no doubt gave it the names of Hemamāli, Soṇṇamāli, and Ruvanmāli.

The Mahāthūpa as it stood originally was similar to the *thūpas* at Sāñchī near Vidiśā from where Mahinda is said to have come and to which region the early Sinhalese script too has to be traced.

The Abhayagiri *dāgāba* built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya and enlarged by Gajabāhu, though similar in structure, is larger in size. Its base has a diameter of three hundred and fifty-five feet and it rises to a height of three hundred and fifty feet. Its foundation of stepped brick-work starts from a depth of twenty-six feet with a concrete layer below it. The bricks in the upper parts are laid end to end but each course runs transversely to that immediately above or below. In the Mahāthūpa this precaution had not been taken with the result that several vertical joints are continuous. According to an inscription its *vāhalkaḍas* were built in the reign of Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa (167-186).

The Jetavanārāma *dāgāba* built by Mahāsena was the largest of this period. Its diameter at the base is three hundred and seventy feet and its height was four hundred feet. Its construction marks a further development in the art of building for it presents the earliest indisputable instance of the use of lime mortar for binding bricks together in the main body of a *dāgāba*.

Another type of building constructed during this period was the *thūpaghara*. These were erected over the smaller *thūpas*, probably a steep roof resting on pillars, similar to the steep towers in the early Kandyan *vihāras*.

Of the secular buildings there are few traces. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* new palaces were built by Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa, Vasabha and Goṭhābhaya. No remains of these have yet been discovered. Like the larger religious buildings, they probably had foundations of stone and a superstructure of wood. Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa is said to have laid out a park called Padumassaravanuyyāṇa to adorn the city, around which he built a wall seven cubits (seventeen and a half feet) high and surrounded it with a moat. Vasabha who forcibly seized the throne raised this wall to about twenty-five feet, constructing towers at the city-gates.

We have already noted that many of the buildings in the early centuries had foundations of stone. By the first century A.D. stone pillars with a smooth surface also came into use. The terraces of the Mahāthūpa which were stone-faced had moulded cornices as well as bases while the base mouldings of stone of the Abhayagiri *dāgāba* were ornamented with a design of lotus petals.

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The earliest examples of sculpture discovered in Ceylon are probably not earlier than the second century A.D. So far no examples of the types found at Bhārhut and Sāñchī have been discovered unless the pillars with figures of animals resting on top are imitations of Aśoka pillars. What has been found is of the style of Amarāvatī. Two of these carved on the limestone peculiar to Āndhradeśa are representations of the Annunciation of the Buddha and probably of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī. Sculptures of a similar style have been found also on the *vāhalkaḍas* of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana *dāgābas*. Those at the Jetavana represent in low relief the figures of a *bodhisattva* in the posture of preaching, a cobra-king and a seven-hooded cobra.

Thus Buddhism played an important part in the history of Ceylon during this period. It quickly spread into all the inhabited parts of the island and became the chief religion of Ceylon before the end of the second century B.C. It provided religious doctrines and practices well suited to an agricultural people and at the same time civilized and humanized them. It was the chief source of inspiration for the development of literature, architecture, and sculpture. It kept Ceylon in touch with important parts of India from which new developments in Buddhism were introduced into this land and led to the rise of new sects and an expansion of the Buddhist way of life.

The most useful, if not the most important, constructions of this period were the tanks and canals which a modern writer has called the pulsing hearts and the arteries which carried life and nourishment to the wide cultivated fields extending over the Dry Zone. It is likely that the early Aryan immigrants settled along the large rivers and by ponds and streams, using their water to grow their vegetables and dry grain, but depending mainly on rain for the cultivation of rice. Before long, as the inscriptions show, they found other methods to obtain water for the production of rice in the villages. They built low artificial embankments across the valleys down which flowed seasonal streams, and doled out the water thus stored through sluices made of stone or brick into channels leading to the fields below. Later they built longer and higher bunds across larger streams and the tributaries of rivers to increase the water supply. Of such a type were the tanks built in Anurādhapura. The Abhayavāva, called Basavakkulam to-day, according to Parker, has a dam twenty-eight feet in height and covers two hundred and fifty-five acres. The Tisāväva has a dam twenty-eight feet in height and covers three hundred and ninety-six acres. The Nuvaravāva is a much larger structure covering between 2160 and 3180 acres. In Māgama the Tissa Tank built by Iḷanāga has a dam eighteen and a half feet high and extends over six hundred and fifty-two acres. The largest of the tanks built during this period was the Minnēriya. Its dam was 6,200 feet long and 40 to 50 feet high. Its area is 4,560 acres at full sluice level, and its capacity 70,730 acre feet, an acre foot being equal to 272,140 gallons.[1]

[1] *CJS.* I p. 158

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When the larger tanks were under construction steps were taken also to dam the rivers with massive causeways and to turn the water into excavated channels which brought it into the larger tanks or to the fields direct. It is still not possible to identify most of the canals built during this period. The Älahära, as it is to-day, is about twenty-five miles in length, and it carried the waters of the Amban Gaṅga which came from the Mātalē hills.

The construction of buildings and tanks on this scale testifies to the existence of master-craftsmen who possessed considerable skill, knowledge of architecture, a sense of topography with the capacity both to construct embankments strong enough to retain the water, and to site them correctly so as to store the largest possible quantity of water. All these works no doubt were carefully designed; references exist to plans drawn on cloth with red arsenic, and to measurements carefully taken for the construction of a *dāgäba*; next the articles needed for the constructions were collected, and finally labour was organized and the progress of the work checked. The Buddhist *saṅgha*, however learned, did not as a rule indulge in such work, and there must have existed a professional class who made it their business.

Another class of people, *nakatikas* or astrologers, seem to have kept chronological records. The reckoning was based mainly on the movements of the moon. The year was divided into twelve months many of which were named from those stars (*nakshatra*) which are in conjunction with the moon on the full-moon day of the month. Probably a month was intercalated as it was the practice later, to bring the calculations into line with the solar reckoning. Months were further divided into two parts, the dark fortnight and the bright fortnight, representing the waxing and the waning moon, and these into two weeks of seven days each.

The early inscriptions, however, do not show that any era was used during this period. All that was attempted at first was to place an event in the reign of a king or prince. From the second century A.D., however, dates are given more precisely by stating in which regnal year of the king an event took place. If the *Mahāvaṁsa* is any indication, a record of the dates of the reigns of kings seems to have been kept from about the time of Thūlathana, the first king whose reign is given in months and days.

All this tends to show that there existed throughout a secular civilized life independent of Buddhism, and this life was to reach its highest manifestation in the fifth century at Sīgiriya. The *Mahāvaṁsa* and the inscriptions give sufficient evidence in proof of this. There we find references to amusements in the royal palace, to musicians, musical instruments, dancers, and dancing-girls and dramatic shows, all of which fell outside the purview of the *bhikshus*.

Considerable progress had thus been made in many directions by the end of the third century A.D. A good portion of the forest in the Dry Zone was cleared and the land adapted to cultivation and habitation. The irrigation works enabled the people to produce food not only for their own subsistence but for the maintenance of innumerable other persons

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who could devote themselves to other duties. The king assisted by officials of various grades was able to maintain the peace and order indispensable for an agrarian people, and fostered the development of irrigation and the spread of Buddhism. Thousands of craftsmen were enabled to produce weapons of war, agricultural implements and domestic utensils and to construct tanks, canals and religious buildings. Innumerable *bhikshus* by precept and example brought a civilized and cultural life within the reach of the people.

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CHAPTER XX

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

(*A*) *LANGUAGES OF INDIA* (300 B.C.-A.D. 300)

EVEN before the advent of the Mauryas the linguistic tableau of India had assumed an extremely varied aspect. With the aryanisation of the whole of Northern India and the Deccan plateau, the Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic) had undergone great changes in contact with the native languages of the Austro-Asiatic (Muṇḍā) and Dravidian families. The aryanisation was only superficial; the native language groups still formed islands within the conquered territory and were bound to react on the language of the conquering class. The effect of this reaction cannot yet be exactly measured but there is no doubt that it led to the loss of certain Old Indo-Iranian sounds (z, *ž*) and the creation of the cerebrals. With the gradual adoption of the Aryan tongue by sections of the conquered people, the spoken language became different from the literary language and under its impact, the Old Indo-Aryan imbibed new phonetic tendencies, adopted new words and modified its grammar. It was at this stage that the language of the cultured classes (*dīkshitā*) stood aloof from the language of the common people. A statement in the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (xvii, 4) clearly brings out this difference between the two: *a-durukta-vākyaṁ duruktam āhuḥ a-dīkshitā dīkshita-vācham vadanti*—'the Vrātyas (the uninitiated) call a sentence difficult to utter when a sentence is not difficult to utter, the uninitiated speak the language of the initiated.' Eastern India was inhabited by a very large number of the 'uninitiated' and it was there that the spoken language became markedly different from the literary form of the Old Indo-Aryan.

There were at the first stage at least three dialects-Northern or North-Western (Udīchya) which still retained many of the archaisms of the Vedic as it was spoken in the land of the Vedic culture; Mid-Indian which was the language of the Madhyadeśa; and the Eastern which was the language of the Prāchya countries. The language of the Vedic poetry (Chhāndasa) had grown obsolete and was cultivated only by the priests. A new form of it, however, had come into existence, by way of compromise, by the incorporation of dialectal elements which had already crept into the language. This is *Saṁskṛita*, described by Pāṇini as *bhāshā* which, though an artificial vehicle of expression, became the polished language of intercourse and instruction in the Brahmanical schools. It was certainly not the spoken language of the Udīchya country where Pāṇini was born. The spoken language had already started on an independent course. The language thus regularised by Pāṇini was gradually accepted by the whole

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Brahmanical world as the language of culture and became a powerful instrument of expression. Thus a language already obsolete in form became a living language for all time among the *élite*.

This did not interfere with the progressive evolution of the dialects which are grouped under the name Middle Indo-Aryan. The Middle Indo-Aryan had different stages of evolution. The first stage, which may be called Old Middle-Indo-Aryan, had commenced before the advent of the Mauryas and continued up to about A.D. 200. It is represented mainly in the inscriptions of the Maurya and Kushāṇa periods, in the language of the early Buddhist and Jaina canonical works, and in the dialects used in such old dramas as the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa* of Aśvaghosha and those of Bhāsa. It should, however, be noted that although different dialects are found in these plays, they were not exactly the spoken languages of the time, but already normalised forms suitable for literary purposes. The second stage must have commenced towards the end of the period under consideration, that is about the third century. It is represented by the literary Prākṛits used in the dramas and described by the grammarians of later times. These Prākṛits were the following: Māgadhī, Śaurasenī, Mahārāshṭrī, Āvantī, Paiśāchī and some others, the first three being the most important. It is now admitted that these literary Prākṛits do not all represent regional languages but are 'imitation dialects' meant for the stage.

The general characteristics of the Old Middle-Indo-Aryan were in phonology: the assimilation of consonants due to the loss of root-sense, the tendency to pronounce open syllables, loss of some of the old sounds (ṛ, ai, au....) and loss of the final consonants. There was also a development of spirant pronunciation at a stage when the stops had become voiced but had not yet disappeared (śoka>soγa>soa, nadī>naδi>naī). These spirants must have been in force between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200. So far as the morphology of the Old Middle-Indo-Aryan is concerned the dual had disappeared in declension and the number of cases had been reduced. The dative was merged in the genitive. The elaborate moods and tenses of the Old Indo-Aryan were gradually lost—thus the dual, the *ātmanepada*, perfect, imperfect, and aorist were all lost. The past tense was expressed by a participle with or without an auxiliary verb. The present indicative, imperative, optative, the future both active and passive, the participles, infinitive and gerund alone survived.

The inscriptions of Aśoka for the first time present a varied picture of the dialects. It is almost certain that his edicts were written in the official language of the empire which was the dialect of Magadha. However, in the more remote provinces in the north-west, west and the south, the edicts were either translated into the local dialects or modified under the local influences. Linguistically the edicts are divided into four classes: (i) the inscriptions which are found in the Ganges-Jumna basin and in Orissa. Their language is the Eastern dialect (Māgadhī)—the language of the Magadhan court and understood in a very large part of the empire. In

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this dialect we have *l* for *r* (lāja, pulisa..), *-e* instead of a final *-o* (piye, dāne, soche..) and locative singular in *-as* (*s*)*i*. But we have dental *s* instead of the palatal *ś* found in the Māgadhī of later times. (ii) The Rock Edicts of Girnār in the west represent a dialect which may be called Western. It retains *r*, has *s* and the final *-o*. The locative of nouns is in *-e* and *-amhi*. The influence of the Eastern dialect is found in certain cases - e.g. *priye*, *jane*, *mule*. (iii) A North-Western variety is found in the edicts of Mānsehrā and Shāhbāzgaṛhī. The language of these edicts is certainly more archaic than the other dialects. It retains *r*, *s*, and *ś* and also some conjunct consonants. The locative is in *-e* and *-aspi*. Some traces exist of the influence of the Eastern dialect on the language of the Mānsehrā edict. Thus it has *-e* in the nominative singular whereas the Shāhbāzgaṛhī has *-o*. (iv) A fourth variety is found in the inscriptions of Rūpnāth, Sāñchī, Bhābrā and further south in the Deccan at Māski, Śiddāpura and Yeṛṛaguḍi. The language of these inscriptions is almost the same as that of the Eastern dialect except that it retains both *r* and *l* (usually *l* between vowels and *r* in conjuncts).

Thus the dominant language of Maurya times was the Eastern dialect, the Māgadhī, which, however, deviates from the later Māgadhī in the use of the dental *s* instead of the palatal. This characteristic (palatal instead of dental *s*) is found in some of the inscriptions of the east which are almost contemporaneous with Aśoka (the Ramgarh inscription has *śutanuka*....). This important deviation in the dialect of Aśoka's eastern inscriptions is best explained as an archaism. The language of the court was already removed from the spoken language. Lüders, however, would explain it as the characteristic of Ardha-Māgadhī and take the Eastern dialect not as Māgadhī proper but as Ardha-Māgadhī, the dialect spoken in the region between Magadha and Mathurā. In fact Ardha-Māgadhī agrees with Māgadhī except in its retention of *r* and *s*. It should not, however, be forgotten that the Eastern dialect of Aśoka has *l* instead of *r*.

The inscriptions of post-Aśokan times in Middle Indo-Aryan are numerous, but usually they are too fragmentary to give a clear picture of the dialects in which they are written. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela which is found in Orissa and is placed in the second century B.C. is markedly similar to the Western dialect of the Aśokan edicts. The language of the inscriptions of the Sāñchī and Bhārhut *stūpas* also has the same western character (final *-o* instead of *-e*). The Kharoshṭhī inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period, mostly found in the North-West, present not a unified language but a variety of tendencies. They preserve all the three sibilants of Sanskrit (*s*, *ś*, *sh*) and retain the *r*. For the nominative singular of words we have both *-o* (*ārāmo*, *patiko*, *putro*) and *-e* (*kue*, *deya- dharme*). It has been pointed out that forms in *-e* are mostly found in the inscriptions to the west of the Indus, while those in *o* occur to the north and the south of the Indus. The inscriptions of the Deccan (those of the Śātavāhanas and Ikshvākus) are also written in a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect of the Western variety, retaining *r*, and using

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s throughout, while the *-a* bases have *-o* (Nāsik-*raño*, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa-*raṁño*). They contain other characteristics also which might be owing to the influence of the cultural traditions of the donors cf. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa - g>*k* (*koṭhākārika*, *pūkīya* also *pugiya*), *gh*>*kh* (*sukhāya*) and *s*>*h* (*haṁghāna*).

Two literary dialects came into existence in this period and were used by the Buddhists and the Jainas as the vehicles of their canonical literature. One is the Māgadhī of the Buddhist texts and the other the Ardha-Māgadhī of the Jaina texts. So far as this Māgadhī of the earliest Buddhist canon is concerned there is no doubt that it was similar to the Eastern dialect used in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In the Bhābrā edict some of the texts belonging to this canon are named in their original forms as: Vinayasamukase, Aliyavasāni, Anāgatabhayāni, Munigāthā, Moneyasūte, Upatisapasine and Lāghulovāde. The relics of this canon and its language are found as survivals in later Buddhist literature.

In the post-Aśokan period Pāli came to be used as an important literary language among the Buddhists. Although the Ceylonese tradition would identify it with Māgadhī, it is clear that it cannot be Māgadhī. The main characteristics of Māgadhī, as we have seen, are: mutation of every *r* into *l* and every *s* into *ś*, the ending *-e* in the nominative singular masculine and neuter of *-a* stems and the consonantal stems inflected like them. Pāli, however, retains the *r* as a general rule, possesses only *s*, and ends the nominal forms mentioned above with *-o* and *-am*. These are features of the Western Prākṛit as found to some extent in the Girnār version of Aśokan edicts. Pāli, however, represents a somewhat later stage. There are also traces of other dialects, especially of Māgadhī and Ardha-Māgadhī in Pāli.

The Jainas make use of the Ardha-Māgadhī in their oldest canonical texts. This dialect retains *r* and *s*, and ends the nominative singular of masculine nouns in *-e*, like Māgadhī. The Jaina Ardha-Māgadhī, however, is younger than the Māgadhī of the oldest Buddhist texts. Later on, when the centre of Jainism was shifted to the west, it came under the influence of Western dialects and the language, now much altered, came to be regarded as a form of Mahārāshṭrī.

In the Buddhist texts we find the trace of another Middle Indo-Aryan dialect. It is found in the fragments of *Dhammapada* which were discovered in Khotan. It is written in a Kharoshṭhī script of about the second century A.D. In this language a surd following a nasal changes into a sonant (*alagido*, *paga*, *saga'i*), a sonant following a nasal loses its articulation (*paga*, *athagi'o*, *saga*) and a nasal group with sonant cerebral is reduced to a nasal (*kuṇala*, *dana*). The final vowels *-e* and *-o* are often reduced to *-i* and *-u*. These characteristics connect it with the dialect spoken in the north-western frontier provinces in that period.

In the Buddhist literature we find still another language which is usually called Mixed Sanskrit. It is found in such texts as the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*. It is also found in some inscriptions of Mathurā of about

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the beginning of the Christian era. We find in it side by side dialectical and Sanskrit forms of the same word and also dialectical and Sanskrit inflections. The language is not, as is usually supposed, a corrupt Sanskrit. It represents an ill-regulated attempt to give literary form to a Middle Indo-Aryan dialect.

A trace of the Old Middle-Indo-Aryan is also found in some of the dramas of Aśvaghosha and Bhāsa. The fragment of a drama of Aśvaghosha entitled *Sāriputraprakaraṇa* was discovered from Central Asia. There are traces in it of three old dialects: Māgadhī, in which *s* and *r* are replaced by *ś* and *l*; Old Śaurasenī, in which intervocalic consonants are retained, *n* is not cerebralised and *y* is not replaced by *j*; some traces of the Ardha-Māgadhī. These dialects are more archaic than the literary Prākṛits of later times. The dialects used in the dramas of Bhāsa represent a stage later than the Prākṛit of Aśvaghosha but earlier than the literary Prākṛits. They may belong to the third century. Three different dialects,—Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Ardha-Māgadhī, are used in these dramas. Some of the peculiarities of the Śaurasenī of these dramas are: *l*>*ḷ*, *jñ*>*ñ̃ñ̃* (*ṇṇ*), *ny*>*ṇṇ*, *udy*>*uyy*, *ry*>*yy*. In some cases they show agreement with Pāli rather than with the later literary Prākṛits.

Tradition would place the composition at this time of an epic, the *Bṛihatkathā* in a dialect called Paiśāchī. The author Guṇāḍhya was a contemporary of King Śātavāhana and lived in the South. He chose to write in the dialect spoken by the Piśāchas (Paiśāchī). As the original work has not come down to us we do not know what this language was like. But there is no doubt that the work did exist, for its Sanskrit adaptations, the *Bṛihatkathāślokasaṁgraha*, *Bṛihatkathā-mañjarī* etc., have been preserved. The name of the author also has been recorded by many writers. Paiśāchī as described by the grammarians of later times (*g*>*k*, *gh*>*kh*, *j*>*c*, *d*>*t*, *dh*>*th*, *v*>*b*, *p*) agrees to some extent with the dialects of the North-West and hence Grierson located it in that region. This location, however, is not beyond doubt and conflicts with a number of traditions—some of the grammarians placing this dialect in the South. The language of the inscriptions of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa also presents some similar characteristics. We are in no position, in fact, to make a precise geographical location.

The domain of the Middle Indo-Aryan extended very far in this period. It is found in a large number of documents of Chinese Turkestan. These documents, written in the Kharoshṭhī script of about the third century A.D., were discovered at Niya and Endere near Khotan and at Lou-lan (Kroraina) near Lob-nor. It had spread therefore along the southern kingdoms of Eastern Turkestan up to the frontier of China. As the largest number of documents came from Lou-lan (Kroraina), this language also has been named Krorainic. As the documents in which it is found are official papers, it is certain that the language was understood by the people and was not very different from the spoken language of the period. Its characteristics to some extent agree with those of the language of the Kha-

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roshṭhī *Dhammapada* and to a large degree with those of the language of the inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period found in the North-West. Its home therefore must have been in the north-western part of India. As it was not a literary language but one of practical use, it indicates a more advanced stage of evolution than many of the literary Prākṛits.

In the South and the North-West, Middle Indo-Aryan continued to be the language of the inscriptions up to the third century. But classical Sanskrit also was slowly establishing itself in certain regions. Since the time of Pāṇini, Sanskrit was being cultivated in the Brahmanical schools and other grammarians—Kātyāyana, who belonged to the Maurya, and Patañjali, who belonged to the Śunga period,—tried to maintain its high standard. But the impact of the Middle Indo-Aryan on this language was great, and is discernible in the language of the epics, Dharmaśāstras and the older Purāṇas, which belonged to this age. The impact of the Middle Indo-Aryan led to the simplification of the grammar and the enrichment of the vocabulary by the inclusion of dialectal words in Sanskritised forms. Borrowings were also made from the pre-Aryan languages, Austric and Dravidian. Sanskrit began to be used as medium of a new literature from the beginning of the Christian era.

Aśvaghosha was probably the first to use Sanskrit for the composition of dramas and a new type of epic, which strictly belongs to what is known as Classical Sanskrit literature. Some of the Buddhist schools (Sarvāstivāda, Mūla-Sarvāstivāda) adopted it and wrote their canonical literature in it. From the middle of the second century A.D. the Śakas of Western India became great patrons of this language and of the new literature written in it. They were the first to introduce Sanskrit in inscriptions. Rudradāman and his successors issued their charters in this language. Rudradāman himself boasts of having composed literary works in Sanskrit (*sphuṭa-laghu-madhura-chitrakānta-śabda-samayodārā-laṁkṛita-gadya-padya-*). The rulers of this dynasty use titles like *svāmin*, *bhadramukha*, *sugṛihītanāman* and *rāshṭriya* for the first time, and these titles are found in Classical Sanskrit dramas. As such titles are not found in earlier literature, it is possible that it was under the patronage of these foreign rulers that Sanskrit drama was originated and the Classical Sanskrit shaped for fine literary works.

These foreign adventurers were also responsible for carrying Sanskrit to foreign lands. The first Hindu colonists in Indo-China and Indonesia were in all likelihood these Śakas; this being the reason why Sanskrit was adopted in the very first royal charters in the Far East.

The Buddhist schools which adopted Sanskrit as their sacred language also carried Sanskrit to Eastern Turkestan in this period, and in the principal kingdoms of that region (Khotan, Kucha etc.) Sanskrit began to be cultivated in the Buddhist monasteries and became a subject for higher education.

Thus during the first three centuries of the Christian era classical Sanskrit firmly established itself in India and also conquered new lands in the

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Far East and Central Asia. The Śakas had shown the way by using Sanskrit in their inscriptions, and the Guptas only perpetuated the tradition when they came to power.

(*B*) *LITERATURE*

INTRODUCTION

The period 325 B. C. to A. D. 300 is remarkable in several respects to a student of Indian literature and culture. Popular dialects had developed from the Vedic language and the efforts of the great Sanskrit grammarians from the fifteenth to the second century B. C. fixed, once for all, for classical Sanskrit a norm which it has maintained ever afterwards. Sanskrit poetry and drama as well as Prākṛit lyrics flowered in this period. The efforts to spread Buddhism and Jainism through the medium of popular speech had failed, and this failure reaffirmed the efficacy of Sanskrit. It was during this period that all the Brahmanical philosophical systems formed their basic mnemonic texts (Sūtras) and compiled the primary scholia on them. The same period saw also three noteworthy developments in Buddhism, the blooming of Buddhist sculpture, the emanation of the Mahāyāna, and the spread of the faith in Tibet, Central Asia, and China. In its effort to capture the Brahmanical imagination, Mahāyāna Buddhism, to which erstwhile Brahmins had made paramount contributions, succumbed to its adversary, when its metaphysics and its devotion to the transcendental personality of the Buddha were influenced by Vedānta and Bhakti. According to Jennings,[1] the 'hinduization' of the Buddha had started very soon after the Buddha's death. 'The parallel between Vedāntic absolutism and Mahāyāna tenets', says Keith, 'is striking and undeniable.'[2] 'Even as this side (*Buddhabhakti*) was already prepared in Hīnayāna, but found its further development under the influence of Hinduism ; in the same way the philosophical side of the Mahāyāna is merely an elaboration of the Hīnayāna doctrines under the influence of Brahmanical philosophy.'[3] This vital assimilative power of the Brahmanic culture was never more evident than in this period when Indian society absorbed all the foreign settlers and made them zealous sponsors of Indian literature, religion, and philosophy. How far this foreign contact, particularly with the Greeks, affected Indian thought has been a favourite subject of study. Greek influence on Indian sculpture has indeed been proved; but on the question of the reality and extent of Greek influence on Indian drama and logic and philosophy (atomism) there is difference of opinion. Indian literature of this period in these branches contains no such express mention of indebtedness to Greece and Rome as is found in the astronomy and astrology of the fifth and sixth

[1] *The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha.* p. 260
[2] *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon,* [3] Winternitz, *HIL.* II p. 230

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centuries A.D. All we can say is, as Keith puts it, that 'we may regard such influences as reasonable, but we must admit that real proof is wanting.'[1] The question of Indian influence on Greek thought is likewise not easy to settle. Here again we can only say that the influence, as Macdonell, for instance, observes with regard to Sāṁkhya and Greek philosophy, 'is possible and even probable.'[2]

SANSKRIT LANGUAGE AND LEARNING

The Sanskrit that Pāṇini defined and described in his grammar is called Bhāshā as contrasted with the language of the Veda. The meaning is obviously that it was the vehicle of expression, and on no other hypothesis could many rules in Pāṇini be understood. This language had undergone considerable simplification in conjugation and declension, vocabulary and accent, a process clearly discernible in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads. Side by side with this correct speech, Saṁskṛita, employed by the learned (*śishṭas*) particularly on ceremonial occasions, popular dialects, sprung from the Vedic language itself, must have been developing, and the colloquial forms of these must have been mixing with and influencing to some extent the Sanskrit language itself.[3] A literary form of Sanskrit, couched in popular style and freely embodying colloquial solecisms and constructions appears to have been used for the early Itihāsa-Purāṇas; and it is this language to which the Gāthā or Buddhist Sanskrit is to be related.

In the fourth century B.C., Taxila was still a great centre of learning in the North-West; but soon its reputation was shared by the eastern capital city Pāṭalīputra to which the intellectuals of the day migrated. The North-West retained its intellectual position which was indeed revivified by the local settlement of Greek rulers. Vidiśā attracted art and letters under the Śuṅgas, and the Śakas rejuvenated the splendour of Ujjain. The glorious rule of the Śātavāhanas at Paiṭhan created in the whole of the Deccan an efflorescence of poetry and sculpture.

SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, LEXICOGRAPHY AND PROSODY

In Sanskrit grammar, Pāṇini had already composed the *Ashṭādhyāyī*. His compact aphorisms stood in this period in need both of exposition and adjustment to take account of subsequent changes in language. The Nanda-Maurya-Śuṅga period witnessed a great deal of activity in both these departments. Two of the most important expositors were Vyāḍi and Patañjali, and the two leading writers to add their critical dicta to Pāṇini's *sūtras* were Kātya and Kātyāyana. Vāyḍi, a descendant of Pāṇini on his mother's side, produced a voluminous exposition in 100,000 verses of Pāṇini's *sūtras*, called rather ironically *Saṁgraha*; this work,

[1] *HSL.* p. 501
[2] *India's Past*, p. 159
[3] Keith, *HSL.* p. xxvi

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presupposed by Kātyāyana and described as 'beautiful' by Patañjali and stated by Bhartṛihari to have discussed 14,000 topics, formed the main basis of Patañjali's great scholium. That the interpretation of Pāṇini owed much to Vyāḍi is borne out by the ascription of the *paribhāshās* to him. Kātya's importance is sufficiently indicated by the reverential way in which Patañjali mentions him as Bhagavān Kātya (iii 2, 3) and his observations as Mahāvārttikas (iv, 2, 65). Kātyāyana *alias* Vararuchi was a versatile figure of the Nanda-Maurya epoch. Literary tradition associates him with Pāṭalīputra as a minister of the Nandas. Patañjali calls him a southerner. In his *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*, he had already submitted several *sūtras* of Pāṇini to criticism, and the additions and corrections that he made directly with reference to Pāṇini's *sūtras* made him the *vārttika-kāra par excellence* of the school of Pāṇini. Kātya and Kātyāyana were followed by many lesser *vārttika-kāras*: on the model of some of Kātyāyana's own metrical dicta, described by Patañjali as *bhrājāḥ ślokāḥ*, a whole work known as *Śloka-vārttika* was written; Bharadvāja, Sunāga, Kroshṭa, Kuṇaravāḍava and Sūrya who was venerated as Bhagavān were the other *vārttika-kāras*; and a *Māṭhurīvṛitti*, also arose.[1] Like the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* of Kātyāyana, the *Ṛigveda Prātiśākhya* ascribed to Śaunaka was also a product of this period.

When Pāṇini, and, to a greater extent Vyāḍi, were almost submerged in this overgrowth of *vārttika* literature, there arose the illustrious Patañjali, who strove with fervour to restore them both to their place of honour. Patañjali was an admirer of Vyāḍi of whose 'wonderful' (*śobhana*) work his own magnificent commentary, the *Mahābhāshya*, was but a recast, as Bhartṛihari says (*saṁgraha-pratikañchuka*). While Patañjali defended Pāṇini against Kātyāyana, he himself criticised some and omitted others of Pāṇini's *sūtras*, and wherever necessary added his own dicta called *ishṭis*. Of all the larger commentaries known as *bhāshyas* written in the different branches of knowledge, Patañjali's alone gained the epithet 'great', *mahat*. The saying that 'one should teach or learn the *Mahābhāshya* or rule a great kingdom' forms an appropriate tribute to the beauty of its style and the wealth of its contents. The work is a veritable book of culture, throwing light on the state of contemporary society, religion, philosophy, literature, and art. Patañjali completes the trinity of sages (*muni-traya*) constituting the basic authorities of Sanskrit grammar, and, according to the exegetical dictum, *yathottaram munīnām prāmāṇyam*, his authority stands supreme on questions of grammar. From his own references 'here we perform the sacrifice for Pushyamitra' (*iha Pushyamitram yājayāmaḥ*) and 'the Yavana (Menander) besieged Sāketa as well as Mādhyamikā,' Patañjali is definitely known to have flourished in the

[1] It probably belonged to the class of explanatory dicta that preceded the composition of *Vārttikas*, Bāṇa refers separately to the *Vṛitti* before *Vākya*, and a *Vṛittisūtra* is mentioned by I-tsing as having been commented upon by Patañjali. The *Kāśikā* mentions Kuṇi among the early *āchāryas* used widely by Patañjali, and his work, a Vṛitti, was, in all likelihood, available to the *Kāśikā* too.

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first half of the second century B. C. In all probability he was the most honoured priest and literary figure of Pushyamitra's court ; the tradition associating him with Pāṭalīputra is supported by the numerous references to that capital in the *Mahābhāshya*.

The history of Sanskrit grammar and of Pāṇini's school is a blank after Patañjali's time. On one side, we have evidence of activity in the field of Prākṛit, and on the other, we know from Kalhaṇa and Bhartṛihari, that Patañjali's work, as well as the traditional exegesis of grammar, sank into oblivion. The *Rājatarangiṇī* mentions[1] that at the instance of king Abhimanyu, Chandrāchārya revived the study of the *Mahābhāshya* in Kashmir ; and in the *Vākyapadīya*[2], we are told that Patañjali's work was all but lost, that authors like Baija, Saubhava and Haryaksha were following their own lights and making a mess of the *śāstra*, and that the threads of the grammatical tradition, surviving to some extent in the South, were gathered together by Chandrāchārya and, according to Bhartṛihari's commentator, by Vasurāta also. If we suppose that Chandra and his colleagues were busy resuscitating Patañjali in the fourth century A. D. as appears probable, we may take it that the grammatical ventures of Baija, Saubhava and Haryaksha belong to the first three centuries of the Christian era.

Sanskrit had by this time progressed considerably in the South. Kātyāyana is, no doubt, referred to as a native of the South by Patañjali, but it is not clear whether we are justified in taking this to be the region south of the Vindhyas, though Kātyāyana refers to the Pāṇḍyas (on iv. 1. 166). The early centuries of the Christian era show a clear shift of the literary centre to the Deccan. Pratishṭhāna, where Hāla Śātavāhana was ruling, was a Prākṛit region. The popularisation of Sanskrit in these regions required a fresh effort on the part of its teachers, and the most outstanding event in the field of Sanskrit grammar of this period is the rise of the Kātantra school in the first century A. D. The story as handed down in the opening book of the *Bṛihatkathā* in its Sanskrit versions, tells us that King Śātavāhana, probably Hāla, the Prākṛit enthusiast, unable to understand correctly a remark in Sanskrit of one of his learned queens,[3] asked his Brahmin courtier Śarvavarman to teach him Sanskrit in the shortest time possible ; Śarvavarman promised to do it in six months and produced, by the grace of God Kumāra, the grammar *Kātantra*, meaning the 'Short or handy work.' The *Kātantra*, called also *Kālāpa* after the peacock-vehicle of God Kumāra,[4] (later inflated by the addition of *kṛit* etc.,) confined itself to three main sections, *sandhi*, *nāman* and *ākhyāta*, and managed to cover the whole subject in a fifth of the number of Pāṇini's *sūtras*. The circulation of this work to other parts of the country including Tibet was rapid and fragments of it have been discovered in Central Asia also.

[1] i. 176
[2] ii. 484-90
[3] It is interesting in this connection to note that in an inscription at Kaṇheri, a Śātavāhana queen uses Sanskrit.
[4] *Kālāpa*, like Kātantra meaning the 'short course', may mean also 'the brief or quicker aid to speech'.

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The rise of *Kātantra* and the story associated with it are significant. The *Kātantra* was no new fabrication ; going behind Pāṇini, who, for the sake of packing his system into the smallest number of *sūtras*, forged several new conventional technical terms, special devices, sequences, and rules of interpretation, the *Kātantra* took from the Prātiśākhyas the natural order of sounds, the natural names of vowels and consonants and the natural topical divisions and arrangements, all of which relieved considerably the strain on the average learner. The *Kātantra* was really a revival of the pre-Pāṇiniyan Aindra system;[1] the Pāli grammar of Kachchāyana follows its plan, and the Tamil *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant grammar of a Dravidian language, is, it is wellknown, 'full of Aindra' (*aindiram niṟainda*); and the Dravidian affinities of the Paiśācha, in which Śarvavarman's friend Guṇāḍhya wrote, are also wellknown.[2]

Early lexicography seems to have gone hand in hand with grammar; from quotations preserved in later lexicons and commentaries thereon, we are led to think that three of the grammarians noticed above, Vyāḍi, Kātya, and Kātyāyana had compiled, probably as accessories to their grammatical writings, lists of words ; Vyāḍi's lexicon, which exhibits a knowledge of Buddhism, is remembered as *Utpalinī*, and Kātyāyana's as *Nāmamālā*.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Reference has already been made to Vararuchi's versatility. From Patañjali, we know definitely of Vararuchi's poem[3] which, if reliance may be placed on the eulogies of Rājaśekhara, may have been known as *Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*. In the prefatory book of the Bṛihatkathā versions, Vararuchi, who is introduced as an incarnation of Pushpadanta, is mentioned as having narrated first the seven main stories in seven lacs of verses, which Guṇāḍhya retold later in Paiśāchī.[4]

Patañjali indeed opens our eyes to the existence at this time of a deeply and widely cultivated art of poetry. Besides a large number of lyric, gnomic, and erotic verses, and poetic as well as grammatical lines in a large variety of classical metres which he quotes, we have also the express mention in his *Mahābhāshya* of *ākhyānas* and *ākhyāyikās* on Yayāti, Yavakrīta, Priyaṅgu, Sumanottarā and Bhīmaratha, on the popular theme of Vāsavadattā, the queen of Udayana, and on the wars of gods and demons.[5] The variety of metres presupposes also the existence of prosodical treatises. Literary tradition, Brahmanical and Buddhistic, connects Piṅgala, author of *chhandas*, with Pāṭalīputra, and with Bindusāra

[1] The 'southerner' Kātyāyana-Vararuchi himself, according to the story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, was first a student of Aindra, and traces of its influence can be seen in his use in some cases of the pre-Pāṇiniyan *saṁjñās, svara, vyañjana* etc.

[2] S. Konow, *ZDMG*. LXIV. pp. 107-112 See also Grierson, 'The Eastern School of Prākṛit Grammarians and Paiśāchi Prākṛit', *Ashutosh Mookerji Silver Jubilee Volume*, Orientalia, pt. 2, pp. 119-141.

[3] *Vāraruchaṁ Kāvyam*, iv 3. 101

[4] i. 2. 26

[5] iv. 2. 60; iv. 3. 87-8

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and Aśoka. The *Nidāna Sūtra* (of the Sāma Veda) dealing with metres is ascribed to Patañjali.

The art of acting had already been codified by Pāṇini's time in the Naṭasūtras of Śilālin and Kṛiśāsva.[1] Brahmanical, Buddhistic and Jaina, literatures mention a Subandhu, poet and minister of the Nandas and the first two Mauryas. Apparently he wrote a unique play in which each succeeding act was emboxed in the earlier, and there was an episode featuring Bindusāra and others in the romance of Udayana and Vāsavadattā.[2] That the dramatic arts were developed and popular in the Mauryan age is borne out by the many references in Kauṭilya to *naṭas*, *nartakas*, *nāṭya-raṅgopajīvins* and *prekshā*, or a show witnessed by the king. Music in all its departments, *gīta*, *vādya*, *gāyana*, *vādana*, *vīṇā*, *veṇu* and *mṛidaṅga*, is also often mentioned by Kauṭilya. References to the actor *naṭa* are not less frequent in Patañjali; listening to the actor, hastening to the theatre to listen to him, singing by the actor, his make-up, his hunger, and his wife who partners persons according to the exigencies of the calling, are mentioned in the *Mahābhāshya*.[3] The *śobhanikas* who represented, probably without speech, the killing of Kaṁsa and the subjugation of Bali and the *grānthikas* who presented the same themes in a graphic recital, probably devoid of action, are also met with in the *Mahābhāshya*.[4] When we take into consideration Patañjali's citation of the actor as a '*rasika*'[5] we may suppose that we are no longer in the crude beginnings of the histrionic art, but in a stage when the theory and aesthetics of it had already been formulated.

Such a developed theory of poetics and dramaturgy is seen in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a text which reached its present form in the second or third century A.D. On the evidence of its Prākṛits and its mention of Yavanas, Śakas and Pahlavas, it is reasonable to suppose that this text took shape during the period between 200 B. C. and A. D. 200. Kālidāsa and Aśvaghosha presuppose Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*; the *Saptaśatī* of Hāla mentions not only the dance with instrumental accompaniment[6] but also the stage (*raṅga*), the actress who has painted her face with yellow *haritāla*[7] and above all the *nāṭaka* and its prologue and preliminaries called technically *pūrvaraṅga*;[8] representations of some of the dance-poses of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* by dancers singly and in groups are to be seen in the Amarāvatī sculptures. In fact a pose described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* as lalāṭa-tilaka, is figured in a terra cotta from Taxila dug up in the Bhir-Mound site by Marshall in 1913, and assigned to a pre-Maurya date, *c* 5th century B.C. It is clear from express mention by Bharata as well as from the composite form of his text that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* has incorporated into itself parts of earlier treatises on the subject, ascribed to Brahmā

[1] iv. 3. 110, 111
[2] See V. Raghavan, *IHQ*. XIX, 1943, pp. 69-71
[3] i. 4. 29; ii. 1. 69; ii. 3. 67; ii. 4. 77; iv. 1. 114; vi. 1. 2
[4] iii. 1. 26. See also V. Raghavan, *JOR*. VI p. 364
[5] v. 2. 95
[6] v. 20
[7] i. 9
[8] iv. 44

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and Sadāśiva; some of these in *sūtra* form may go back to the *Naṭa sūtras* mentioned by Pāṇini.

On the analogy of the Greek influence on Indian sculpture evident in the north-western regions in the personal representation of the Buddha, it has been suggested that Sanskrit drama also developed in this period under the same foreign influence. The presence of *yavanīs* in the royal retinue on the stage shows only the popularity of Greek women in the royal household; otherwise the Greek theory hangs by the word *yavanikā*, meaning the curtain, the significance of which can hardly be great in the face of indigenous words for the curtain like *paṭī* or *apaṭī*, *tiraskariṇī* etc. The absence from Indian drama of tragedies in the Greek manner and of the chorus and the unities of time and place, also suggest dissimilarity rather than resemblance. Equally untenable is Lévi's theory that Sanskrit drama developed under the Śaka settlers in Ujjain in the first and second centuries of the Christian era. The character Śakāra, the modes of address and names of offices laid down by Bharata, which occur in Kshatrapa inscriptions, the provenance of the early drama-Prākṛits, chiefly the Śaurasenī, and the general Sanskrit enthusiasm of the Kshatrapa chiefs have been taken as indications of the Śaka contribution to the growth of Sanskrit drama. As Lévi himself says,[1] the modes of address pertain to life and are taken therefrom; *āryaputra*, for example, is a form of address in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and occurs often in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; in the well-known dialogue in the *Mahābhāshya*, the *sūta* addresses the Brahmin as Bhadramukha. Sanskrit enthusiasts and patrons of Brahmanic modes as these Śakas were, they would have naturally adopted the exalted forms in their inscriptions from current Sanskrit. To go beyond this would be justified only if it is proved that these expressions are used in the inscriptions in exactly the same sense as in Bharata's text; but this Lévi, for all his efforts, can hardly do, Bharata's directions for the use of 'Svāmin' and 'Bhadramukha' being different; and Rudradāman's *rāshṭriya* is different from the character of the same name in Śūdraka and Kālidāsa. What point Lévi makes with the character Śakāra is not clear; if anything, this character shows great antipathy to the Śaka. Above all, as Keith says, the development seen in Aśvaghosha's plays precludes the plausibility of the Sanskrit drama having had its origin only in the time of the Śaka Satraps or a little earlier. While it cannot be denied that Indian culture, particularly in this period, was absorbent and assimilative, it must be granted that no proof of substantial foreign influence exerted on Sanskrit drama has been offered.

The chronological position of the celebrated Sanskrit dramatists and dramas is, however, involved in such great confusion that we cannot safely assign any specimen definitely to this period. Nevertheless, a school of Indian scholars contends that the cream of Sanskrit dramatic literature belongs to it. Making Aśvaghosha the borrower of the much discussed

[1] *IA.* xxxiii p. 169

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common verses, they would place Kālidāsa, the prince of Indian poets and dramatists, either under the glorious but yet nebulous Vikramāditya, the founder of the Vikrama era in the middle of the first century B.C., or under Śuṅga Agnimitra whom Kālidāsa portrays as the hero of one of his plays and whose Vidiśā Kālidāsa mentions as a renowned royal capital in his *Meghasandeśa*. Such a view would naturally push Śūdraka and his *Mṛichchhakaṭika* to an earlier date ; theories are not wanting which identify Śūdraka with a hero of the Śaka-Śātavāhana period or with the very founder of the Āndhra-bhṛitya dynasty.[1] Similarly, Bhāsa, whom Kālidāsa expressly refers to as an illustrious predecessor, is assigned to the pre-Mauryan epoch by Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri, who discovered the so-called Bhāsa plays, and by others following him.[2] There are few authors on whom so widely divergent opinions have been held, some accepting the authenticity of these plays but placing them about A.D. 300,[3] and others questioning their authenticity and holding them to be late productions of the Kerala theatre.

Fortunately we are on surer ground with Aśvaghosha, though his personality too becomes multiple and legendary, and though controversies still exist about the exact date of his patron Kanishka. If we go by the widely accepted view of the date of Kālidāsa, A.D. 400, we may suppose that the plays of Bhāsa and Śūdraka fall between Aśvaghosha in the first century A.D. and Kālidāsa in the fifth.

Aśvaghosha, son of Suvarṇākshī, and originally a learned Brahmin of Sāketa, became a convert to Buddhism and turned all the literary forms of Sanskrit to the service of his new faith. Fragments of his plays, a *prakaraṇa* and a prototype of the later allegorical *Prabodha Chandrodaya* have been recovered from Turfan and edited by Lüders. The former, in nine acts, called *Śārīputra* or *Śāradvatīputra prakaraṇa* deals with the conversion of Śārīputra and Maudgalyāyana by the Buddha; it is significant that this work not only accords well with the *prakaraṇa*-type as defined by Bharata, but actually bears that type-name. In another fragment, allegorical characters, Wisdom, Fame and the like are featured; a third presents a courtesan, clown etc., in the proper *milieu* of the *prakaraṇa* or the *prahasana*. It has also been held on the basis of a Chinese translation and two references in Dharmakīrti and Jayanta Bhaṭṭa that Aśvaghosha also composed a musical play on the story of the conversion of Rāshṭrapāla by the Buddha.

Of Saumilla and Kaviputra whom Kālidāsa extols along with Bhāsa, as his renowned precursors in drama, we have nothing beyond stray verses and such bits of information as that which ascribes a biography of Śūdraka to the twin poets Rāmila-Somila. Bhāsa has been remembered as the author of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and other plays, but except in the case of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* which contains a truncated version of the

[1] E.g., Jayaswal. *JBORS*. XVI pp. 265-6, 276

[2] For a comprehensive summary see A. D. Pusalkar, *Bhāsa : A Sudy*, Lahore, pp. 61-81

[3] Keith, *Sanskrit Drama*, pp. 94-5

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original, the authenticity of the so-called Bhāsa plays from Trivandrum is open to doubt. The *Svapnavāsavadatta* based on the story of Udayana, even in its present form, reveals an artist whose dramatic sense had not been smothered by poetic exuberance, one who can, with simplicity and skill, arrange scenes of emotional delicacy and poignancy. A traditional verse pays a well-deserved tribute to this play and says that the *Svapnavāsavadatta* alone survived the test to which connoisseurs submitted Bhāsa's plays. An example of how research can fall into a rut is the oft-repeated view that the abrupt fragment called *Chārudatta* in this series is the original of the brilliant *Mṛichchhakaṭika* ascribed to Śūdraka. The social drama of Śūdraka, indeed the most variegated from the point of view of interest and the most stageworthy from the modern point of view, depicts a love story of Ujjain with which are woven events of a political *coup* perhaps belonging to the fifth century B.C. In the whole field of Sanskrit drama, this *prakaraṇa* in ten acts, blending idealism and realism, poetry and humour, is unparalleled for the fullness with which it holds the mirror up to life.

The continuity of the Kāvya literature, of which we have so many glimpses in the *Mahābhāshya*, in the two centuries before and after Christ is no longer doubted by scholars. Of both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* the nucleus goes to earlier ages;[1] the former is generally held to have assumed its present form and size in the period between 400 and 200 B.C. and the latter between 400 B.C. and A.D. 400. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, called the *ādikāvya*, served as the model for Aśvaghosha, who does not hide his admiration for Vālmīki. Aśvaghosha's poems presuppose the *Mahābhārata* including the *Bhagavadgītā;* earlier still, Patañjali cites literary works on Mahābhārata themes, and the Heliodorus column at Besnagar shows knowledge of a Mahābhārata text; and the *Bhagavadgītā* also influenced Mahāyāna and its literary expression in such works as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.[2] The public recitation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is referred to in the Buddhistic *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of the end of the second century A.D., and Buddhist and Jaina adaptations of this epic in this period bear out its hold over the people. That the ideas set forth in these two *itihāsas* animated the whole people, high and low, is seen clearly in the Śātavāhana inscriptions where Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi[3] is described as emulating epic and purāṇic heroes like Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna, Bhīmasena, Nābhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti and Ambarīsha; and their popular influence is visible in the Prākṛit *Saptaśatī* of the same age which contains a *gāthā*[4] in which a young lady wards off the amorous attentions of her husband's younger brother by describing to him the conduct of Lakshmaṇa and his devotion to his elder brother Rāma as depicted in the drawings on the walls of the house. The Buddha's interdiction[5] against listening and succumbing to the influence of the sweet poetry of another school

[1] Keith *HSL.* p. 43; Winternitz *HIL.* I p. 457
[2] Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon*, p. 220
[3] *EI.* VIII p. 60
[4] i. 35
[5] *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (III p. 107) and *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (II p. 267)

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also confirms the strong sway that Brahmanical epic poetry had over the people.

The two epics have influenced Indian life in an intense and persistent manner to which we have perhaps no parallel in the history of any other literature. Every Indian child knows their stories, and every Indian language has its own versions of them. All subsequent Sanskrit literature has turned to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* for models of form and content. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, celebrated as the first poem (*ādi-kāvya*), appears to be earlier than the *Mahābhārata* in its present form; it does not know the *Mahābhārata*, but the latter incorporates the story of Rāma and even quotes from the sister epic. The early history of the epics and the mutual chronological relation of their original kernels have been discussed in the previous volume. Here we are concerned with their developed form. Traces of the *Rāmāyaṇa* are indeed not seen in Pāṇini or Patañjali, but Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and the Daśaratha Jātaka preclude sweeping deductions from the silence of the grammarians. Early Buddhistic literature draws upon the *Mahābhārata* for its gnomic and didactic verses; Buddhist Sanskrit literature of the Avadāna type portrays the personality of the Buddha, often in the phraseology of the *Rāmāyaṇa* about Rāma and always with the same warmth of devotion.

Compared with the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* exhibits a remarkable unity of theme and authorship. Its author, Vālmīki, was, like Vyāsa, the author of the other epic, a contemporary of the heroes, and though, unlike Vyāsa, he was not their kinsman, the incidents which according to tradition gave birth to the epic bring him into a poignant relationship to them. Rāma as king, in order to propitiate his subjects, banished his beloved queen, Sītā, to the forest when she was with child. Vālmīki found her and took her under his care into his hermitage. The thought of Rāma's act brought grief to Vālmīki's heart, though he had heard of his infinite virtues from the sage Nārada. Then he saw a hunter shoot down the male of a pair of sportive Krauñcha birds; spontaneously the sage's heart poured out its sympathy in a verse framed in the heroic measure. At this Brahmā appeared and congratulated Vālmīki on becoming the first poet, and at his bidding, and in the same measure, Vālmīki composed the entire story of Rāma. He then taught the poem to the twin sons of Rāma, Kuśa and Lava, born and bred in his hermitage, and made them recite it before Rāma himself.

King Daśaratha of Ayodhyā of the solar race of Ikshvākus had at first no progeny; as the result of an elaborate sacrifice, his three queens Kausalyā, Kaikeyī and Sumitrā gave birth to four sons, Rāma, Bharata, Lakshmaṇa and Śatrughna. Rāma was the best endowed of them all, and Lakshmaṇa attached himself to him; Bharata and Śatrughna formed a similar pair. At the time when Daśaratha was considering the marriage of the young princes, the sage Viśvāmitra came upon the scene and took away Rāma and Lakshmaṇa, ostensibly in order to protect his sacrifice by their valour against the Rākshasa brothers Mārīcha and Subāhu.

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Viśvāmitra went on to complete Rāma's education. He took him through inspiring scenes of nature, taught him much spiritual lore and rendered him invincible with the gift of miraculous weapons. Finally, Viśvāmitra brought the Ikshvākus and the Janakas together by arranging the marriages of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa with Sītā and Urmilā, daughters of Janaka, and of Bharata and Śatrughna with Māṇḍavī and Śrutakīrti, daughters of Janaka's brother Kuśadhvaja.

Bharata, accompanied by Śatrughna, departed on a visit to his maternal uncle in Kekaya. Daśaratha now resolved to celebrate Rāma's installation as Crown Prince. He had, however, promised the kingdom to Kaikeyī's issue at the time of her marriage and had also promised her two boons to be claimed at her pleasure. A hunchback maid of Kaikeyī incited her to claim the two boons now and demand the coronation for her son Bharata and fourteen years of exile for Rāma. Rāma, too magnanimous to protest, resolved that his father should keep his promise and left for the forest with Sītā. The faithful Lakshmaṇa followed him.

Soon after this Daśaratha died. The *rāja-kartṛis* (king-makers) of Ayodhyā met, and brought Bharata from Kekaya to mount the throne, but Bharata, next to none in his love for Rāma, frustrated his mother's design, and with his whole court and harem and the representatives of the people, repaired to the forest to urge Rāma to return and take the kingdom that was his. But Rāma would not return until his father's promise had been fulfilled to the letter. As a compromise, Bharata set up Rāma's sandals as regent to rule the kingdom. Living a hermit's life like Rāma himself outside the city, Bharata governed as Rāma's minister.

As Rāma entered deeper into the southern forests, sages and hermits flocked to him to beg protection from the Rākshasas, the enemies of their sacrifices and their lives. Rāma promised his protection. The first demon to show himself was Virādha, and he convinced Sītā and Rāma of the soundness of Rāma's resolve. At Pañchavaṭī on the Godāvarī, where the brothers and Sītā had taken their abode for the final year of their sylvan life, the demoness Śūrpaṇakhā appeared. Here was the frontier of the king of the Rākshasas, Rāvaṇa of Lāṅkā, and near by at his outpost of Janasthāna, his brothers Khara, Dūshaṇa and others, fourteen thousand in all, were holding sway.

Śūrpaṇakhā was Rāvaṇa's sister. She desired Rāma or Lakshmaṇa for her husband, and was punished for her temerity by the mutilation of her nose and ears; so she brought her fourteen thousand brothers from Janasthāna, but in vain; they all perished in their assault on Rāma. When he heard of the destruction of Janasthāna and of the great beauty of Sītā, Rāvaṇa was inflamed with fury and lust; with the aid of Mārīcha, who, disguised as a golden gazelle, flashed before Sītā like lightning, he contrived to isolate Sītā in her hermitage, and appearing before her in the guise of a recluse, carried her off to Laṅkā where he kept her confined in the *aśoka*-grove under the strict guard of frightful demonesses.

Desolate with grief, Rāma, supported by Lakshmaṇa, roamed south

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in search of his beloved, and in the vicinity of lake Paṁpā met the monkey Hanumān, minister of the monkey-chief Sugrīva. Sugrīva, dispossessed by his elder brother Vālin, had taken shelter in a hill near by and was looking for a strong ally. Rāma made friends with Sugrīva and killed Vālin, thus enabling Sugrīva to recover the kingdom of the monkeys and bears; in return for this help, Sugrīva promised his aid for the recovery of Sītā.

At Sugrīva's behest, parties of monkeys set out in all directions searching for the whereabouts of Rāma's lost queen. Hanumān was in the south-bound party and enjoyed the confidence of both Sugrīva and Rāma. He flew over the sea, reached Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā and found Sītā in the *aśoka*-grove. Hunumān gave her Rāma's signet ring, assured her that Rāma would soon come to her rescue, and after gauging Rāvaṇa's strength and setting his city on fire, returned to Rāma with the glad tidings.

Followed by the huge army of Sugrīva's monkeys and bears, Rāma and Lakshmaṇa proceeded to invest the island of Rāvaṇa. There Vibhīshaṇa, Rāvaṇa's righteous and wise younger brother, urged his brother to restore Sītā and make friends with Rāma. His persuasions were in vain, whereupon he left his evil brother and took refuge with Rāma on the opposite shore. A bridge was thrown across the sea, on which the army crossed over and laid siege to Laṅkā. In the great battle that followed, Rāvaṇa's champions fell one after another, and finally Rāvaṇa himself was killed. Rāma made Vibhishaṇa king of Laṅkā, took back Sītā after a purificatory ordeal by fire and flew back to Ayodhyā in the miraculous aerial car Pushpaka.

Rāma was now crowned king, and his reign bequeathed to later ages the ideal of Rāmarājya, a kingdom of love and non-violence. Rāma, however, could not escape his destiny of a life of tragic suffering; unable to endure the people's suspicious murmurings about Sītā's enforced stay in Rāvaṇa's custody, he submitted himself to the second and longer travail of separation. Later, when the two princes, Lava and Kuśa, brought up as hermit boys, sang the sweet epic of Vālmīki to the music of the lute before him, he yearned to see the sage, who thereupon came to him with Sītā. Sītā then asserted her chastity before her lord and begged Mother Earth to open her bosom and receive her. The earth gaped open and Sītā disappeared.

The story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is now spread over seven books and modern criticism considers the first and last books to be later additions. It cannot, however, be gainsaid that in the first book there are portions which are genuinely old; likewise a few cantos of the last book, which depict the climax of the story of the second separation, are in a truly elevated style; from Kālidāsa downwards the epic was known with this tragic end, though religious readings and expositions always stopped with the six books. While on the one hand the personality of Rāma as the embodiment of Dharma (righteousness) has remained a never-ending inspiration to the nation, the adoration of Rāma ramified into an elaborate Rāma-cult and the epic itself was deemed as a scripture on which the doctrine of

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Śaraṇāgati or surrender unto the Lord and his *Abhaya* or assurance of protection were founded.

The old heroic narratives (*ākhyānas*) of the bards (*sūtas*) were gradually assimilated into the second of the two great sagas (*itihāsa*), the *Bhārata*. The growth of the *Bhārata*, a heroic lay on the feud of the Bhārata cousins, the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, into a thesaurus containing one hundred thousand verses of old Indian narratives and moral, religious and philosophical teachings, may be clearly traced in its different stages: The *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* mentions the *Bhārata* and the *Mahābhārata*, and at the very outset the epic itself states that it has three beginnings, and that without the subsidiary stories, subsequently added, it originally comprised only 24,000 verses. No such clear indication, however, is available for the transformations which the main original Bhārata story is supposed to have undergone; on the other hand, from Pāṇini onwards, it has been known only as a Pāṇḍava epic. The first stage of further expansion would cover the increasing part that Kṛishṇa came to play as the guide, philosopher and friend of the Pāṇḍava brothers, and Hopkins would mark this period at A.D. 200, assigning the further accretions of didactic matter, teachings and illustrative episodes, to a period extending to A.D. 400.[1]

The didactic value of the epic is not confined to the later amplifications; the main story itself exerts an inestimable appeal by virtue of its grandeur, its forceful characterization, and its vivid dramatic quality. In the Bhārata race arose Śantanu, king of Hastināpura; Gaṅgā bore him a son Devavrata, later celebrated as Bhīshma for the terrible vow of celibacy he took to enable his father to marry Satyavatī. Of this second marriage of Śantanu were born Chitrāṅgada who died early, and Vichitravīrya who succeeded to the throne. Bhīshma was looking after his young stepbrother, and when he died without children, Vyāsa, an earlier-born son of Satyavatī, and later the author of the Great Epic, begot by *niyoga* the three sons, Dhṛitarāshṭra, who was born blind, and Pāṇḍu, and their half-brother Vidura who became famous for his wisdom.

Pāṇḍu succeeded to the kingdom; by the grace of the gods, five sons, Yudhishṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, were born to his two wives, Kuntī and Mādrī. Dhṛitarāshṭra had a hundred sons, Duryodhana (the eldest), Duśśāsana and others, and a daughter Duśśalā by his wife Gāndhārī. Pāṇḍu met with premature death, and the blind Dhṛitarāshṭra succeeded him. Bhīshma placed the hundred and five princes under the great Brahmin teacher of military science, Droṇa. The five Pāṇḍavas always proved superior, especially Arjuna with his archery and Bhīma with his extraordinary physical strength; thus they excited the jealousy of their hundred cousins who hatched many plots to do away with the Pāṇḍavas. Soon Duryodhana discovered a staunch ally in Karṇa, who was in fact the eldest born son of Kuntī by the Sun-god, but, being abandoned by his virgin mother, grew up as the son of a charioteer; the equal of Arjuna in archery, Karṇa, who developed a deep animosity to the Pāṇḍavas, proved

[1] *The Great Epic of India*, p. 398

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along with Śakuni, Duryodhana's maternal uncle, an evil genius on the side of Duryodhana in all his manoeuvres against the Pāṇḍavas. On their side, the Pāṇḍavas had a powerful ally in their cousin Kṛishṇa of the Yādavas, a brother's son of Kuntī. The Pāṇḍavas headed by Yudhishṭhira, known for his righteousness, endeared themselves to the people, and Dhṛitarāshṭra could hardly ignore Yudhishṭhira's claim to be installed as crown-prince. Duryodhana could not endure this and attempted to burn the Pāṇḍavas in a lac-mansion (*jatu-gṛiha*). Forewarned by their uncle Vidura, the Pāṇḍavas escaped by an underground passage and reached incognito the Pāñchāla capital where King Drupada was offering his daughter Draupadī in *svayaṁvara*. Arjuna was victor in the contest and won Draupadī, but in accordance with their mother's word, the five brothers took her as their common wife. Dhṛitarāshṭra heard of the prosperous doings of his brother's sons, and brought them back to Hastināpura, ceding to Yudhishṭhira one half of the kingdom. The Pāṇḍavas built their capital at Indraprastha. Arjuna then married Kṛishṇa's sister Subhadrā and begot Abhimanyu; Draupadī also bore five princes to the five brothers.

The Pāṇḍavas built a superb palace with the help of the divine architect Maya, vanquished all rival kings, filled their coffers with tribute and performed a Rājasūya sacrifice. The magnificence of the sacrifice made Duryodhana burn with jealousy and, instigated by his uncle Śakuni, Duryodhana forced his elders to permit him to challenge Yudhishṭhira to a game of dice. Yudhishṭhira had a fatal predilection for this game though he had little skill in it. But Śakuni was an adept; the plot was to make Yudhishṭhira stake and lose his all and thus reduce him to destitution. Yudhishṭhira did in fact lose all he had to Śakuni who was playing for Duryodhana; his brothers also Yudhishṭhira staked and lost. Finally he agreed to wager his queen Draupadī, and lost again. The legal objection that a slave could have no property to gamble with was over-ruled, and Draupadī was dragged by the hair to the open hall and publicly dishonoured by Duśśāsana, the brother of Duryodhana. Evil portents now disturbed the old and weak Dhṛitarāshṭra who, by boons granted to Draupadī, restored the Pāṇḍavas to liberty. But Duryodhana, much vexed at this, contrived to lure Yudhishṭhira to play again for the stake of twelve years' banishment to the forest and a thirteenth year to be passed incognito, exposure during that year involving a further twelve years of exile. The Pāṇḍavas lost the game again, and departed to the forest clad in deerskin, the garb of recluses. The four younger brothers, seething with indignation, swore to kill Duryodhana and his associates for the insults they had heaped upon them.

In the forests, the sages consoled the brothers with stories of kings and queens of old who had suffered like them. On the advice of Vyāsa, Arjuna propitiated Śiva with a penance and got from Him a miraculous weapon with which to kill the sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra. In the thirteenth year, they lived in disguise in the court of the Virāṭa king. Here the queen's brother made improper advances to Draupadī, and Bhīma killed him to

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save Draupadī's honour. Towards the end of the year, the sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra guessed the existence of the Pāṇḍavas in Virāṭa's city, and executed a cattle-raid in Virāṭa's dominions with the object of discovering the Pāṇḍavas. Arjuna took the field still in disguise and routed their forces.

Soon the Pāṇḍavas disclosed themselves to the Virāṭa king, called Virāṭa, Drupada and Kṛishṇa into council, and decided first to try peaceful negotiations with Duryodhana for a small share in the kingdom. While messengers of peace were being exchanged, preparations for war went on apace and allies were gathering on both sides. The failure of Kṛishṇa's own mission to Duryodhana set the stage for the great contest.

On the battlefield of Kurukshetra when Arjuna saw before him his own elders and kinsmen arranged against him for the fight, he was smitten with distress, and nearly resolved to renounce contest and retire. In order to strengthen his will to fight, Kṛishṇa, who had consented to be his charioteer, delivered to him the message of disinterested performance of duty. This famous passage constitutes the *Bhagavad-gītā*.

The battle then began and raged for eighteen days, denuding the earth of the flower of its heroic races. Bhīshma, Droṇa, Karṇa and Śalya who successively commanded on Duryodhana's side were slain. Droṇa's son Aśvatthāman, entered the Pāṇḍava camp by night and slaughtered the sons of Draupadī. Young Abhimanyu had already fallen in splendid but unequal fight. The Pāṇḍavas won the day, but at the end their only hope for the future of their line was the child in the womb of Abhimanyu's widow; even that Aśvatthāman had endeavoured to destroy, but Kṛishṇa miraculously saved the unborn child.

Coronation and horse-sacrifice followed, but Yudhishṭhira's heart was overweighed with sorrow. He yielded the throne to Abhimanyu's son, Parīkshit, and started with his brothers and wife on the great journey to heaven (*mahāprasthāna*).

This bare outline of the story of the *Bhārata* necessarily fails to reveal the heroes in the full light of that character in which they have shone as the beacons of virtue before the nation. Bhīshma was not only a supreme warrior but the repository of all lore, and before he expired he delivered extensive discourses on *Dharma* in all its aspects to Yudhishṭhira and others. Vidura, as his name signifies, was the embodiment of wisdom and his maxims have become part of the national treasure. Yudhishṭhira incarnates the ideal of righteousness and friendliness, being known as Dharmaputra and Ajātaśatru. Karṇa's name has become proverbial for munificence. The hymn of the Thousand Names of Vishṇu (*Vishṇusahasranāma*) and the *Bhagavad-gītā* have become the precious jewels of the religious. It is clear that the centuries immediately before Christ knew the *Gītā* well; along with the *Manu-smṛiti* it ranks with the finest products of Indian culture in this period.

In the longer discourses of the *Mahābhārata* hardly anything pertaining to man's endeavour in life will be found that has not been dealt with; the epic itself claims that on the principles of religious duty, material welfare, emotional gratification or spiritual salvation, it is complete and

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selfsufficing. Its appellation, 'the Fifth Veda', represents its true position in the national life.

Together, the two epics have proved inestimable as instruments of popular adult education, thanks to the popular bards, minstrels and epic expounders, the Paurāṇikas, who, as the literature and epigraphy of India as well as of Greater India testify, served as effective interpreters in all ages. To this it is due in no small measure that when Independent India adopted adult suffrage, the 'illiteracy' of the teeming millions of the country proved no great bar to its smooth working; without the stain of ink or strain of reading, tradition inducted the people into the essentials of a true culture.

The Buddhists slowly realised the value of the Sanskrit medium; they also discovered the didactic value of Sanskrit poetry. Soon the Lokottaras among the Mahāsāṅghikas made a beginning with the *Mahāvastu* in the second century B.C., and the Sarvāstivādins among the Sthaviras with the *Lalitavistara* in the first century B.C., both narratives of the story of the Buddha written in what is called 'Buddhistic Sanskrit'. The conversion of eminent Brahmins quickened the pace of the new movements in Buddhism, and in the first century A.D. Aśvaghosha, as already noticed, actively harnessed Sanskrit poetry and drama to the propagation of Buddhism. As he avows at the end of his *Saundarananda*, this poet employed the poetic medium for Peace and Deliverance (*vyupaśāntaye*, *mokshārtha*-). His *Buddhacharita*, not yet recovered in full, depicts the life of the Buddha, and his *Saundarananda* in eighteen cantos relates how the Buddha converted his cousin Nanda when he was immersed in his love for his beloved Sundarī. The ascription to Aśvaghosha of the hymn *Gaṇḍīstotra*, dealing with the Buddha and the merits of monastic life is not well-founded; and the *Sūtrālaṁkāra* in the Chinese language identified with the *Kalpanālaṁkṛitikā* or *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, more fully *Dṛishṭāntapaṅktiḥ Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, found in Central Asia is now considered to be a work of Kumāralāta. Not only did these and many other works come to be fathered on Aśvaghosha, but other contemporary and immediately succeeding writers were in course of time confounded with him. The legends and apocrypha that have gathered round him and obscure the individuality of his personality and contribution serve to show what an outstanding literary figure he was, as poet, philosopher and teacher of these times who, by the fresh ideas that he introduced into literature, religion and philosophy, captured the imagination of his co-religionists. Contemporary with Aśvaghosha, patronised in the same court and at times identified with him, was Mātṛiceṭa, one of whose epistles to Kanishka is preserved in Tibetan; his hymns to the Buddha, the *Chatuśśatakastotra* or the *Varṇārhavarṇa-stotra* and the *Śata-pañchāśatka-stotra* or *Adhyardha-śataka-stotra* recovered from Central Asia and Tibet,[1] were still popular in I-tsing's time. Slightly later than Aśvaghosha and influenced by him was Kumāralāta of Taxila whose *Sutrālaṁkāra* or *Kalpanāmaṇ-*

[1] *JBORS.* XXIII App. *BSOAS.* (London) XIII pp. 670-701; for the texts etc. of these.

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ḍitikā, a narrative of Buddhistic tales, has already been mentioned. Other Buddhistic narratives in Kāvya style produced at this time are the *Avadāna-śataka* of about A.D. 100 and the *Divyāvadāna* of the second century A.D., both translated into Chinese in the third century A.D. The stock clichés and set descriptive formulae that abound in the *avadāna* literature, and are also found in the Jaina cononical *sūtras*, lead us to suppose that this *avadāna* literature, like the Brahmanical epics and Purāṇas, was used by Buddhistic preachers for popular propaganda.

In literary criticism, we know that as early as Pāṇini and Yāska, the simile, its varieties and words expressive of it, were familiar and were discussed, and Yāska quotes a Gārgya as having defined the simile. The fourfold classification of poets in *Aṅguttara*[1] into *chintākavi*, *sūktakavi*, *arthakavi* and *pratibhānakavi* shows that the critical consideration of literature had gone some way in the period we are reviewing. The excellences and flaws of calligraphy and literary composition, as dealt with in the Śāsanādhikāra of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, bear some resemblance to the *guṇas* and *doshas* of poetics. The *Lalitavistara* mentions a treatise on the art of poetry, *kāvyakaraṇagrantha*, and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a work already noticed, comprehends poetics. The much-cited Rudradāman inscription not only evidences the prevalence of the ornate *gadyakāvya* style, but makes express mention of the classification of literary composition into *gadya* and *padya*, of writing that is embellished (*alaṁkṛita*) and of words that have the character of *sphuṭa*, *laghu*, *madhura*, *chitra*, *kānta* and *udāra*,[2] terms some of which can be recognised as the technical names of excellences of style (*guṇas*) in poetics. More revealing is a *gāthā* in Hāla's *Saptaśatī*;[3] this speaks of the *alaṁkāra* (*ābharaṇa*) of *kāvya* and of the now little known *lakshaṇas* of poetic expression which were partly the precursors of the *alaṁkāras* themselves and of which thirty-six are enumerated and described by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[4]

PĀLI, ARDHAMĀGADHĪ AND PRĀKṚIT

Two different Buddhistic traditions associate Upagupta and Moggaliputta Tissa with Aśoka and make them responsible for the convening of a Buddhistic council in the third century B.C. for clearing the Saṅgha of schismatics and arranging for the propagation of Buddhism in distant parts of the country and beyond. According to the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa*, Tissa Moggaliputta sent his pupil Mahinda, Aśoka's son, to Ceylon, and the first powerful Sinhalese king Vaṭṭagāmaṇi had the Buddhistic texts written down for the first time in the first century B.C.[5] These represent the Pāli Tripiṭaka as we know now. Whether we believe these

[1] II p. 230
[2] *EI.* VIII p. 44
[3] v. 28
[4] V. Raghavan, *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāra Śāstra*, ch. i
[5] *Mahāvaṁsa*, pp. xxxviii, 100-1; *Dipavaṁsa* pp. xx, 20-1

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traditions or not,[1] the more reliable evidence of Aśoka's own edicts and the votive inscriptions on the *stūpas* of Sāñchi and Bharhut[2] show that certain canonical texts, which are traceable in the available Pāli canon and which bear a general resemblance to it were already in existence in the first three centuries before Christ.

That the extant Pāli canon, however, does not represent the original version is now accepted. In the frequently quoted *Chullavagga* passage[3] the Buddha forbids the two *bhikkus* who suggest making a Sanskrit translation of the canon in order to standardise it and save it from distortions by different monks speaking different tongues; he expressly permits his words to be learnt by every man in his own language. The claim of the Ceylonese that their Pāli canon represents the Māgadhī spoken by the Buddha, and the assumption of scholars that this Pāli is based on Ardhamāgadhī are no longer accepted. Pāli, an enigmatic word, is taken to mean row or text; Dr. Walleser's clever suggestion that Pāli is a corruption of Pāṭalī, meaning the language of Pāṭaliputra (Māgadhī) has not found favour.[4] It is not impossible that, as in the *Chullavagga* passage referred to above, the contrast is with *Chchhāndasa* (metrical-vedic) language, Pāli, whose meaning 'row' or 'line' is accepted by all, signified something written or recited in a long run-on or non-stop prose style. Evidence has been adduced, from Buddhaghosha's use of Pāli and Pāṭha as interchangeable words, to show that Pāli is nothing but Pāṭha corresponding to that of the Vedic Brāhmaṇas (cf. *padapāṭha*), meaning sacred recited text or recital.[5] But such speculations would only be called for after we have discovered some early use of the word Pāli in a linguistic sense. Pāli, it is granted, is not a homogeneous language; like the language of the Aśokan edicts, it shows local variations; and because of its mixed forms, it is proper to treat it not as a living dialect, but as a nebulous and composite literary medium. As a language, its characteristics show pre-Māgadhī traits, which relate it more to the Vedic dialects and produce the impression of a degraded or colloquial form of Sanskrit, instances of which Patañjali himself cites.

The three Pāli *piṭakas* do not all appear to be of the same antiquity. The *Kathāvatthu* part of the *Abhidhamma piṭaka* is, in fact, ascribed to the redactor, Tissa Moggaliputta. The *Abhidhamma* itself must have been composed after the rise of sects and existed originally in those formulae now embodied in it and called *mātṛikās*. The non-canonical Pāli literature of this period comprises the *Netti-prakaraṇa* (book of guidance), the *Peṭakopadesa*, both of about the beginning of the Christian era, the *Suttasaṁgaha*, and the *Milindapañha* called also *Nāgasena Bhikshu-sūtra*,

[1] Malalasekhara, *The Pāli Literature of Ceylon*, pp. 44-7, does not believe this tradition wholly and shows evidences of written literature in the pre-Vaṭṭagāmaṇi period.

[2] Hultzsch, *ZDMG.* XL pp. 58-80; *IA.* XXI pp. 225-242; *EI.* II p. 93 also Chanda, *Dates of Votive Ins. on the Stūpas at Sāñchi*, pp. 16,18, 20

[3] v. 33. See also S. Lévi *JA.* 1915, pp. 401-47

[4] *IHQ.* IV pp. 773-5

[5] Rev. R. Siddhārtha, *Buddhistic Studies*, ch. XXIV pp. 641 f.

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embodying the questions of Milinda (Menander), and the answers of the Thera Nāgasena. Winternitz says that the *Milindapañha* alone was composed in the North-West and the rest of these non-canonical Pāli texts in Ceylon;[1] Geiger, however, opines that probably the Pāli *Milindapañha* was also a Ceylonese version of a Sanskrit original of North-West India.[2] To the first three centuries of the Christian era are also to be assigned the *Aṭṭhakathās* used by the great Pāli commentator Buddhaghosha, one of which, the *Andha-aṭṭakathā*,[3] is said to have been used in Kāñchīpura.

The Jaina canons, likewise, use the language known as the Ardhamāgadhī. According to Śvetāmbara tradition, the Jainas lost their original texts or these later fell into disorder, and Devardhigaṇi redacted their canon in A.D. 454 at a council at Valabhī. A tradition traces the schism into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras to the growth of different practices between those who stayed at Pāṭalīputra and those followers of Bhadrabāhu who returned there from South India, and another ascribes the origin of the Digambara sect to one Śivabhūti of A.D. 83.[4] We know for certain from the Jaina inscriptions at Mathurā,[5] as also from the Jaina sculptures at the same place that not only these divisions but also other sub-divisions (*gaṇas*) were in existence among the Jainas in the first and the second centuries A.D. The same inscriptions show in their references to Vāchakas that some Jaina texts were actually current at this time. It will therefore be reasonable to suppose that while the canonical literature was given the final form in the time of Devardhigaṇi, the original parts of this literature went back as far as the traditional council in Chandragupta Maurya's time. According to the view of some scholars, the first century A.D. saw also some poetic activity on the part of Jainas, the Jaina adaptation of the Rāmāyaṇa story in the *Paumachariya* of Vimalasūri being considered to be a very early work of this class.[6]

While the Māgadhī and Ardhamāgadhī dialects of the east were being used by religious movements, in the west two Prākṛits were in a stage of active literary cultivation by Brahmanical authors. Śaurasenī was being used in Sanskrit dramas and Mahārāshṭrī in lyric poetry. Mahārāshṭrī, which Daṇḍin later calls Prākṛit *par excellence*, was not only used in inscriptions but received extensive patronage from the Śātavāhanas in the South. One literary tradition remembers that Śālivāhana, sometimes referred to also as Āḍhyarāja, ordered that in his household only Prākṛit should be spoken.[7] Reference has already been made to the Sanskrit-speaking queen of the Śātavāhana and the occasion for the composition of

[1] *HIL.* p. 174. See Demiéville, *BEFEO.* XXIV 1924 for a translation of the different Chinese versions of *Milindapañha* and their comparison with the Pāli version which Demiéville considers to be an inflated version produced in Ceylon after the 5th century A.D.

[2] *Pali Lit. & Lang.* p. 27

[3] *Samantapāsādikā*, IV 747

[4] According to the late *Pravachana-parīkshā.*

[5] Bühler, *EI.* I pp. 371-397. K. D. Bajpai, 'Three New Kushāṇa Inscriptions from Mathurā,' *Jain Antiquary*, XVI pt. 1. June 1950

[6] Winternitz, *HIL.* II p. 477

[7] Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, *GOS.* p. 50; Bhoja, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, ii 15

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the easy Sanskrit grammar called the *Kātantra*. All this points to a keen literary consciousness on the part of the Śātavāhana ruler himself. Hāla Śātavāhana is known to literary history as the author who chose seven hundred Prākṛit *gāthās* out of an accumulation of a crore[1] to compile the *Saptaśatī*. Its influence on love poetry in Sanskrit or Prākṛit, or even in new Indo-Aryan dialects of the modern period, was considerable. The famous *Amaruśataka* borrows from it; Govardhana's *Āryā-saptaśatī* is a Sanskrit replica of it; the Hindi *Satsaī* of Biharilal (seventeenth century) and three more Sanskrit *Saptaśatīs* of still later date are inspired by the same original of Hāla Śātavāhana. The *Gāthā Saptaśatī's* claim that Prākṛit poetry is nectar itself (*amṛita*) and that he who does not know it is verily innocent of the subtleties of love is not unjustified. That all its verses deal exclusively with love is no more true than the impression of late writers that it specialised in clandestine love (*parakīyā*); much of this poetry is, no doubt, concerned with love, but there are exquisite cameos of natural scenery and observations on aspects of human virtues and character, *subhāshitas* on subjects like friendship and poverty seldom rivalled elsewhere even in Sanskrit literature. Domestic felicity, deep abiding love, and the sorrow of wives parted from husbands absent on distant journeys (*proshitapatikā*) are the themes that claim the largest number of the verses in the *Saptaśatī*. In harmony with their language, the *gāthās* revel in depicting facets of the love of the common housewife, the farmer, and the hunter, against the background of the village, its border-trees, fields of cotton and gram, and forests, rivers, and hills. That this poetry flowered in the southern region is also clear from the geographical background of the Godāvarī, the Vindhya, and the Narmadā. With its references to epic lore, narratives, and popular sayings, architectural features, temples, and worship, festivals, ceremonies, and customs, painting, music, dance and drama, and to Buddhism,[2] the *Saptaśatī* forms a rich source-book of the culture of this period.

The *Saptaśatī* is an anthology containing verses by king Hāla himself, and by the poets he patronised and others. The text has suffered in transmission, but two-thirds, common to all recensions, can be confidently taken as original. One *gāthā* (v. 67) refers to the author himself, Śālivāhana, as a saviour of the distressed and a veritable god, and another (v. 64) shows that by this time, the fame of Vikramāditya and of his munificence had become established. The inclusion here of the verses composed by women confirms the impression of the state of women's education derived from the anecdote of the origin of the *Kātantra*. The *Saptaśatī* refers to the royal compiler as '*Kavi-vatsala*', 'fond of the poets'; and of the authors whose names are preserved in some manuscripts of this anthology, Kumārila, Poṭṭisa, and Pālita are known from the *Līlāvatī*, the Prākṛit romance on Hāla, and from Abhinanda's *Rāmacharita* as having been closely associated with Hāla. Pālita is also remembered as the author of the Prākṛit *kathā Taraṅgavatī*.

[1] *Saptaśatī* i 3 [2] iv. 8

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To these distinguished writers of Hāla's court is to be added one whose work attained in the entire domain of Indian literature a fundamental importance matched only by the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*. Guṇāḍhya, whom Govardhana rightly calls an incarnation of Vyāsa, produced his *Bṛihatkathā*, a storehouse of the country's stories and fables. The introductory book of the Sanskrit versions of this 'Great Story', relates how Guṇāḍhya, in consequence of a wager with Śarvavarman, gave up three languages—Sanskrit, Prākṛit and the local idiom (*deśa-bhāshā*), and wrote in Paiśāchī or Bhūtabhāshā.[1] The same introduction tells us that the *Bṛihatkathā*, basing itself on Vararuchi's earlier narrative, was originally composed with seven main stories in seven hundred thousand verses, but that in mortification at the neglect with which he was received Guṇāḍhya allowed all but one of the main stories to perish. The Paiśāchī original even of this relic is no longer extant. In the sixth century A.D. the Gaṅga king Durvinīta translated it into Sanskrit.[2] In Nepal Budhasvāmin wrote the *Bṛihatkathāślokasaṁgraha c.* eighth century A.D. In Kashmir Kshemendra (*c.* A.D. 1050) produced a short Sanskrit version in his *Brīhatkathāmañjarī*, and Somadeva (A.D. 1063-81) a considerably more elaborate Sanskrit version, the famous *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Dr. L. Alsdorf has shown that in the *Vāsudevahiṇḍī* we have a Jaina version of Guṇāḍhya's work, exhibiting differences from the Nepalese and Kashmirian versions.[3] In Tamil, Koṅguvēḷir wrote his *Peruṅgadai*, the fragmentary manuscript of which opens with Udayana's meeting with Pradyota and ends with his son Naravāhanadatta's marriage with Madanamañjukā. The extant Kashmiri Sanskrit versions mentioned above include: a preface on the origin of the *Bṛihatkathā*; a traditional literary history from the Nanda to the Śātavāhana times; the cycle of Udayana stories, which form the prelude; the main cycle of the romances of Udayana's son Naravāhanadatta, which occupies the bulk of the work; the whole series of animal fables, separately related in the Pañchatantra; and finally the tales connected with Vikramāditya. The whole cycle of Udayana-plays, romances like *Kādambarī*, and such dramas as *Nāgānanda* and *Mālatīmādhava* draw their raw material from the *Bṛihatkathā*.

The work itself terms Paiśāchī a *Bhūtabhāshā* or the language of the goblins, but Konow and others have shown that Paiśāchī was a speech widely current in different and distant parts of the country, in fact, in North-West, North and South all along the fringes of the regions where Sanskrit originally and the literary Prākṛit later were in use. Pischel and Grierson would relate it to the Piśāchas, who are referred to as a tribe.[4] Varieties of Paiśāchī such as Chūlikā- and Kekaya-Paiśachī are also known. It has also been held that Paiśāchī, being the popular tongue spoken round about educational centres like Taxila, was also probably the original language of the so-called Pāli canon.[5] According to Lacoté, the original Paiśāchī

[1] I vi. 2, 148
[2] *EC.* XII Tm. 23; *IA.* XIII p. 204
[3] *BSOAS.*, London, VIII p. 320
[4] *ZDMG.* LXIV pp. 95-118; LXVI pp. 49-86
[5] *ZDMG.* LXIV pp. 103-4

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version was amplified in Kashmir, and it is from this secondary version that the two Kashmiri Sanskrit versions are derived. Hitherto the only relics of the Paiśāchī dialect known were a few stray illustrative words cited in Prākṛit grammars and two verses quoted by Hemachandra and attempts have been made to locate them in some part of the original; but recently a most valuable continuous passage in Paiśāchī indentifiable with the story of the gambler Tiṇṭākarāla in the *Vishamaśīlalaṁbaka*, has been brought to light from Bhoja's *Śṛiṅgāraprakāśa*;[1] apart from its linguistic value this fragment shows that, as Keith rightly surmised, the Paiśāchī original was in prose, and was composed in a simple narrative style.

The Dravidian affinities of Paiśāchī and the link between Aindra grammar and the Tamil *Tolkāppiyam* have already been alluded to. That the Prākṛit enthusiast Śātavāhana extended his patronage to Tamil is also relevant in this connection. Apart from some Śātavāhana traditions in Tamil literature, in the *Nannūl Mayilainātthan Urai* we are told that *Śātavāhanam* is an example of a Tamil work named after the patron of the author.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

By the beginning of the Mauryan epoch, the authority of the three Vedas (*trayī*) had been completely established. Kauṭilya's mention of the *Atharvan* along with *Itihāsa* as additional Vedas,[2] taken with the inclusion by *Āpastamba* of all popular arts and lore in the Atharvan,[3] shows that the fourth Veda was gaining ground. That this recognition came to it rapidly, thanks to its popular status and appeal, is evident from Patañjali's reference to the Atharvaveda and its nine schools.[4]

The Itihāsa-Purāṇa which is juxtaposed with the Atharvan and whose roots go back to the Veda soon became a powerful medium of mass education. Popular as they were in form and purpose, there is no adequate proof that they were originally composed in Prākṛit; all that can be conceded is that the Sanskrit of the Purāṇas, classified as epic Sanskrit, had colloquial solecisms and constructions. Besides popular versions of Vedic lore and religion, they gave accounts of the creation of the universe and the histories of the primary families of men, sages and kings. From the Purāṇic accounts of dynasties of historical times it is clear that this literature underwent revision and enlargement up to the Gupta age. But the originals of the Purāṇa literature, with the main features of which the two epics also agree, are traceable to great antiquity. The characterisation of Itihāsa-Purāṇa as the fifth Veda ranks this literature next below the Atharvan in importance. The growth of their Buddhistic counterpart in the Jātakas, Avadānas, the accounts of the life of the Buddha, and other religious and edificatory writings like the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, every line of which, as Winternitz says, reminds us of the spirit of the Purāṇas, only

[1] See V. Raghavan, 'The Original Paiśāchī Bṛihatkathā', *Bhāratakaumudī*, pp. 575-88

[2] i. 3

[3] ii, 29. 11, 12

[4] i. 1. 1

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confirms the existence in this period of the Brahmanical Purāṇas and the strong hold they had upon the people. While Gautama's *Dharma-sūtras* mention the Itihāsa and Purāṇa[1] among the constituents of the Brahmin's learning and among the authorities for the regulation of conduct, Āpastamba refers to Purāṇas, quotes from them and mentions a *Bhavishyatpurāṇa*;[2] and these two Dharmasūtras are assigned to the fifth or fourth century B.C. That the recitation of Itihāsas and Purāṇas was in vogue in the Mauryan and Śuṅga periods is known from Kauṭilya's mention of Itihāsa-śravaṇa and Purāṇa as a constituent of education[3] and from Patañjali's allusion to *grānthikas* and their *Kaṁsavadha* and *Balibandha*. Poets improvised their new compositions on the material of the Purāṇa narratives as is seen from Patañjali again; and that rulers emulated the kings of old whose exploits were sung in the Purāṇas is evident from the Śātavāhana and Kshatrapa inscriptions.

If Buddhism found patronage among some of the Greeks and Kushāṇas, Brahmanism attracted almost the whole of the Śaka settlers. Even among the Kushāṇas, a king in the second century A.D. calls himself Vāsudeva. Evidence that the Bhāgavata religion was not without influence upon the Graeco-Bactrians of North-West India is furnished by the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar, raised by Heliodorus of Taxila in the second century B.C. The Greek subscribes himself on this column as a *bhāgavata* and proclaims the steps to immortality expounded in a text of the *Mahābhārata*; the installation of Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu, depicted on the column exhibits the full development of Vaishṇavite beliefs. The Ghosundi inscription of 200 B.C. mentions a temple to *Saṁkarshaṇa* and *Vāsudeva*, who are again mentioned together under these names as well as under the synonyms of Rāmakeśava by Patañjali in the same age. Patañjali speaks also of dramatic shows protraying the exploits of Kṛishṇa. Saṁkarshaṇa occurs in Kauṭilya, and Vāsudeva goes back to Pāṇini himself. Megasthenes mentions that Kṛishṇa was worshipped in the country round Mathurā and in the regions to the west and south, the territory of the Śaurasenas. Clans with which Kṛishṇa was connected, Ābhīras, Vṛishṇis, Kukuras, Andhakas, and Bhojakas, played an influential part in the culture and history of this period.

The prevalence of Śaivism is borne out by a quantity of evidence. Patañjali[4] refers to *Śivabhāgavata*, a devotee of Śiva, going about with Śiva's emblem, a steel lance (*ayaśśūla*), and this gives some indication of the developed iconography of the Śiva-form at this time. Equally important is Patañjali's reference to images of Siva, Skanda and Viśākha[5]. The expounders of the Nyāya-Vaiśeshika systems were Śaivites in religion; Kaṇāda is said to have received his Vaiśeshika from Maheśvara, and Ulūka, one of Kaṇāda's names, regularly figures among Śiva's devotees; all the later Naiyāyikas from Uddyotakara onwards were, by express desig-

[1] 8. 6; 11. 19
[2] ii. 9. 23. 6
[3] i. 5
[4] v. 2. 76
[5] v. 3. 99

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nation, Pāśupatāchāryas; so much so that Jaina writers imply by the terms of 'Pāśupatas' and 'Śaivas,' Vaiśeshikas and Naiyāyikas. The Pāśupata occurs in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. The names of Skanda, Mahāsena, Kumāra, and Viśākha occur on some Kanishka coins, and the Kushāṇa prince, Wima Kadphises, of the middle of the first century A.D., styles himself a Māheśvara and uses Śaiva symbols on his coins. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that Lakulīśa, the founder of the historical Śaiva sect, gave a new impetus to the creed in the first century A.D.[1]

The different schools of Brahmins had each its own book of duties, *Kalpa-sūtra*, bearing on Vedic sacrifices, domestic ceremonies and personal and social conduct, *śrauta*, *gṛihya* and *dharma*. That the rites described in the Śrauta and Gṛihya *sūtras* were in full observance from the Mauryan to the Śātavāhana times is seen from the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Mahābhāshya* and above all the inscriptions. Despite the patronage of some kings, Buddhism evidently could not make much headway against Brahmanism; its trans-Indian missionary expansion, among peoples less metaphysically evolved and less religiously consolidated, may, in a way, be considered as a diversion resulting from the failure to register much or easy internal progress. The Śuṅgas and Kāṇvas created a powerful Brahmanic revival; the Kshatrapas took to Brahmanism zealously, and even the Prākṛit-loving Śātavāhanas performed Vedic sacrifices, called themselves Vedaśrī and Yajñaśrī and described themselves as Rājarshis and Ekabrāhmaṇas.

According to Mm. Kane, the Dharma Sūtras were already in existence in 600 B.C., and to the earliest period of the Dharmaśāstra literature 600-300 B.C. may be assigned the Sūtras of Gautama, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, while those of Vasishṭha, Vishṇu, Hārīta and Śaṅkha-Likhita may be placed between 300 and 100 B.C. Vasishṭha's work has come down in widely differing recensions ranging from six to thirty chapters; late additions are evident, but some of its views, e.g. that marriage is of only six kinds, instead of the usual eight, are decidedly old; it quotes from a proto-Manu and has *sūtras* in common with Gautama. The *Vishṇudharmasūtra* grew out of an ancient nucleus connected with the Kāṭhaka school of the Yajurveda; in its present form in uneven sections, in verse and varied prose, it is a Vaishṇavite redaction made some time between A.D. 300 and 700. It exhibits the influence not only of the *Bhagavadgītā*, but of the *Vishṇusahasranāma* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Drawing heavily on Manu and Yājñavalkya, this text, purporting to be Vishṇu's own revelation to the Earth-goddess, mentions the holy places of the South, and speaks of the week-days; yet its reckoning of the constellations from the Kṛittikās establishes the antiquity of its core.

Side by side with the Dharma Sūtras, metrical Smṛitis were also written even before the fourth century B.C. Yāska quotes a Dharmaśāstra verse recording the view of Manu-Svāyambhuva (III. 4). There was no doubt current a large mass of such verses in a rather fluid condition, associated

[1] *JBBRAS.* XXII pp. 151 ff.

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with Svāyambhuva-Manu, pertaining to religious and civil laws as well as to polity (*Arthāśāstra*), on which the present *Manusmṛiti* and the *Mahābhārata* alike drew; even Aśvaghosha's citations of Mānavadharma in the Vajrasūchī are only partly found in the present *Manusmṛiti*. The extant *Manusmṛiti* describes itself as the redaction of Bhṛigu and Nārada, and the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* acquaints us with four redactions of Manu-Svāyaṁbhuva by Bhṛigu (Sumati), Nārada, Bṛihaspati and Aṅgiras. It is clear, however, that the *Manusmṛiti* does not go back to any original called the *Mānavadharmasūtra*. It is accepted on all hands that the *Manusmṛiti* was recast in its present form between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. but the attempt[1] to identify it as a definite Śuṅga document can only be considered more ingenious than sound.

The growth of such metrical Smṛitis marks a stage in which Dharma had ceased to be considered in relation to particular schools and had come to be dealt with as applicable to the whole people; also, this was a stage in which the treatment of civil law was growing increasingly important and systematic, as can be seen from the gradual advance from Manu to Yājñavalkya, and from Yājñavalkya to Nārada. The scope of the *Manusmṛiti* extends over the whole of human activity and social relations, over religious and civil, personal and public law, over the duties of man and woman, and of men in each caste (*varṇa*) and station of life (*āśrama*), over principles of righteous conduct (*dharma*) as well as of polity (*artha*), and over the philosophical background of human existence and the spiritual salvation of man. Life as envisaged here is a consecration, and man is not a free agent acting under personal impulse but a *śishṭa* governed by the rule of law and duty. The acts of life are sacraments that chasten his nature, and life here and in the hereafter forms one harmonious synthesis. This ideology is in significant contrast to the Buddhistic way of life; it is not the abjuration of life, but the acceptance and sublimation of it; in its philosophical conclusion, the *Manusmṛiti*, echoing the *Bhagavad Gītā*, strikes the balance between *pravṛitti* and *nivṛitti* advocating the poise and peace of detachment in the midst of the active discharge of one's appointed duty.

To Kumārila, Manu is the law-giver *par excellence*; and Bṛihaspati declares : 'Other branches of knowledge, logic and grammar, shine only until Manu, the teacher of Dharma, Artha and Moksha, shows himself; that code which runs contrary to Manu is not commendable.'[2] Ever since its appearance, the *Manusmṛiti* has determined the manner and mode of Indian life; from the time the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* declared[3] that whatever Manu declared was medicine, Manu, more than even the philosophers, has stood as the symbol of Hinduism; 'in Manu we have the soul of a great section of the people;'[4] his influence in every department is so complete that we find on the one hand Kālidāsa describing Dilīpa's subjects

[1] K. P. Jayaswal, *Manu and Yājñavalkya*, Calcutta 1930, pp. 32-44
[2] *GOS.* LXXXV p. 233
[3] ii. 2. 10. 2.
[4] Keith, *HSL.* p. 443

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as not swerving from Manu's norm even by a line's breadth, and on the other, a distant Tamil king priding himself as Manunīti-Chola. Manu's sway was not confined to India but extended over Burma and Siam, Java and Bali. Couched in poetic style, breathing a high fervour, and full of sententious observations, Manu's work is not merely a religious or legal code, it occupies a unique place in literature. Comparing it with the Bible, Nietzsche finds it an 'incomparably intellectual and superior work.'[1]

Compared with the *Manusmṛiti*, the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, which definitely uses the former and Kauṭilya, represents a distinct advance in its form and legal content; the classification of the whole subject-matter under the three heads of Āchāra, Vyavahāra and Prāyaśchitta, the more detailed treatment of topics of *vyavahāra* like the ordeals, the reference to the propitiation of Vināyaka and the planets, the harnessing of music as a spiritual aid, the enumeration of fourteen branches of learning (*vidyās*) and of nineteen authors of Dharma, and the clear statement that on a point of conflict between the principles of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra the former should prevail, bespeak a stage later than that of Manu, say a period between 100 B.C. and A.D. 300. The text takes its name after one of the celebrated Vedic sages associated with the promulgation of the Śukla Yajurveda as well as of Upanishadic philosophy, and in the Smṛiti the affinity on one hand with the books of the White Yajurveda, the *Pāraskara Gṛihyasūtra* and the *Kātyāyana Śrāddhakalpa*, and on the other with Vedānta and Yoga is clear. Indeed, Yājñavalkya's name invests the text with great importance, and the Buddhistic *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* too appears to refer to it.

The Institutes of Nārada and Bṛihaspati are two other important Smṛitis of this period. The *Nāradasmṛiti* is probably the earliest text now known to deal exclusively with legal matters. The few untraced Nārada-citations on topics of religious conduct, expiation etc. found only in late digests refer obviously to a different and later text. As a *vyavahāra*-text, Nārada is known in three recensions, the longer, the shorter, and a third resembling the latter but having numberless variants. Nārada follows Manu and a preface in one version calls the work the ninth section of Nārada's redaction of the extensive original of Manu;[2] more elaborate and systematic than Yājñavalkya on judicial procedure and other matters, Nārada may be referred to the period A.D. 100-300. Early literary references and citations in prose warrant the existence of an older Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra and Dharmaśāstra. Different from these is a metrical Smṛiti ascribed to Bṛihaspati which may be placed between A.D. 200 and 400, some scholars being inclined to place it in the second century B.C.[3] This text of Bṛihaspati has not yet been discovered but it has been recons-

[1] *Antichrist*, sec. 56

[2] *Vide* exordium in the longer text, the colophon in the Nepalese MS. and the *Nāradi-ya-manusaṁhitā* in *TSS.* 97, with Bhavasvāmin's commentary.

[3] K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Bṛihaspati-Smṛiti*, (*GOS.* LXXXV) Intro. p. 185

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tructed[1] to a large extent from copious citations in other works. Not only does Bṛihaspati expressly glorify Manu, but he frames his text as a *vārttika*, a gloss and amplification, of Manu; he has much in common with Nārada too, but on the treatment of justice and procedure, he registers an advance over Yājñavalkya and Nārada; so that as a legal and juristic authority, he would rank very high and compare favourably with modern writers.

This was indeed the period of Sūtras, more particularly the few centuries before Christ. In religion and philosophy, the Brahmanical Sūtras were invoked and looked up to. That the word *sūtra* was the master or magic expression of the times is reflected in the Buddhistic movement which fashioned all its canon and literature under the caption 'Sūtra'.

For the Sūtras of the six Brahmanical systems of philosophy, Jacobi would consider A.D. 200-500 as the proper date. The polemical portions of these Sūtras and the parts comprehending Buddhistic tenets may have to be assigned to a relatively late period, but it must all the same be granted that the nuclear Sūtras and the leading ideas of these systems go back to an early period. The Buddhistic literature of these times shows acquaintance with the technical terms and the very names of some of these Brahmanical systems. The *Avadānaśataka* mentions the Vaiśeshika; Nāgārjuna mentions Sāṁkhya and Yoga, and his *Vigrahavyāvartanī* presupposes the *Nyāya-sūtras*; the *Lalita-vistara* mentions Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Vaiśeshika, and Hetuvidyā; the *Milindapañha* mentions Sāṁkhya, Yoga, Nyāya, and Vaiśeshika; Pāli texts speak of the Tārkikas, the *Kathāvatthu* (*c.* 255 B.C.) mentioning the Nyāya terms, *pratijñā*, *upanaya* and *nigraha*. On the Brahmanic side, *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* mentions Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā as two of the *vidyāsthānas*. Along with *śabdārtha* and *gāndharva*, Nyāya is found as an established *vidyā* in Rudradāman's inscription (A.D. 150). Charaka gives a resumé of Sāṁkhya and Nyāya-Vaiśeshika tenets. Patañjali[2] presupposes the *Nyāya-sūtras*. Kauṭilya speaks of Ānvīkshikī, comprising Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata. Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* presuppose Nyāya (logic), and the *tantrayuktis* dealt with by Kauṭilya at the end of his work contain terms of both Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya, and thus show that the methodology of śāstraic exposition was well systematized by that time. To the *Trayī*, *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*[3] adds Ānvīkshikī and Tarka, Ānvīkshikī as an aid to decide questions of Dharma[4]. It would therefore appear that while the Sūtras of Nyāya and Vaiśeshika were put into a systematic form between the fourth and second centuries B.C., the schools of thought bearing these names were earlier than the fourth century, and of the two, the Vaiśeshika was the earlier.

The Vaiśeshika, along with Sāṁkhya, figures much in Buddhistic literature. These two appear to be the earliest phases of anti-vedic or extra-vedic speculations which paved the way for Buddhism; it is not without

[1] Führer, Leipzig, 1879; Jolly, *SBE.* 33; K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *GOS.* LXXXV

[2] iii. 2. 123
[3] xi. 3
[4] xi. 23

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significance that later philosophical literature stigmatises the Vaiśeshika as half-Buddhistic, *ardha-vainā́śika*. In the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*, Kapila is mentioned as the Asura author of the scheme of *vānaprastha* and *sannyāsa āśramas*.[1] The view of the world as dominated by threefold misery, the futility of Vedic sacrifices etc. as means of attaining salvation, and the doctrine of *guṇas* as accounting by themselves and their manifold mutations for all activities which are, in essence, not real so far as the Purusha is concerned, must have influenced Buddhism;[2] the last especially is parallel to the Buddhistic doctrine of the non-permanent *dharmas*, which explain all that takes place in mind and matter. Sāṁkhya derived from Saṁ-khyā and Ānvīkshikī from Anu-īkshā alike show the dawn of the comparative, critical, and rationalistic outlook; hence it is that all rationalistic schools of thought, viz. Sāṁkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata, are included by Kauṭilya in Ānvīkshikī; Yoga, it may be remembered, is an early name of Vaiśeshika, and it is by *yogāchāra*, that Kaṇāda propitiated Śiva and got from him the Vaiśeshika. The *Vaiśeshika-sūtras* contain no reference to Buddhism. The expository literature on Nyāya-Vaiśeshika in the period under review is not known; what we now have, viz. Vātsyāyana's *Bhāshya* and Praśastapāda's work fall outside our period. However, it is clear from Vātsyāyana's comments on some *sūtras* that he had predecessors. More definitely we know that on the *Vaiśeshika-sūtras*, an early *Bhāshya* known by the names *Rāvaṇabhāshya* and *Kaṭandī* was current.[3] That the *Laṅkāvatāra* harnessed the personality of Rāvaṇa, that Rāvaṇa was a reputed Rākshasa and that Vaiśeshika was, to begin with, outside the pale of Vedic systems, make probable the existence in this period of a Vaiśeshika work ascribed to Rāvaṇa.

This period must have witnessed much activity in the field of Sāṁkhya also. According to Paramārtha's testimony recorded in Chinese, there were eighteen schools of Sāṁkhya. From the lineage of teachers preserved in the *Sāṁkhya-kārikās*, as also from other citations and references, many Sāṁkhya authors are known whose writings may be referred to the three or four centuries before Christ. Kapila, mentioned by Baudhāyana, was followed by Āsuri, Pañchaśikha, Vārshagaṇya, and Vindhyavāsin. The text known as *Shashṭitantra* is, in all likelihood, the work of Vārshagaṇya; he and Pañchaśikha represent an earlier phase of Sāṁkhya which is seen in Aśvaghosha and Charaka. A Sāṁkhya text called *Tattvasamāsa* is known but its antiquity is doubtful; a text like it is presupposed by the farce *Bhagavadajjukīya* (seventh century A.D.).[4] In fact the Sāṁkhya was the most influential school of thought in the early period; it permeated the epics and Purāṇas. The philosophy of detachment, *anāsakti*, which is one of the central teachings of the *Gītā*, would seem to be a practical and disciplinary corollary of the Sāṁkhya doctrine that the

[1] ii 6. 30
[2] S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *JOR.*, Madras, III pp. 1-5
[3] Sehrader, 'Vedānta and Sāṁkhya in Primitive Buddhism,' *IC.* I pp. 543-52
[4] *JOR.* II p. 146; also *Sarasvati Bhavan Studies*, X pp. 30-4

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Purusha is unaffected by the guṇas; the idea of *anāsakti* is ascribed, in fact, to Pañchaśikha in the *Bṛihaspatismṛiti.*[1] The Yoga is always considered part of *Śāṁkhya-pravachana.* Scholars usually assign a late date to the *Yoga-sūtras* which presuppose Buddhism, but the traditional identification of its author with the author of the *Mahābhāshya* has found acceptance with some. The Yoga as such goes back to the Vedas, if not to an earlier date. Yājñavalkya, the author of the Smṛiti, figures also as the author of a treatise on Yoga mentioned in the Smṛiti itself and quoted by authors of works on both Dharmaśāstra and Yogaśāstra. The *Yogayājñavalkya* is, however, found in two different texts, a shorter one addressed by the sage to Gārgī, his wife,[2] and a longer one addressed to Janaka and the sages at Mithilā.[3] It is the latter text that is quoted by the works mentioned above; while both use the Upanishads and the *Gītā* and deal with 'ashṭāṅga yoga', the shorter text which uses terms like 'Kuṇḍalī (śakti)' and 'Jīvanmukta' is decidedly later; the more authentic longer text is notable for its advocacy of the early phase of thought which held that the joint pursuit of knowledge and action (*jñāna-karma-samuchchaya*) is efficacious for release (*mukti*), for which even householders are held eligible.

The philosophy of the Upanishads was cultivated in this period both in theory and practice. The numerous references to *parivrājakas*, *tāpasas*, *muṇḍas*, *jaṭilas*, *vānaprasthas*, *yatis*, *āśramas*, and *tapovanas* in Kauṭilya show that Brahmanic mendicants were as much in evidence as their Buddhistic brethren. Even in the early Dharma-sūtras we find provision made in the last two stages, *vānaprastha* and *saṁnyāsa*, for a life of renunciation in the forest. While on one side we find Āpastamba's *Dharma-sūtras* offering an epitome of Upanishadic philosophy in the *Adhyātmapaṭala*, on the other we see Pāṇini mentioning the *Bhikshu-sūtras* of Pārāśarya and Karmanda.[4] Karmanda is later remembered as signifying one who has given up the performance of Karma; and the *sūtras* of Pārāśarya may as well have been the nucleus of the *Brahmasūtras* of Vyāsa, son of Parāśara. Upavarsha, whom literary tradition in the *Bṛihatkathā* and elsewhere places in the Nanda-Maurya age, is known to have written a *vṛitti* on the *Brahma-sūtras* as well as on the *Mīmāṁsā-sūtras.* As the earliest expounders took the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsās together and commented upon both, we may suppose that the *Kāśakṛitsna Mīmāṁsā* referred to by Patañjali may have comprehended the Vedānta also. Āpastamba refers to Nyāya as the means of decision on disputed points in Vedic exegesis and it is well known that Nyāya is an early name of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā. Further, the whole atmosphere of the work of the major *sūtrakāras* is saturated with the spirit of Mīmāṁsā. The *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā-sūtras* may therefore be

[1] *GOS.* LXXXV p. 231
[2] Printed in *TSS.* and elsewhere.
[3] Edn. Kaivalyadhāma, Lonavala, 1951. See also P. C. Diwanji's critical edn. *BBRAS.*, Monograph 3, 1954, where he says that this is the yoga text of Yājñavalkya mentioned by him in his Smṛiti.
[4] iv. 3. 110-1

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assigned to a period not later than 300 B.C.[1] Besides Upavarsha, there was another commentator on Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, by name Bhavadāsa, also presupposed by Śabarasvāmin in his *bhāshya* on *Mīmāṁsā-sūtras*. From the way he handles Nyāya and Vyākaraṇa it has been argued that Śabara could be placed in the second or first century B.C.,[2] but the prevailing view is that as he knows Patañjali[3] he should be placed between A.D. 100 and 500.

The early discussions on the meaning of Veda and its injunctions (*vākya*) were carried on side by side with inquiry into the significance of words (*pada*). The grammarians developed a philosophy of semantics and sound. The theory of *sphoṭa*, a permanent basis of all the perishable utterances, was probably there even in Pāṇini's days for he speaks of a sage-grammarian named Sphoṭāyana;[4] this and other grammatico-philosophical doctrines were discussed by Vyāḍi in his *Saṁgraha*; Vyāḍi held that *dravya* or *vyakti*, the particular object itself, was the meaning of a word (*padārtha*), as against Vājapyāyana who held that *ākṛiti* or the characteristic form or *jāti*, the genus, was the *padārtha*.[5] Patañjali says that the *Saṁgraha* prominently discussed the question whether sound is eternal or perishable;[6] a commentary on the *Vākyapadīya* cites the *Saṁgraha* again as holding the view that the word-meaning-relation (*śabdārtha-saṁbandha*) is eternal (*nitya*). The *Mahābhāshya* also goes into similar grammatico-philosophical questions.

JAINISM

To Bhadrabāhu (fourth century B. C.) *niryuktis* or short glosses on all the Jaina canonical texts are attributed. Digaṁbara tradition speaks of a second Bhadrabāhu in the first century B. C., who may be the author of the *niryuktis*. Tradition, as well as the opinion of some scholars, places in the first three centuries of the Christian era some of the earlier Jaina philosophers and poets known to us; the chronology of early Jaina literary history is in a very unsatisfactory condition ; we may, however, assume that at the same time when Nāgārjuna was expatiating on his relativism, the Jaina writers were also working out their *Syādvāda* or relative pluralism. Kundakunda, whom tradition assigns to the first century B. C. or A. D. and whom scholars place at different dates ranging up to A. D. 400.,

[1] On the Mīmāṁsā contents of the *Kātyāyana-Śrauta-sūtras* and their correspondence to Jaimini's Sūtras, See D. V. Garge, *Summary of papers, AIOC.* xv (Bombay) pp. 34-5, and *Bhāratīya Vidyā* xi iii-iv pp. 216-20

[2] G. V. Devasthali, *ABORI.* Silver Jubilee Vol. pp. 84-97, *J.G. Jha Res. Inst.* vi. 3. pp. 231-40; *Jl. Bom. Uni.* (New Ser.), xx ii pp. 101-6 *JOR.*, Madras, xviii (i) pp 16-24

[3] Mm. Kane, 'A brief sketch of the Purva Mīmāṁsā System; Gleanings, from Śabara,' *JBBRAS.* xxvi pp. 83-9; 'The Mahābhāshya and the Bhāshya of Śabara,' *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, vi iii-iv, pp. 43-5; D. V. Garge, *ABORI.* xxx iii-iv. pp. 254-62; 'Citations in Śabara Bhāshya', Deccan Coll. Res. Inst. Poona, 1952, pp. 23-6; Keith, *Karma-mīmāṁsā*, p. 9

[4] vi. 1. 123

[5] Vārttikas on i. 2. 64

[6] i. 1. 1

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is credited with the composition of eighty *prābhṛitas* and ten *bhaktis*; the *Pravachanasāra* and *Samayasāra* are two of his well-known works : from the peculiar nature of his name it has been suggested that he probably hailed from South India. Umāsvāti, considered as his pupil, is said to have written at Pāṭalīputra; his *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* is a compendious treatise on Jaina religion, philosophy, and beliefs. To him again, tradition assigns five hundred *Prakaraṇas*. Vaṭṭakera and Kārttikeyasvāmin are also assigned to the first century by some scholars.

BUDDHISM

The simple teaching of the Buddha did not long survive his Parinirvāṇa; ideas to which he was opposed were introduced; heretical adherents arose, a council had to be called to purify the Saṅgha, and various sects cropped up. With their belief in the superhuman and transcendental nature of the Buddha, the Mahāsāṅghikas rose against the traditional Sthaviravādins who held the Buddha to be human. The Sthaviras themselves comprised no less than eleven sections; of these Haimavatas were the old agnostic Sthaviras proper; the Sārvastivādins, known later as the Vaibhāshikas, along with the Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptas and Kāśyapīyas began to expound a realistic philosophy. The Vaibhāshikas, as their name indicates, attached importance to the commentaries called Vibhāshās; one of their authoritative texts is Kātyāyanīputra's *Abhidharmajñānaprasthānaśāstra* of the first century B.C. As against these Vaibhāshikas, the Sautrāntikas emphasised the Sūtras as the authority. The Mahāsāṁghika schismatics themselves fell into nine divisions.

While the Buddha concentrated on the problem of suffering, the causal chain thereof, the rooting out of desire, and renunciation, and displayed an agnostic attitude towards higher metaphysics and the existence of an Ātman, the need in the subsequent times to build up the new faith against the Brahmanical philosophers surrounding them, compelled the followers of the Buddha to turn their attention to metaphysical questions. They developed the doctrine of the impermanence of things to its full length and denied the existence of any permanent substratum or reality. Some of the sects mentioned above, like the Sarvāstivādins, had also, during this stage, to evolve their canonical literature in Sanskrit which was the vehicle of Brahmanism. Further, as a result of the thought fermenting in this period, they not only became unconsciously subject to the impact of the philosophies prevailing around them, but also began, with conscious effort, to effect certain adjustments in their ideas. The Sarvāstivādins were particularly concentrated in the North-West; and Sanskrit Buddhism which flourished there in Kashmir and Gāndhāra, spread thence to Tibet, Central Asia, and China, a process of expansion probably started by Buddhistic missionaries in the first century A.D., if not earlier. The Sanskrit Buddhistic canon recovered from these places in translations and fragments, shows correspondences as well as differences with the

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Pāli canon, and demonstrates clearly that it can no longer be claimed that the Pāli canon was the original.

This Sanskrit Buddhistic literature arose mostly in the first centuries before and after Christ and received a further fillip from two circumstances,—the rise of the Mahāyāna sect and the conversion of eminent Brahmin scholars. An account preserved in Northern Buddhism speaks of the formation of the Sanskrit Tripiṭaka in the council held by Kanishka. Mahāyāna was not exactly originated by Aśvaghosha; it was a natural and gradual growth; probably the origin of the terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna is to be seen in the feuds between the Sthaviras and the Mahāsāṅghikas, and so far as the expression *yāna* is concerned, we have the Brahmanic Devayāna and Pitṛiyāna which go back to Vedic times. The Sautrāntikas and the Mahāsāṅghikas had already sown the seeds of Mahāyāna. The reservoir-consciousness, *ālayavijñāna* of the later *Yogāchāra-vijñānavāda*, was already foreshadowed in the *mūla*-consciousness of the Mahāsāṅghikas and in the belief of the Mahīśāsakas in something over and above the aggregates; and the Hīnayāna Pudgala, the phenomenal self, paved the way for the two orders of reality of the Mādhyamikas. A kind of absolutism, parallel to that of Vedānta, crept through *tathatā*, *vijñāna* and *nirvāṇa*; the infusion of a fervent devotion, such as is found in the *Bhagavadgītā*, to the personality of the Buddha, and the Bodhisattva ideal which Mahāyāna exalted above the personal arhatship of Hīnayāna, and which is clearly analogous to the Vedāntic *jīvanmukta*, completed the picture; so much so, as Keith points out,[1] that the *Laṅkāvatāra* in a telltale passage raises the question whether the Tathāgatagarbha was not the Vedāntic Ātman and repudiates formally the suggestion of any plagiarism.[2]

About nine works called *Vaipulya Sūtras* constitute the corpus of basic Mahāyāna texts according to the Nepalese tradition. The sect took over the earlier accounts of the Buddha, viz. the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*. On the philosophical side, its earliest text seems to be the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* which has discussions on *Śūnyatā*. One of the Pāramitā-sūtras was rendered into Chinese in A. D. 179, and another, the *Pañchaviṁśati*, between A. D. 261 and 316. Of the other texts, the foremost is the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, characterised by Buddha-bhakti and permeated in every line, as Winternitz says, with the Purāṇic spirit;[3] it was, in all likelihood, at least in its nucleus, produced in the first century A. D., for Nāgārjuna quoted it. The next well-known treatise is the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* in which the Buddha enlightens Rāvaṇa of Ceylon, and which, judging by the glosses of Āryadeva on two sections of it (preserved in Chinese), goes back in its original form to the second century A. D. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* is said to have gone to China in the first century A. D.,

[1] *Buddhism*, p. 261

[2] D. T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, London 1930, pp. 138, 388. Also E. H. Johnston, Foreword to his edn. of *Ratnagotravibhāga*, p. xiii, *JBRS.* xxxvi i-ii, Supplement.

[3] *HIL.* II pp. 301-2

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and the *Daśabhūmīśvara* on the ten steps to Buddhahood was translated into Chinese in A. D. 297. Definitely theistic is the *Avalokiteśvara-guṇa-kāraṇḍavyūha* rendered into Chinese in A. D. 270. Other texts of this school are the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, the *Vajrachchhedikā*, the *Samādhirāja*, the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (Chinese A. D. 186) and the *Kāśyapaparivarta* on the Bodhisattva ideal and *śūnyatā*; the work last mentioned is included in the *Ratnakūṭa* and was rendered into Chinese in A. D. 178-184.

To Aśvaghosha is ascribed a number of philosophical and quasi-philosophical works; but these are mostly apocryphal. Nevertheless, scholars have devoted attention to one of these texts, the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*, the awakening of faith in Mahāyāna, though of even this, R. Kimura would identify the author as Aśvaghosha II.[1] In this work is expounded a philosophy called *tathatā* (*tatha*, *tathya*, *real*), which, as against the older belief that nothing persists, accepts an indescribable or unconditioned element at the bottom of the things, a position clearly midway between Buddhistic non-essentialness and the Upanishadic Brahman and clearly inspired by the earlier Brahmanism of the author.

With Aśvaghosha at Kanishka's court was Vasumitra to whom we owe a description of the eighteen sects of Buddhism ; this writer is believed to have taken a leading part in the council said to have been convened under Kanishka's aegis. In Tibetan, there is a Sanskrit *Udānavarga* which corresponds to the Pāli *Dhammapada* and of which fragments have been recovered from Central Asia. According to Tāranātha, the author of this *Udāna*, Dharmatrāta, also flourished in Kanishka's court. Dharmatrāta, said to have been an uncle of a Vasumitra,[2] wrote also the *Saṁyukta-abhidharma-hṛidaya-śāstra*. A Harivarman and his *Satyasiddhi-śāstra* of *c.* A. D. 260-280 are also known from the Chinese.

Of all the Buddhistic authors, the most celebrated is Nāgārjuna of the second century A. D. Like Aśvaghosha, he was originally a Brahmin, and so the influence of Vedānta on his thought has naturally to be accepted. Traditional histories of his life in Tibetan and Chinese describe him as a native of a suburb of Kāñchī or of Vidarbha, and his connection with Śrīparvata and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Guntur district shows that his activities lay in the South, in the Śātavāhana territory. He is associated with king Śātavāhana in more than one tradition and literary reference. According to the Prākṛit romance *Līlāvaī* (*Līlāvatī*), Nāgārjuna was in Śātavāhana's court along with Poṭṭisa and Kumārila, the last two names receiving authentication from Hāla's *Saptaśatī*. A letter of Nāgārjuna, *Suhṛillekha*, to his friend the Śātavāhana king has been preserved in Tibetan. A number of Sanskrit works pertaining to alchemy and magic which make him a '*siddha*', and similar Buddhistic legends which reduce him to the level of a magician, hardly do justice to the brilliant founder of the Mādhya-

[1] See also P. Demiéville, 'Sur l'authenticité du Ta Tch' eng k'i sin louen', *Bull. de la Maison Fr. Jap.* 11, 2 Tokyo, 1929. Demiéville now thinks that the text might have been written in China.

[2] There were several Vasumitras and Dharmatrātas.

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mika metaphysic. Evidently he had other later, and inferior, namesakes and it is not possible to accept the authenticity of all the works fathered on him. The *Dharmasaṁgraha* attributed to him is one such instance, and the *Aksharaśataka* has been identified by some as a work of his pupil Āryadeva. The chief work of Nāgārjuna expounding the Mādhyamika philosophy is the *Mādhyamika-kārikās* with his own gloss called *Akutobhayā*. His philosophy takes its name from its advocacy of the middle or conditional or relative reality of things (*saṁvṛiti-satya*), neither totally non-existent nor existent in the real sense. The other works that can be accepted as his are *Yuktiśatikā*, *Śūnyatāsaptati*, *Pratītyasamutpādahṛidaya*, *Mahāyānaviṁśikā*, *Vigrahavyāvartanī*, and commentaries on the *Prajñāpāramitāśāstra* and *Daśabhūmivibhāshāśāstra*. In Tibetan, an attack on the sixteen Nyāya categories, the *Pramāṇavighaṭana*, and in Chinese, a treatise on debate, translated in A.D. 472, the *Upāyakauśalyahṛidaya*, are also found to be his works.

Nāgārjuna was followed by his pupil Āryadeva who came from Ceylon, or from South India according to the Chinese.[1] In his leading work, the *Chatuśśataka*, he expounds the Mādhyamika system of his master and defends it against Brahmanical systems and other Buddhist sects. A handbook of his on this system, *Hastabālaprakaraṇa* or *Mushṭiprakaraṇa*, gives in five verses the essential doctrines of the unreality of phenomena and the two kinds of reality. A *Chittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa* criticising Brahmanical practices like bathing in the Ganges, and making reference to week-days and *rāśi* is also ascribed to him, but its authenticity is not accepted.

SECULAR LORE AND TECHNICAL SCIENCES

Yājñavalkya's express devaluation of Arthaśāstra as against Dharmaśāstra may be taken as an indication of a reaction against the dominant position that the greatest treatise on Indian polity, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, had been enjoying in the field of political thought ever since it was composed during the time of Chandragupta Maurya. Kauṭilya names a number of authorities on the subject some of whom appear also in the *Mahābhārata*, and his own work is a critical compendium based on their writings. Whatever attention polity received during the centuries after Kauṭilya is to be found only in the Rājadharma portions of the Dharmaśāstra works and the original versions of the Purāṇas of this period already referred to. No other exclusive treatise on Arthaśāstra belonging to this period is known.

In contrast to the Buddhistic view of life, the ideal of the Brahmanic Dharmaśāstra was a balanced life, which man enjoyed without transgressing the bounds of righteousness. Even Kauṭilya, who insists that the king should practise sense-control (*indriya-nigraha*) lays down that he should not deprive himself of pleasures. The rich life of the people, high and low,

[1] Nanjio, *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka*, p. 370

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is well reflected in the *Arthaśāstra* itself. Music, dance and drama have already been referred to. At the very capital where Kauṭilya was writing, the art of love was cultivated, and one Dattaka was requested by the courtezans, for whom Pāṭaliputra was famous, to prepare a book for their guidance. Though the *Dattaka-sūtras* have not yet been recovered, Vātsyāyana mentions Dattaka's work, and later works based on it are known. Many other writers are mentioned by Vātsyāyana as the sources of his *Kāmasūtra*, Bābhravya of Pāñchāla, Chārāyaṇa, Suvarṇanābha, Ghoṭakamukha, Gonardīya, Goṇikāputra, and Kūchumāra. Though some of these names occur in other works, nothing is known of the identity or the age of these early writers on erotics. The *Nāṭyaśāstra* has its own chapter on this subject. But the most important and in fact the only early text that has come down to us is the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. It is a remarkable production and has influenced life and literature alike in subsequent times. The historical data in the work which include a reference to a Kuntala Śātakarṇi have led some scholars to assign the work to the third century A.D.; but others have taken it back to the first century A.D. or brought it down to A.D. 500.[1] All that we can say is that among the subjects of learning mentioned in Buddhistic accounts like the *Lalitavistara*, Kāmaśāstra finds a place, the poet Aśvaghosha knows a work of this kind, and Kālidāsa shows knowledge of Vātsyāyana.

The *Arthaśāstra* opens our eyes to an abundance of popular lore and technical sciences enjoying a vogue in this period, the reading of omens, birds' voices, telling fortunes, physiognomy, and dreams, magic and sorcery, lapidary art, mineralogy, agriculture, cultivation of plants and trees, the preparation of perfumes, garlands etc., shampooing and the arts of thought-reading, living by one's wits, and entertaining people with jokes. A list covering a similar variety of subjects is also to be met with in the *Lalitavistara*.

Two of the technical sciences which were cultivated during this period deserve special notice, medicine and astrology. Indian tradition makes a subsidiary Veda of the art of healing. Both Buddhistic and Brahmanical literature of the pre-Christian centuries contain references to medicine and surgery. Kauṭilya speaks of healing, counteracting poison, maternity, child-care, and veterinary science. The profession of the physician and surgeon received attention, and misconduct on their part was punishable under both Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra. According to the Ceylonese *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā*, Chāṇakya devised a graded regimen of poisoned food to render Chandragupta's constitution immune to poison and achieved the wonderful obstetric feat of opening the womb of a dead queen of Chandragupta, and bringing to full life the foetus of Bindusāra by rearing it by stages in the wombs of different goats. Chāṇakya is known as a medical author,[2] but we cannot vouch for the authenticity

[1] H. C. Chakladar, *Studies in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtras*, pp. 30-40; Keith, *HSL.* p. 469

[2] *The Mahāvamso:* G. Turnour (1837), Intro. p. xlii.

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of certain medical works that pass under his name. The early history of Indian medicine is full of the names of sages, gods, and demons, and it is impossible to say anything definite about the authors and their dates in this early age. It may, however, be noted that Jīvaka, a pupil of Ātreya, figures in Buddhistic literature as a contemporary of the Buddha. The earliest of the extant medical books is the *Charakasaṁhitā*. While Brahmanical tradition ascribes a redaction of the *Charakasaṁhitā* to Patañjali, Buddhistic tradition makes Charaka a court-physician of Kanishka. Dṛiḍhabala of Kashmir may have edited and amplified Charaka again in the eighth or ninth century A.D., but we need have no hesitation in placing the original Charaka in an early age. Traditionally Suśruta, is deemed a son of the sage Viśvāmitra, and his *Saṁhitā* would be earlier than Charaka and his work; but there is no evidence to determine the exact date of Suśruta.[1] To Nāgārjuna who figures in our period, a good number of medical treatises are assigned.

While medicine was an Upaveda, astronomy and mathematics were a Vedāṅga. But the chronology of the early works in this branch is extremely uncertain. Kaye suggests the broadly divided periods: Vedas, Brāhmaṇas etc. 1200-400 B.C., Vedāṅga-jyotisha etc. 400 B.C.-A.D. 200,[2] Itihāsa-Purāṇas, 400 B.C.-A.D. 400 and so on. According to his scheme, the astronomical and mathematical material that would fall in our period is represented by *Vedāṅga-jyotisha*, portions of the Jaina *Sūryaprajñapti*, the *Pitāmahasiddhānta* which mentions Śaka 2 (A.D. 80)[3] and portions of the *Arthaśāstra* and the epics containing references relevant to *jyotisha*. The geometry of the Śulba-sūtras, which are also assigned to this period., may have, according to some, influenced the Pythagorean theorem.

[1] Filliozat, *La Doctrine de la Médicine indienne*, Paris 1949, pp. 12, 18 assigns the originals of Charaka to 2nd or 1st century B.C. and of Suśruta to the last centuries before Christ.
[2] Kaye, *Hindu Astronomy*.
[3] Ibid. pp. 8, 31

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CHAPTER XXI

HISTORY OF THE TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

THE oldest representative of the Dravidian group of languages is Tamil. The other languages belonging to this group are Telugu, Kannaḍa, Malayālam, Gondi, Kolami, Kui, Kurukh, Malto and Brāhui. Telugu in the east of the Deccan and Kannaḍa in the west and Tamil and Malayālam in the south form one compact block.

The Tamil language is a composite texture of three elements, viz. the Muṇḍā, the Dravidian, and the Aryan, the Dravidian element predominating. The word *āḷ* meaning man is probably of Muṇḍā origin, as it is found in Oraon. Instances of words of Aryan or Dravidian origin easily occur to one's mind. A comparative vocabulary of the Muṇḍā, the Dravidian, and the Aryan languages is bound to throw much light on the process of distinguishing these several elements.

The northern groups of people, like the Gonds, speaking the Dravidian tongues have a very low culture. They live next to Muṇḍā-speaking aborigines. The Dravidians of the south on the other hand, are highly cultured and their languages have given rise to refined literatures, under the influence of Sanskrit. Telugu literature is not earlier than the year 1000; the oldest Kannaḍa text dates from about 500; Tamil literature is doubtless older. All the Dravidian alphabets are derived, according to Bloch, from those of Northern India of the fourth or fifth century A.D. The origin of the Dravidian alphabets may be accepted, but the date of the script as far as Tamil is concerned may well be questioned. The Brāhmī inscriptions found in the Tamil areas (Madurai and Tirunelveli) are in the Tamil language and are assignable to the third or second century B.C. In the early Śaṅgam period the word '*nūl*'[1] occurs in the sense of 'technical treatise', and names were inscribed on memorial stones.[2] Moreover, we know that the Tamilian civilization was such as to command the respect of emperor Aśoka. Megasthenes and Kātyāyana may be cited to show that the Tamilian dynasties were well known not later than the fourth century B.C. We do not know when these dynasties came into existence.[3] With such a civilization and with ruling dynasties of such high antiquity, we may not perhaps seriously err if we assume that the Brāhmī script was adopted for literary purposes about the first or second century B.C. and assign the beginning of written Tamil literature to the same period. Earlier than this, there must have existed oral literature traditionally handed down from generation to generation for some centuries.

[1] *Neḍunalvāḍai, l.* 76; *Maduraikkāñji, l.* 646; *Śiṟupāṇ l.* 230

[2] *Pur.* 260, 264

[3] Cf. Parimēlaḻagar on *Kuṟaḷ* 955

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But the beginnings of the Tamil language must be placed far earlier. Attempts have been made to prove the antiquity of Tamil on linguistic grounds. For instance, the Greek physician Ctesias (401 B.C.) describes an odorous oil produced from an Indian tree having flowers like the laurel which the Greeks called 'muroroda', but which in India was called 'karpion'. Dr. Caldwell[1] is inclined to identify this Indian word with the Tamil-Malāyalam *karuppa* or *karuva* (cinnamon), and comes to the conclusion that we have here the earliest Dravidian word quoted by the Greeks. But *karuva* is a late word in Tamil and bears a very suspicious appearance of being of foreign origin. 'Karuppa' is derived by Rev. H. Gundert from Ar. *quarfah* and this seems the most satisfactory derivation. Two other words much relied upon by Caldwell are the Hebrew words, *tuki* for peacock and *ahalim* for aloe occurring respectively in the Hebrew Bible in the passages translated 'For the king (Solomon, *c.* 1000 B.C.) had at sea a navy of Tharshish, with the navy of Hiram: once in three years came the navy of Tharshish bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks', and 'I have perfumed my bed with myrrh, aloes and cinnamon.'[2] '*Tuki*' has been sought to be identified with the Tamil *tōkai*. No doubt the word bears this meaning even in the earliest Tamil literature.[3] But it had not this meaning in the first instance. Its earliest meaning was only 'tail' in general.[4] In the sister languages of the Dravidian group, the word has the same meaning—'tail'. Later it acquired by restriction of usage the specific sense of 'peacock's tail', and then, by a figure of speech, the sense of 'peacock', as in *Kuṟundogai* 26, and later still by constant poetic usage, its meaning was extended to 'beautiful woman' as in *tōkaipākarkku*.[5] Thus the respective words in Tamil and Hebrew do not agree in their original meanings, while the etymology itself is doubtful. The Hebrew *ahalim* is sought to be traced to the Tamil *agil*. Now, the Tamil word is of a later date than Skt. *agaru*, and Caldwell himself admits the possibility of connection between the Hebrew and the Sanskrit word. He suggests also that the word might be derived from the Tamil *aḻagu*. But this again is a late word and only rarely occurs in the earliest works. Nor is it found in other Dravidian languages. Apart from geographical names adopted by Greek writers, *ariśi* (rice) seems to be the only Tamil word borrowed by the Greeks. But here also we cannot shut our eyes to the possibility that *ariśi* or its earlier form *ari* is of Sanskrit origin (*vrīhi*).[6] Caldwell's statement that the Malayālam word *ari* is a corruption is clearly wrong, as it is found in the earliest Tamil literature,[7] and in Kannaḍa and Tulu. Even if the Greek word 'oryza' is ultimately proved to be of Tamil origin, the date of its borrowing is not ascertainable.

Some scholars have persuaded themselves that the inscribed seals from

[1] *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Language*, 1913 edn, pp. 89-91
[2] I Kings 10, 22; Proverbs 7, 17. Are these writings contemporaneous with Solomon?
[3] *Aiṅguṟunūṟu* 297
[4] *Aham* 13, 122
[5] Kamban : Tiruvavatāra, 10
[6] Przyluski, '*Nom du Riz*', in *Études Asiatiques*
[7] *Malaipaḍu-kaḍām. l.* 413

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the Indus valley support the high antiquity of Tamil. But as Patrick Carleton[1] has observed 'neither Prof. Langdon nor any other responsible authority has ventured to decide in what language the inscriptions are written, still less to offer a translation'.[2]

Leaving such speculations on one side, and turning our attention to literature, we may note at once that the date of the Brāhmī inscriptions gives us a limit beyond which it may not be possible to go. It must be borne in mind that literature can thrive only when the art of writing has come into general practice among the learned. So we have to conclude that there was no written Tamil literature in the accepted sense of the term before the third century B.C., if the date generally assigned to the Brāhmī inscriptions is correct.

As regards the script itself it goes back, according to G. Bühler, to a Semitic origin[3] and its characters are found in Phoenician inscriptions. Probably it was introduced into India about 800 B.C. by merchants. It must have been, for a long time, used entirely for commercial purposes, correspondence, calculations etc. Later it began to be used also for state proclamations, and epigraphs, and the kings must have employed learned persons for such purposes. These men adapted the foreign alphabet more and more to the needs of Indian phonetics, and out of the 22 Semitic characters, elaborated a complete alphabet of 44 letters (of Sanskrit) as the oldest inscriptions already show. In the Buddhist canon completed about 240 B.C. there are sufficient proofs of an acquaintance with the art of writing and its extensive use at that time.[4] In the South, it was only the Buddhists and the Jainas who first used this script for the Tamil language, and we may legitimately infer that they introduced it just as they had found it in vogue among their communities in the North. With the exception of sounds peculiar to southern languages, the alphabetic arrangement is identical in Sanskrit and Tamil; for the sounds peculiar to Tamil, like the short *e* and *o* the letters expressing their long sounds are used with some modifications. This shows clearly that the alphabetic system from which the Tamil language adopted its alphabet must have been lacking in short *e* and *o*, and this is exactly the case with Sanskrit. Hence we have to conclude that the Tamil alphabet is of northern origin. The script was in all probability used for recording literary productions (mainly religious) in Sanskrit and Pāli, about the third or fourth century B.C. For literary work in Tamil (mainly secular) it was adopted, as already said, probably about the first or second century B.C.

Tradition says that there existed three Tamil Śaṅgams or Academies in which Tamil literary works were 'heard' and assessed, the first academy lasting for 4440 years, the second for 3,700 and the third for 1850.

[1] *Buried Empires*, Edw. Arnold & Co., 1944, p. 141; Ernest Mackay, *Indus Civilisations*, 2nd. ed.

[2] Cf. Piggott, *Prehistoric India*, 1950, pp. 178-81

[3] Available evidence seems to show that all the alphabets of the world are traceable to one source. Frederick Bodomer, *The Loom of Language*, p. 49.

[4] Winternitz, *HIL.* I pp. 31-40

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Altogether these three Śaṅgams lasted for 9990 years. Since scholars hold that the last phase of the third Śaṅgam was coeval with the beginning of the Christian era, the first Śaṅgam, according to this tradition, must have come into existence about 10,000 B. C. ! This tradition is recorded in the commentary of *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*, written perhaps about the twelfth century A. D. Gods also are said to have participated in the deliberations of the first Śaṅgam. We may leave such fables alone and seek for historical truth elsewhere.

In this traditional account, a certain poet, Murañjiyūr Muḍi Nāgarāyar, is said to have been a member of the first academy. To this poet is ascribed the second stanza of *Puṟanānūṟu*, (p. 518 *ante*) in which a Chera king is said to have fed impartially both the contending armies in the Mahābhārata battle. It is argued from this that the poet, the academy, and the king were all contemporaneous with the Great Battle which is believed to have taken place at the beginning of the *Kaliyuga*, i.e. 3102 B. C. Hence Tamil literature, the protagonists of this view say, must have had its beginnings anterior to 3102 B. C. But not even the most extensive redaction of the Great Epic in Sanskrit contains this story about the Chera monarch. The Tamil poem is in fact simply a eulogy of the king's benevolence and nothing more. A Chola king also claims to have been the head of the commissariat department in this Bhārata war.[1] The Pāṇḍyas claimed to be the descendants of the Pāṇḍavas, Arjuna marrying Chitrāṅgadā, the Pāṇḍya princess. These stories should not be taken seriously. Winternitz[2] says: 'Indian Kings were just as fond of tracing their ancestry back to those who fought in the Bhārata battle as European princes were anxious to prove their descent from the heroes of the Trojan war (Cf. Rapson, *Cambridge History* I p. 307). I consider it as entirely contrary to historical criticism to draw chronological conclusions....from this fiction.'

References in Tamil literature have also been pressed into service to prove its high antiquity. One such instance occurs in Nachchinārkkiniyar's commentary on *nānmaṟai* in the prefatory verse to *Tolkāppiyam*. He says that *Tolkāppiyam* was written long before Vyāsa shaped the Vedas into four great collections ! A second instance is furnished by the stanzas[3] which refer to the *Mōriyas* and the *Nandas* as well as to the *Kōśar* and *Mōhūr*. The references discussed fully elsewhere in this volume (p. 501) give no support for a date anterior to the Christian era for the extant Śaṅgam literature.

One other reference has been made much of by some Tamil scholars.[4] In the prefatory stanza of *Tolkāppiyam*, the oldest extant Tamil grammar, Tolkāppiyar, its author, is referred to as one thoroughly versed in *Aindram*. As *Aindram* is deemed to be one of the pre-Pāṇinian systems and as Pāṇini is generally assigned to the fifth century B. C., it is argued that Tolkāp-

[1] *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* 181
[2] *HIL.* I p. 523, *n.* 2
[3] *Pur.* 175; *Aham* 69, 251, 281
[4] M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*

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piyar must have composed his great work at least in the fifth century B. C. There must have been a considerable body of Tamil literature before Tolkāppiyar, and this literature must be of far greater antiquity. True, but the argument is reared on wrong premises.[1] Aindra was not the name of any particular work, but the name of a grammatical *system* ascribed to Indra.[2] The system was pre-Pāṇini ; but the name 'Aindra' itself is post-Pāṇini and Pāṇini does not mention it. The *Aindra* system continued to exist long after Pāṇini, and it was followed by the Jainas and some others. *Kātantra*, variously assigned to the third or fourth century A. D.[3] is a representative of the system. Consequently any reference to Aindra is no proof for a pre-Pāṇinian date. Even supposing that the name Aindra were pre-Pāṇini, there would be nothing to prevent a later author from mentioning the Aindra and making use of it in his work. The highly technical and artificial system of Pāṇini could not be adopted for a language with a different genius.

Contrary to the above view, a reference in *Puṟanānūṟu* has been urged by a scholar, in support of a *late* date, the tenth century A. D., for the earliest of the extant works of Tamil literature. In st-201 of this collection, Kapilar says of Iruṅgō-vēḷ that he is a chieftain of the family of Vēḷir whose progenitor, forty-nine generations before, made his advent out of the sacrificial pit of a northern sage and ruled Dvārakā. The *Divākaram*, the earliest of the Tamil *nighaṇṭus*, identifies the Vēḷir (Vēl-pula-araśar) with the Chalukyas and so the above tradition may be taken to refer to the Chalukyan origin. But there are other dynasties who have a similar tradition. An inscription of Yuvarāja II of the Kalachuri dynasty mentions a similar tradition, and there are other records of it also.[4] The conflicting versions of this widespread tradition render its evidence of no historical value. In the same *Puṟam* stanza and in the next (202) its hero is called '*pulikaḍimāl*, meaning 'the great one who vanquished a tiger'. This reminds us of the legendary origin given for the term 'Hoysaḷa'. At best the references would show the existence of such tradition in the 6th century A.D. In this connection, we might also consider the reference to Gangan Kaṭṭi in Aham (44). All these, however, may affect the antiquity of the *compilation* of Puṟam and Aham, and not the antiquity of the *earliest stratum* of Śaṅgam literature.

It is only the Greek writers of the first and second century A. D. who furnish us with reliable data for deciding the antiquity of Tamil literature. Of these, the earliest was Strabo, an Asiatic Greek who wrote his *Geography* in the first quarter of the first century A.D. Strabo mentions an embassy sent to Augustus on his accession by an important king, called Porus by some, and Pandion by others.[5] Critics incline with good reason to the view that it

[1] For a full discussion see *Tamiḻ-chuḍar-maṇigaḷ*, pp. 27-39

[2] Belvalkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 11

[3] Keith, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 431. See, however, p. 636 *ante*.

[4] *IA*. VII 74; *BG*. IV p. 339; *EI*. XV p. 106; EC. Hassan 65-6

[5] Rawlinson, *India and the Western World*, pp. 107-8

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must be Porus, a generic name with Greek writers for an Indian king. Even so, a Pāṇḍya embassy to Augustus seems probable. Strabo had to rely for his information about India mainly upon previous writers. The few bold sailors who went as far as the mouth of the Ganges and who could give information were ignorant men, ill qualified to describe what they had seen. Pliny the Elder set to work on his encyclopaedic *Natural History* and completed it in the year A. D. 77. The sixth book of this work contains a valuable description of Ceylon and an interesting account of a voyage to the Indian coast. He also tells us that passengers preferred to embark at Barake in the Pāṇḍya country rather than at Muśiris, on account of pirates.[1] Barake was the port for the pepper trade, Kottonara (Kuṭṭanāḍ) the centre of the pepper area. To about the same time (*c* A. D. 80) belongs the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.

All these works give us an idea of the trade of the Tamil country with the West which agrees substantially with the indications on the same subject in the early Tamil poems. There are ten references to Yavanas in this early Tamil literature, most of which have been discussed elsewhere (chh. xvi, xvii). An *Aham* stanza (149) mentions the flourishing Muśiri where the Yavanas[2] come in their finely-shaped vessels loaded with gold specie and return freighted with pepper. These vessels entering rapidly in good numbers are said to agitate the foaming waters of the great river Chulḷi. Another stanza (57) from the same collection describes Muśiri as a sea-port. A *Puṟam* stanza (343) says that the pepper heaped in house-yards in Muśiri is put in bags and these bags make the shore groan with their weight. Further it says that the gold (specie) which the sea-going vessels bring is taken ashore by the small craft plying in backwaters. Another port which we find mentioned in these works is Toṇḍi (Gk. Tyndis) and there are as many as twenty-four references to it. From all these references, however, we gain no historical information except that it was a flourishing sea-port (*mun-tuṟai*: *Kuṟun.* 128) belonging to the Cheras on the west coast.

The references to Muśiri, it should be noted, are in the present tense, and we may legitimately infer that the poets in whose poems they occur lived at a period when that famous sea-port was commercially important and consequently much frequented by Yavana merchants. The southern ports became the centre of commercial activity only after the discovery of the monsoons by Hippalus *c*. A. D. 45. The Yavana trade declined about the beginning of third century A. D. Considering the fact that the literary references to Muśiri tally exactly with what the *Periplus* has to say about this ancient port, the conclusion is forced upon us that the poets who made these references lived between A. D. 100 and 250. No doubt the limits are only approximate, but this is as near the truth as we

[1] Rawlinson, op. cit., p. 111-2

[2] Some scholars have expressed the view that the references to Yavana merchants might be in regard to Arab or Persian merchants. But the corroboration from classical sources puts this view entirely out of court.

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can ever hope to reach. This conclusion is confirmed by other considerations set forth already.[1] No known poet of the Śaṅgam Age seems to be earlier than the second century A. D. This, however, was far from the beginning of Tamil literature.

Its earliest extant strata contain several grammatical terms and also several conventionalised literary usages which imply an earlier period when linguistic investigations and speculations were rife, and when grammatical notions and categories were defined. For instance, one of the earliest poets who has sung about Udiyañjēral mentioned above says that Duryodhana and his brothers wore the golden *tuṁbai* flower, and fought against the Pāṇḍavas (*Puṟam.* 2). Here we have evidence of a well-established literary convention. This shows that such conventions had been settled at a time earlier than the date of the poet. Another instance: one early poet, Kapilar, has sung a centum of poems on love-themes of Kuṟiñji (*Aiṅguṟunūṟu* III) and a long poem *Kuṟiñji-p-pāṭṭu* on the same theme. Another poet has sung *Mullai-p-pāṭṭu*. These show that the five-fold classification and naming of *tiṇais*, the particular love-aspect to be dealt with in each *tiṇai*, and other relevant matters had all been settled long prior to Kapilar. These are all conventions. Purely grammatical terms also are found used by these early poets. For instance, the term *uyartiṇai* occurs in st. 224 of *Kuṟuṇtogai*. It is well known that, in Tamil, nouns are divided into '*class noble* and *hors classe*' in the phraseology of Jules Bloch, answering respectively to *uyartiṇai* and *aḫṟiṇai*.

These instances are sufficient to prove the existence of earlier works embodying the conventions and treating of the subject-matter which belong properly to the province of grammar. It might be said that the *Tolkāppiyam* would answer the purpose. Tolkāppiyar's definition of *tuṁbai* does not tally with the use of the term in the instance above noted. So the author of *Puṟanānūṟu* (2) must have had some other grammar in view. Moreover Tolkāppiyar's date is rather late as will be shown in the next volume, and these poets must have preceded him by about three centuries. It may be noted that he himself refers in a general way to several grammarians, none of whose works are now extant. Very probably, the early Śaṅgam poets had these grammars for their guidance. We must allow the time needed for this grammatical literature to spring up and develop. About a century would suffice for this.

These grammatical treatises again imply a considerable amount of literature upon which may be based rules and conventions. Even if we grant two centuries for this literature to develop, we shall have to place the beginnings of Tamil literature about the second century B.C. One other fact also must be borne in mind. The style, the diction, and metrical perfection of the Śaṅgam poems require for their development a considerable period. At a rough computation, we may estimate this period at three or four centuries and we reach back to the date of the Brāhmī Tamil inscriptions.

[1] Ch. xvi (ante).

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Development in language, script, and literature must have been going on at a rapid pace during the period. Contact with the Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages and literatures, with adjacent countries like Ceylon, and with the Buddhist and the Jaina religions must have been largely instrumental in shaping the Tamil mind. The continuous influx of people from the North must also have had its influence. Thus the even tenor of the ancient Tamilian's life was ruffled and invigorated, and he felt a craving to emulate Sanskrit and Prākṛit literature. To the religious and moral side of the ancient Tamilian was imparted a new stimulus by the same influences; but secular life, especially in the lower strata of ancient Tamilian society, escaped these influences and went on very much as before. The earliest literature would have necessarily been deep-rooted in the native soil of the Tamils and it must have been in verse, for here, as everywhere, poetry is found to precede prose.

The beginnings of Tamil literature must remain for ever a matter for speculation. During the first decade of the present century, a small work (about ten pages of demy 16mo) bearing the title *Śengoṇṛarai-ch-chelavu* appeared in print, claiming to be a production of the First Tamil Śaṅgam and it was said to have been composed in the *tāppulippā* metre! These spurious pretensions were soon exposed and no responsible scholar now takes any serious notice of it. The commentary on *Iṛaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*, in its description of the literary activities of the first two Śaṅgams, mentions a number of works which are mere names. The semi-mythical character of the account puts these works beyond the pale of historical investigation. Again Aḍiyārkkunallār in his commentary on *Śilappadikāram* has handed down the names of a few works. But these are works treating of the same subject-matter as *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra*, and are apparently of late origin. However, Tolkāppiyar is of some help in this connection. He mentions certain types of literary composition, of which we have no representatives at present. His commentators are hard put to it to find examples. Of such genres are '*angadam*', a lampoon, *piśi*, a riddle-poem, and *paṇṇatti*[1] whose nature is not now known. There must have also been a number of works in Ahaval metre ending in consonants like *ṉ*, similar to the *Śilappadikāram* and the *Maṇimekalai*, works embodying stories of ancient times known as '*tonmai*' and works in mixed prose and verse. Tolkāppiyar speaks of translations also; but we are not vouchsafed any information as regards the language from which the translations were made. Probably he is referring to the Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages. Even these types mentioned by Tolkāppiyar are of an advanced nature. Primitive Tamil literature remains as much a mystery as ever, and our guesses must follow in general the line of the origin and development of literature all over the world.

The earliest Tamil literature now extant consists of anthologies of short

[1] This may be either Paṇṇatti (Skt. *prajñapti*) or Paiṇṇa (Skt. *prakīrṇa*) of the Jaina Prākṛit works.

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lyrics and of longer poems. It is usual to count the lyrical anthologies as eight, known as *Eṭṭut-togai*, and it is also usual to count the longer poems as ten, collected under the name of *Pattup-pāṭṭu*. These names occur in the ancient commentary of *Nannūl* (387) of about the fourteenth century. Pērāśiriyar (*c.* fourteenth century), one of the commentators on *Tolkāppiyam*, refers to these collections simply as *Togai* and *Pāṭṭu*[1] respectively. The eight anthologies are :—

1. Naṟṟiṇai
2. Kuṟundogai
3. Aiṅguṟu-nūṟu
4. Padiṟṟup-pattu
5. Paripāḍal
6. Kalittogai
7. Ahanānūṟu, and
8. Puṟanānūṟu.

Of these the first three collections, the sixth and the seventh treat of love-themes technically known as '*aham*', in its several aspects. Such love-aspects, *tiṇais*, have been classified into five sections, viz. *kuṟiñji* or pre-marital love, *marudam* or post-marital love, *mullai* or the wife's patient suffering during her lord's separation, and her eager longing for his return, *neydal* or the lamentations of separated lovers, and *pālai* or the separation of lovers and their consequent anguish. The fourth and the eighth collections have for their theme subjects other than love, technically called '*puṟam*,' which includes martial heroism, liberality, just rule, praises of God and of men. The fifth in the series, viz. *Paripāḍal*, partakes of the nature of both, some songs being in praise of gods, others depicting love.

The ten longer poems are :—

1. Murugāṟṟuppaḍai
2. Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai
3. Śiṟupāṇ-āṟṟuppaḍai
4. Peruṁbāṇ-āṟṟuppaḍai
5. Mullaippāṭṭu
6. Maduraikkāñji
7. Neḍunalvāḍai
8. Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu
9. Paṭṭinappālai, and
10. Malaipaḍu-kaḍām.

Of these, the first four and the last poem belong to the class known as āṟṟuppaḍai which is described below. The fifth, the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth are essentially love-poems. The sixth is a benedictory poem.

The fifth and the sixth anthologies, *Paripāḍal* and *Kalittogai*, consist of poems written at a later period, and *Murugāṟṟupaḍai* likewise, the first of the longer poems, is a late production. There are very strong grounds for this conclusion which will be set forth later. They have no sort of claim to be considered among the earliest literature of the Tamils. Though the anthologies and the longer poems were compiled at a later period, I have listed them all here simply for the purpose of facilitating references to them in the standard editions now available.

These poems are generally called Śaṅgam poems and the collections

[1] Comm. Śeyyuḷiyal, 50, 80

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also are called Śaṅgam anthologies. For the sake of convenience we shall adopt this nomenclature. But there is a clear distinction between the Śaṅgam poems and the anthologies. Chronologically the poems are much earlier than the time when the anthologies were compiled. In the earliest period, we are concerned only with the Śaṅgam *poems* and *not* with the anthologies.

Leaving out of account the poems of the fifth and sixth anthologies, the *Murugāṟṟuppaḍai*, the invocatory stanzas, and the *padigams* in *Paḍiṟṟuppattu* which are all of later date, the earliest literature now extant consists of 2186 poems distributed over six anthologies and one collection of longer poems. They contain in all about 26,350 lines.

The total number of poets who composed these poems can only be approximately given. The authors of 98 stanzas (13 in *Aham*, 10 in *Kuṟundogai*, 56 in *Naṟṟiṇai*, 5 in *Paḍiṟṟup-pattu* and 14 in *Pūṟanānūṟu*) are unknown. Thirty-five poets have been named after some significant expression occurring in their stanzas. For instance, a poet bears the name Kaṅgul-veḷḷattār (*lit.* he of the night-flood), and the expression *kaṅgul-veḷḷam* is found in his poem. This device for naming poets occurs in Sanskrit anthologies also.[1] We may also note that *Pāri-magaḷir* (Pāri's daughters) are the authors of stanza 112 of *Puṟam*. A parallel instance is found in śloka 2227 of *Subhāshitāvali* which is ascribed to Kaviputrau (lit. the two sons of a poet). There are also other common features worth studying.

Having noted these few peculiarities, we may refer to the Samājam edition of Śaṅga-Ilakkiyam which gives the total number as 473. Out of these, the authors of the extant *Paripāḍal* poems are 13 poets. This number has to be deducted, as the work is a late work not belonging to the Śaṅgam period at all. For the same reason the poets of the *Kalittogai* and *Murugāṟṟuppaḍai* should not be taken into account; but these poets occur elsewhere in the collections and have to be necessarily retained. About 9 poets are identifiable with 9 others whose names differ but slightly. Deducting these 22 from the total number, we get 451 poets. Curiously enough this total comes very near to the traditional number of 449 poets mentioned in the commentary on *Iṟaiyanār-ahapporuḷ* as constituting the third and last Śaṅgam. We must also remember that two sections of *Paḍiṟṟuppattu* (the first and the last) are missing and that two more poets have thus to be added to the total number. Probably some more poets have to be accounted for by identification and there is room for it. This would show that the traditional number (449) is correct and that as the *Paripāḍal* poets are not included, it is a late work not to be counted among Śaṇgam poems. By the time when the commentary on *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ* came to be written, it had been included among the Śaṅgam poems.

[1] *Śloka* 1255 of *Subhāshitāvali* is ascribed to a poet of the name 'Dagdhamaraṇa', and this phrase occurs in the *śloka* itself. Other instances are 'Nidrā-daridra' (*śloka* 1362), Karṇikāraman-kha (*śioka* 1660), etc.

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A general idea of the Tamil language and its vocabulary at this period may now be given. We have mentioned already the several contacts which threw the Tamil countries open to the cultural influences of the North in an ever increasing measure. We find a detailed description of a *yāga* performance in *Puṟam* 166, and frequent references to Vedic gods in *Puṟam* (e.g 16, 23), *Padiṟṟuppattu* (e.g. 11), and other early collections. The Buddhists[1] were also propagating their religion in the Tamil countries among others, and trying to uphold Buddhism in the South, where it was originally preached by the missionaries sent by Aśoka. Some poets bear Buddhist names, e.g. Iḷambōdhiyar, Tēradaran, Śiṟu-veṇ-tēraiyar etc. Jainism supplied a new religious force which was for some centuries a powerful rival to Hinduism in the South. Jaina mythology is found in *Puṟam* 175 and in *Aham* 59. Thus the Tamil land became a fertile nursery of several religions which throve in friendly rivalry.

Their adherents brought in their special vocabulary and enriched the Tamil language. New tributaries were added to its stream and swelled its content. The orthodox Hindus of the age, mainly Brahmins, were responsible for words[2] relating to their gods, religion, religious rites, beliefs and works, and to ethics, and to their daily habits and customs. Some common words[3] relating to the ordinary social life of a people were also contributed by them. These two classes of words taken direct from Sanskrit flowed into the main current of the language and enriched its content. Next to Brahmins, the Jainas seem to have contributed most to our Tamil language. Their words also fall into the classes mentioned above, but with a notable difference. The words were all Prākṛit forms and were mostly in current colloquial use.[4]

The religious terms of the Jainas did not pass into the main current, though they were used in late specialistic works such as *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*, *Śūḷāmani*, etc. The Buddhists also contributed to the Tamil language and their words were mainly of Pāli origin. It might be that several of these were of Prākṛit descent also.[5]

Judging from the vocabulary contributed by these several religions,

[1] 'South India as a centre of Pāli Buddhism' by B. C. Law (*Dr. S. K. Aiyangar Commemo. Vol.* pp. 239-45). Nāgārunakoṇḍa inscriptions prove that there was a *mahāvihāra* for Buddhist recluses coming from different countries among which Damila is mentioned. These Buddhists were Thēravādins. *Gandhavaṁsa* says (*JPTS.* 1886, pp. 66-7) that Kāñchīpura was one of the main centres of Pāli Buddhism of Thēravāda. Madurai also (Madhurasutta pattana) is mentioned as the place where Buddhaghosha and Buddhamitta lived for some time, before the former repaired to Kāñchīpura. Buddhaghosha was a native of Tirunelveli region. Uragapura (modern Uṟaiyūr in the Trichinopoly district) was the birthplace of Buddhadatta who lived in the village of Bhūtamaṅgala near 'the flourishing inland port of Kāvērīpaṭṭana.' Buddhagosha and Buddhadatta were contemporaries and they flourished in the 5th century A.D. South India continued to be the centre of Pāli Buddhism as late as the 12th century A.D., a date to which Anuruddha (a Buddhist teacher of South India, according to the Talaing records), the celebrated author of the *Abhidhammattha*, is assigned

[2] See note A at the end of this chapter.

[3] See note B at the end of this chapter.

[4] See note C at the end of this chapter.

[5] See note D at the end of this chapter.

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we may conclude that Brahminism kept a strong hold on the imagination of the people and was predominant in every walk of life. Next to Brahmanism and not far behind came Jainism. The votaries of this religion mixed freely with the people, studied their language and became adepts in it. They laid great emphasis on moral principles, and made converts to their religion. The Buddhists perhaps led a secluded life in caves and did not so freely associate with the people. Hence their religion never exerted any great influence in the Tamil country.

Against this background we must view the several scattered poetic pieces of the earliest times. They were secular, a good number of them praising kings and chieftains and subtly introducing religious elements to attract and influence the nobility of the land ; and the rest dealing with love in all its aspects, to appeal to the literate among the masses.

We shall now try to settle roughly the period when these poems were composed and when their authors lived. For this purpose, we shall consider the longer poems included in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and also the two anthologies of *Padiṟṟuppattu* and *Aiṅguṟu-nūṟu*. These two collections will receive our attention only on their chronological side.

Of the longer poems, the first is *Murugāṟṟuppaḍai*, consisting of 317 lines. Its author is a certain Nakkīrar. It serves perhaps as an invocatory poem for the collection. The second is *Porunar-āṟṟuppaḍai*, 248 lines. Its author is Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār and the hero of the poem is Karikāṟ-peru-vaḷattān. The third is *Śiṟupāṇ-aṟṟuppaḍai*, 269 lines. Its author is Nallūr Nattattanār and its hero is Nalliyakkōḍan. This poem refers to the 'Seven Vaḷḷals' (patrons of learning) of the Śaṅgam Age. The fourth poem is *Perumbāṇ-aṟṟuppaḍai*, 500 lines. Its author is Kaḍiyalūr-uruttiraṅ-gaṇṇanār, and its hero Toṇḍaimān-Iḷandiraiyan. The fifth in the collection is *Mullaippāṭṭu* consisting of 103 lines. This is the shortest of the long poems. The author is Ṇappūdanār and he refers to *mlechchhas* (Yavanas) in lines 60-66. The sixth poem is *Maduarikkāñji* of 782 lines. This is the longest poem of the series. The author is Māṅguḍimarudanār and the hero Talaiyālaṅgānattuch-Cheruvenṟa-Neḍuñjeḻiyan. Nannan is mentioned in lines 618 to 619 and the Ōṇam festival in l. 591. The seventh in this collection is *Neḍunalvāḍai*, 188 lines. Its author is Nakkīrar. The hero of the poem is Neḍuñjeḻiyan just mentioned. This poem also refers to *mlechchhas* (31 to 35). The eighth of the series is *Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu*. It consists of 261 lines and its author is Kapilar. The colophon says that this poem was written to show the excellence of Tamil and Tamilian courtship to an Aryan king Pirahattan (Prahasta) by name. It may also be noted that the poet Kapilar is referred to by Nakkīrar in *Aham* 78 and 141. The ninth poem is *Paṭṭinappālai* of 301 lines. Its author is Kaḍiyalūr Uruttiraṅgaṇṇanār and its hero Karikāṟ-peru-vaḷattān. It is referred to in *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* (21) and also in an inscription of Tiruveḷḷaṟai.[1] The tenth and last poem is *Malaipaḍukaḍām*

[1] *Śen Tamiḻ* XLI p. 214-16

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consisting of 583 lines. Its author is Peruṅgauśikanār of Peruṅgunṟūr in Iraṇiya-muṭṭam. The hero of the poem is Nannan, son of Nannan.

Most of these poems belong to the class of composition known as 'āṟṟuppaḍai'. A poet, who has visited a patron and received bounty at his hands, meets, on his way back, another poet with his retinue in a very poverty-stricken condition. He directs the latter to the patron, describing the way to his residence and the reception which the visiting poet will be accorded. Tolkāppiyar specifically mentions the varieties of this kind of poem, in which there is no place for a poem like *Murugāṟṟuppaḍai* where a devotee (*bhakta*) is directed to go to the several shrines of his chosen deity.

The author of *Murugāṟṟuppaḍai*, though he bears the name Nakkīrar, was different from his namesake of the Śaṅgam and lived far later than any of the poets so far mentioned. His date will be dealt with in the next volume.

The earlier Nakkīrar, the author of *Neḍunalvāḍai*, provides some valuable clues as regards the probable date of his compositions. He refers to *rāśis* (zodiacal constellations), and also distinctly says that the Sun beginning from Mesha (Aries) travels through the successive *rāśis*, i. e. through each successive sign of the zodiac. The passage occurs in *Neḍunalvāḍai*, (ll. 160-162). A contemporary poet Kūḍalūr-kiḻār mentions, in *Puṟam* 229, the *Mēsha-rāśi* with several other details, such as the fact that the *nakshatra Pūrva-phālgunī* was on a particular day declining from the zenith at mid-night. From the history of Hindu astronomy we may gather that the *rāśis* came into practical use only about A.D. 300. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai has examined the whole question in his *Indian Ephemeris*[1] and come to the conclusion that the 'early Indian literature (Sanskrit or Dravidian) before A.D. 300 does not refer to the signs of the zodiac, to the movements of the planets or to planetary horoscopes, which are, as it were, the tripod of Astrology.' But on such questions the dating can be only approximate. Nakkīrar and his contemporaries (poets and kings) may be assigned to about A.D. 300 or a little earlier. This is confirmed by several facts emerging from a study of contemporary poems. Nakkīrar himself, in the same *Neḍunalvāḍai*, gives details of an auspicious hour for laying the foundation of a palace, describing a sort of sun-dial. Architectural details, such as *garbha-gṛiha*, are also mentioned by him. Two contemporary poets Nappūdaṇār and Madurai Āśiriyar Nallanduvanār (to be distinguished from Āśiriyar Nallanduvanār of *Paripāḍal* and *Kalittogai*) refer to a water-clock (under the name '*Kannal*[2]), which was probably a Roman import. *Kannal*, whose origin and derivation can hardly be ascertained now, is perhaps connected with the Greek 'khronos'. So we may take it that the last of the Śaṅgam poets, i.e. the poets of the Nakkīrar epoch flourished about the end of the third century A.D.[3]

Enough has been said already (chh. xvi, xvii) about the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and

[1] I. (i) p. 496

[2] *Mullaippāṭṭu*, *l.* 57; *Aham* 43

[3] A Gaṅgan Kaṭṭi is mentioned in *Aham* 44. Most probably he was an ancestor of the Gaṅgas of Mysore, and so the date given here is not affected.

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Padiṟṟuppattu and the chronology of the kings and poets mentioned in them. *Aiṅguṟunūṟu*, was compiled by Pulattuṟaimuṟṟiya-Kūḍalūr-kiḻār under the royal patronage of the 'Elephant-eyed Chera' mentioned above. This Chera was taken captive by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeḻiyan of Talaiyālaṅgānam fame; and his death is bemoaned by the poet in *Puṟam* 229. Thus the poets who composed the five centums of *Aiṅguṟunūṟu* must all have lived round about Neḍuñjeḻiyan's time. These poets are Ōram-bōgiyār, Ammūvanār, Kapilar, Ōdal-Āndaiyār and Pēyanār. As Kapilar is one of them, they might be placed between A.D. 200-275.

Thus we are led to conclude that the poets of the early Śaṅgam literature flourished from the second century A.D. to the end of the third century A.D. and that this was the genuine Śaṅgam period.

A word about the Śaṅgam poems. They are all in *ahaval* metre, the first in the long course of development of the Tamil metrical system. It is indigenous and has no parallel in Sanskrit, English blank verse being its nearest equivalent. The magnificent sweep of the longer poems in *Pattuppāṭṭu* is sometimes marred by obscurity of construction. In fact, the commentator, a scholiast of a very high order, often takes to devious ways for his explanation of several passages. In the shorter poems, however, the language is direct and forceful. Conciseness of expression, pregnancy of meaning, purity of diction, and unity of thought are their main characteristics, and the simplicity of the Tamilian taste deserves comparison with that of the ancient Greeks. The frigid conceits and the pedantic professional exercises of grammarians which characterise the literature of a later period are entirely absent. On the other hand, simple humanity is mirrored in these crystal-clear utterances. Where the emotions are stirred, they are kept well under restraint and the subdued expression which such restraint imparts is always the most effective quality in literature. Here is art, severe and simple; of artificiality there is hardly a trace.

Claims are sometimes made that the *Aham* poems, that is poems of love, are the sole monopoly of the ancient Tamils. Sanskrit literature, however, abounds in such poems and indeed some of them are very ancient. There is the famous *Sattasaī* of Hāla, a collection of 700 *gāthās* in the *Āryā* metre in *Mahārāshṭrī Prākṛit*. The situations portrayed in these *gāthās* are very like the Tamil *tuṟais* given in the colophons to the Śaṅgam poems. But love-poems are not confined to any one clime or country. It is said that during the time of Justinian, 'epigrammatic' writing especially in its amatory department experienced a great revival at the hands of Agathias, the historian Paulus Silentiarius and their circle, and their ingenious but mannered productions were collected by Agathias into a new anthology. The *Aham* poems in our collections also do not altogether escape the charge of being mannered productions. But the ancient Tamil poets can take credit for some of the loveliest utterances on erotic themes.

The value of these ancient poems, especially of *Puṟanānūṟu* and *Padiṟṟuppattu*, can hardly be exaggerated. They portray the life of the times.

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They give us glimpses of political and social conditions. They describe, with exactitude, the religion, manners, customs, beliefs, and supersitions of the people. They disclose a vivid picture of the esteem in which learning, literature, and art were held by our distant ancestors. They teach us a noble philosophy of life and conduct. They whisper to us sweetly and intimately of the domestic felicity of ancient times. In short, they constitute a storehouse of facts bearing on ancient manners, customs, and ideas and have contributed much to mould the literature of the later Tamils. To-day they serve as beacon lights to guide modern writers in Tamil. Above all, there is genuine poetry of a very high order which, in spite of inevitable changes of outlook and habits, thrills the very core of our being and bids us look back with pride and joy at the literary achievements of the ancient Tamils.

SPECIAL NOTES ON TAMIL LANGUAGE

A. *Religious words introduced mainly by Brahminns*:—
yūpam (*Puṟ* 15), alliyam (hallīsa, *Puṟ*. 33), avi (havis, *Puṟ*. 377), āvuti (āhuti, *Puṟ*. 99), vachchiram (vajrāyudha, *Puṟ*. 241), kandam (skandha, *Puṟ*. 52), kandu (skandha, *Puṟ* 57, 93), Kauriyar (Kaurava, *Puṟ*. 3), darumaṁ (dharma, *Puṟ*. 353), Tuvarai (Dvārakā, *Puṟ*. 201), tūṇ (sthūṇa, *Puṟ*. 86), amarar (*Puṟ*. 99), vēdam, (*Puṟ*. 6), padam., (*Puṟ*. 2) piṇḍam (*Puṟ*. 234), māyōn (māya, *Puṟ*. 57), muttī (*lit* thre e fires, *Puṟ*. 2), munivar (*Puṟ*. 6, 43)., bali (*Aham* 166), deyvam (*Aham* 166); tittiyam (chitya, *Aham* 361), tuḷāy (tulasi, *Paḍiṟṟ* 31), pūdam (bhūta, *Puṟ*. 369), śaḍai (jaṭā, *Puṟ*. 1), karagam (*Puṟ*. 1), tavam (tapas, *Puṟ*. 1).

B. *Colloquial and other words introduced mainly by Brahmins* :—
nīr (*Puṟ*. 1), kalam (khala), padam (pada), tuṁbai (tuṁba), imayam (*Puṟ*. 2), nēmi, maṇi, mukam (*Puṟ*. 3); kān (kānana *Puṟ*. 5); kumari, ulagam (*Puṟ*. 6); chāpam (chāpa), mā, vaḷavan (vallabha) (*Puṟ*. 7) ; pōkam (bhoga), maṇḍilam (maṇḍala) (*Puṟ*. 8); daṇḍam (daṇḍa), amiḻtu (amṛita), mallar (malla), śīlai (śīlas) (*Puṟ*. 10); kākkai (kāka) (*Puṟ*. 238); pāḍini (pāṭnīnī, *Puṟ*. 11).

C. *Colloquial words introduced by the Jainas* :—
vaṇṇam, uru (rūpa), kaṇan (gaṇa), ēmam (kshema) (*Puṟ*. 1); vali (bala), pāl (payas), andi (sandhi) (*Puṟ*. 2); muraśam (muraja), nēem (sneha) śāndu (candana), ilakkam (lakshya)—(*Puṟ*. 3): ōmbu (av)—(*Puṟ*. 5); ñaman, (saman), tēem (deśa), nagar (nagara) (*Puṟ*. 6); iravu (rātri), mīn (mīna), payam (prayojana) (*Puṟ*. 3); ūkkam utsāha), tānai (senā), malai (malaya) - (*Puṟ*. 8); pārppanar (brāhmaṇa), araṇ (śaraṇa) (*Puṟ*. 9); pāśi (prāchī), ūśi (udīchī) (*Puṟ*. 229.)

D. *Words introduced by the Buddhists* :—
attam (addha, road, *Kuṟun*. 307); ahil (agalu—aloe wood, *Kuṟun*. 339); āṇai (āña-order, *Maduraik*, 761); annai (annamother, *Kuṟun*. 93); paṇḍam (bhaṇḍam—article, goods, (*Puṟ*. 102) ; tōṇi (doni, trough-shaped canoe with an outrigger to steady it, *Puṟ*. 229); śūdu (juto, gambling); kamugu (kamuko, areca palm, *Perumbāṇ* 7); kaṇṇan (kanhokṛishṇa); kañji (kañjikam, a sour rice-gruel); kaitai (ketaki—the tree Pandamus Odorattissimus, *Kuṟun*. 304); kūḍam (kuṭo, a sledge-hammer, *Perumbāṇ*. 438), podu (pothu—ordinary, common, (*Puṟ*. 8); manaivi (manavi, woman, *Puṟ*. 250); nāñjil (nangalam—plough, *Puṟ*. 19) ; niyamam (nigama, a market-town, *Maduraik*. 365); ōram (oro—below, posterior, on this side); pakkam (pakkho,—a wing, side etc. *Kuṟun*. 129); uvamam (opamam--simile, comparison, *Maduraik*. 516); paṇṇiyam (paṇyam—ware, commodity, *Maduraik*. 506); paḷingu (phaliko—crystal, quartz - *Kuriñji*. 57); pāhal (phaggavo—a sort of pot-herb, *Puṟ*. 16) pañju (pichu—cotton, (*Puṟ*. 116); pi‖lai (pillako—child, *Puṟ*. 380); puḻu (pulavo—worm, maggot) ; śaṇam, śāṇai (sano-a grind-stone); śeḻiyan (seliyo—a man of self-discipline, *Pur*. 19); tāḻ (talo—key, *Neḍunal*. 63); tālam (tālam—metal bowl, plate, (*Puṟ*. 120); tūmbu (timbo—a sort of water-vessel with a spout, (*Puṟ*. 19); tūṇam sthūṇa—pillar, column, *Perumbāṇ*. 316) tunnam (tunnam—suture, patch, (*Puṟ*. 136); varagu (varako, the bean Phaseolus tribolus (*Puṟ*. 34).

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CHAPTER XXII

ART AND ARCHITECTURE : NORTHERN INDIA

A. SCULPTURE

(a) POST-MAURYAN

THE post-Mauryan period is an epoch of great sculptural achievements. Freed from the overpowering influence of the court, the art reaches a larger section of the people. Under Aśoka's patronage the religion of the Buddha had spread far and wide and the zeal for the new religion found expression in remarkable artistic achievements distributed throughout the country. These represent an indigenous artistic movement—possibly a continuation of the ancient heritage of Indus valley art enriched by the contributions of the various ethnic and cultural elements that entered the complex fabric of Indian civilisation. It is not possible to distinguish separately each and every ethnic and cultural element. The frame of the indigenous structure was but slightly disturbed and the different foreign features were practically integrated with it. The ancient indigenous heritage, as Dr. Kramrisch puts it, 'was to withstand, by assimilating, while transforming, whatever racial influx touched upon it.'

In the history of Indian art the most ancient period, as represented by the Indus civilisation, had rendered form in terms of volume. This ancient substratum of earth-bound volume feels a new experience when the solid mass unfolds its vitality with the help of other factors, mainly linear rhythm. The latter consists of a gliding linear movement up and down along the surface, and the pliable form acquires a new balance and integration thereby. This fluid rendering of volume extends also to depth and endows the figures with an animation, dynamic as well as compact. This co-ordination between solid volume and its gliding linear movements constitutes the plasticity which is an essential element of classical Indian art. It is a classical quality not solely confined to sculpture, but equally evident in painting. At first, its approach was rather faltering and uneasy, but soon co-ordination and balance were achieved. The new factor made itself felt by about 200 B.C., and it took a few centuries to reach a complete and successful integration with the old. Hence this period marks a creative and formative epoch in the history of Indian art.

The artistic movement in the early classical phase spread throughout the country, and had prolific centres of activity both in the North and in the South. In the North the main activity is recognised in the Madhyadeśa, at Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Bodh Gayā, Mathurā, etc. In the East there was a regional movement in Kaliṅga (Orissa). Apart from activities at these

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places, artistic remains unearthed in other parts of Northern India mark a wide and expansive movement representing the development of a common plastic tradition with the same inherent and fundamental qualities. Local and regional idioms may be recognised, but in spite of such differences in expression, all are linked together as parts of the same general movement — the classical movement.

The beginnings of the classical movement may be traced from about the end of the Maurya period. A fragmentary relief, dug up at Sārnāth from a level referred to about the closing years of the Mauryas, is instructive in this connection. It shows a female figure with head bent down over the gathered-up knees and hands, an attitude that indicates extreme dejection. The heaviness of the coiffure, the dress, the girdle and the anklets, all merely sketched, and the stiffness of the cylindrical legs mark a crude and inexperienced technique to which the sweeping curve of the woman's back in profile stands in significant contrast. Equally significant is the delicate modelling of the pulsating female form. It is this linear expressiveness that endows the form with a plastic coherence, in spite of the unequal treatment of each single part. The co-ordination between the outline and the modelled surface, the touchstone of the classical trend, is already there, though rather faltering in accent.

The art of this early period consists mostly of reliefs, and certain problems, connected with the narration of a story, the third dimension, the optical perspective, etc., faced the artists. These the early Indian artists solved in their own way and according to their own beliefs. In this way were evolved certain devices and formulae that do not always follow the notions and standards recognised in the West.

Serving as a vehicle of communication to meet the needs of an expanding religion, the art in this early phase is mainly narrative and follows the usual practice of continuous narration. The detailed manner of depicting a particular story or event leads to the presentation of the various incidents and episodes in one and the same relief composition. The figure of the main actor is repeated to indicate the progress of the story, and the basis of connectedness is usually the locality in which the event or the story is said to have occurred. Irrespective of the time that might have separated the various incidents they are grouped into one synthetic unit because they all took place on the same spot. The chronological sequence is thus intentionally broken in favour of a narration that centres round the location of a story or an event. The time factor is thus regarded as of no import and is eliminated altogether. For the artist the immovable locality is something stationary, and the fact that several incidents happened at the same place may thus be regarded as the link between the visualisation of the story in the mind of the artist and its delineation with the help of a relief composition. This unilocal, i.e. topographical, method of presentation is specifically Indian and may be recognised as the most logical method of continuous narration with its pivot on something that is solid, and not intangible and invisible such as the time element.

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The problem of the third dimension was also tackled by the early Indian artists in their own way. The forms are conceived in terms not of depth but of surface. Hence in the relief the figures are presented above each other, and not behind, with the result that what according to the laws of optical perspective ought to have been hidden, partly or entirely, is shown in entirety or only partly covered. Again, objects are large or small, not according to their nearness or distance as the optical impression would demand, but in accordance with the functional importance of each. The visibility of the objects is also similarly determined, irrespective of the perceiving eye. Whatever exists is a reality to the Indian artist, and not what the eyes see. And so he arranges his composition according to the demands of the story he delineates, regulating the size and visibility of the forms, not with the idea of being optically correct, but of being functionally consistent. On account of these conventions, rational according to the logic of the Indian artists, the flat reliefs look like trays packed with all kinds of forms. Oversecting and foreshortening are resorted to, sometimes lending the objects singly a three-dimensional treatment, but such a treatment never extends to depth so far as the entire composition is concerned.

(*i*) *SĀÑCHĪ : STŪPA No. II. BHĀRHUT.*

Of the artistic remains of the early classical phase in the Madhyadeśa the reliefs on the ground balustrade of Sāñchī *stūpa* no. II come first in stylistic consideration. Executed in very low and flat relief the panels look almost like linear patterns, merely sketched, without any differentiation of planes. In spite of the remarkable sense of decorative design, better adapted to such a purpose, the execution of the human form, packed in an unexpected fertility of vegetation, is primitive in technique. The angular treatment of the human figures ill-suits the vegetal scheme of the composition with its heaving and flowing curves. Occasionally there may be noticed an approach to modelling by rounded contours, but the figures are still devoid of animation. The main theme of the composition is the flowing linear rhythm of the plant, the creeper and other vegetation, and it is not without reason that Coomaraswamy describes such reliefs as belonging to the 'plant style'. A more advanced treatment may, however, be recognized in a group of reliefs on the balustrade of the same *stūpa*. This group exhibits a greater knowledge of form, of spatial relations, and of animated and graceful poses and movements. This stylistic advance has been attributed to contacts with extraneous art traditions, but is more probably to be explained as the natural result of the growing consciousness of the artists working in an atmosphere of a living and progressive art movement.

The next phase in the movement is supplied by the reliefs on gateways and balustrades of the *stūpa* at Bhārhut, executed during the reign of the Śungas (*Sugānam rāje*) as an inscription states.[1] These reliefs are usually

[1] An inscription on the eastern gate indicates that it had been erected by Dhanabhūti during the reign of the Śuṅgas (*IA.* 1892, p. 227; also *JRAS.*

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accompanied by descriptive labels that give the titles of the subjects depicted. On the gateway posts there are representations of the *yakshas*, the *yakshīs* and other semi-divine beings, while on the balustrades the reliefs depict the Jātaka stories and scenes from the life of the Buddha. Such narrative panels are oblong, square, round and half-round according to the architectonic needs. The coping stone usually shows the wavy and flowing creeper design that meanders along the length binding together the various reliefs dispersed over the surface. The individual forms within a composition are also likewise recognised to be related to one another by a gliding linear rhythm. In the scenes of the previous lives (Jātakas) of the Master, the Bodhisattva, as he was then called, is represented in human forms according to the needs of the stories; but in those of his historical life he is never represented as such. His presence, when occasion demands, is indicated by symbols, such as the Bodhi tree, the *vajrāsana*, the parasol (*chhatta*, *chhatra*), the foot-prints, the wheel (*dhamma-chakka*, *dharma-chakra*), the *stūpa*, etc. The inscriptions clearly testify that such symbols actually stand for the Master.

An advance on the plastic diction of the earlier phase may be noticed at Bhārhut in the relatively greater ease in the attitude of the figures, and in the conscious attempt towards rounded and mellifluous contours. But in spite of a greater ease and variety in the composition one may recognize the same aversion to depth, the surface and volumes being more or less flatly conceived. The large-size figures of *yakshas* and *yakshīs* on the *toraṇa* pillars reveal two kinds of modelled shapes, apparently isolated from each other. Figures of Sirimā *devatā*, Kubera, etc. look almost like silhouettes, sharply detached from the background, in which a rigid frontality and a juxtaposition of modelled shapes one above the other confront the spectator. An effort towards modelling is made merely by grading the planes of the reliefs in severe and distinctive layers ('an inane superposition of massive forms' as Kramrisch calls it)[1] and then rounding off the contours. A peculiar abstraction is again recognised in the treatment of the feet or of the hands in an attitude of adoration which, irrespective of anatomical accuracy, are turned sideways and presented in their broadest aspect. To these silhouette-like figures the ample curves and flows and variegated attitudes of such figures as Sudarśanā *yakshī*, Chulakokā *devatā*, etc. offer a significant contrast. Marshall explains this distinction in the one case as the work of indigenous craftsmen and in the other as the result of an influence exerted by foreign artists.[2] In spite of the apparent contrast, however, there is an underlying and unmistakable current that binds them

1918, p. 138). The gate and the railing were erected simultansously as is evident from an inscription on a railing bearing the name of Prince Vadha Pāla, son of Dhanabhūti (Cunningham, A., *Stūpa of Bhārhut*, no. 54). The eastern gate and part of the railing are now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Fragments of architectural members with relief carvings, probably portions of the other gateways and rails, have recently been collected for the Allahabad Municipal Museum.

[1] Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 28

[2] Marshall, 'Monuments of Ancient India', *CHI.* 1 p. 625

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together and this is manifest in the conscious attempt to relate the three-dimensional extensiveness to the surface and the harsh contours to the swaying grace and plastic consistency suitable to the flowing and mellifluous curves of the vegetal scheme which is the chief compositional theme of early Indian art. One may trace this effort from the low and flat reliefs of the ground balustrade of *stūpa* No. II at Sāñchi to the large-size *yaksha* and *yakshī* figures of both the groups at Bhārhut in almost undisturbed sequence. Here is a conscious and progressive art movement, indigenous in technique as well as in spirit, the fundamental idea of which is to endow the human form with the same flowing movement as that of the vegetal scroll.

A flowing linear rhythm, although hesitating in some instances, seems to actuate the majority of the figures at Bhārhut. This rhythm also glides from one form to the other within a given composition and appears to bind, somewhat loosely though, all isolated objects into one unified whole. On the coping stone the lotus creeper meanders along the length in endless waves linking the panels into one continuous pattern. Each single figure and each composition, including the entire pattern, becomes animated thereby. A rhythmical movement, permeating all through, integrates and balances every object and composition in one unified organism.

Another, but subsidiary, trend, is also evident in the art of Bhārhut. A few of the reliefs, quadrangular in outline, emphasise closely packed compositions with schematic rows of harsh figures parallel to the lines of the frame. Not swayed by the gentle and mellifluous curves, the figures are more or less static in character disturbed only by the sharp contrasts of lights and shades. This idiom is best illustrated in the so-called Ajātaśatru pillar and in some of the frameless figures on the upright *toraṇa* posts. This apparent disregard for swaying rhythm and balanced co-ordination, which constitute the dominant plastic diction of the period, may appear to be puzzling. It is possible that the craftsmen who were responsible for these reliefs were not yet fully aware of the scope and vitality of the balanced rhythm of flowing curves or of the plastic effect that might be achieved thereby. Whatever the case, the idiom plays only a small and subordinate part in the art of Bhārhut. A fluid linear rhythm, although sometimes faltering in accent, remains the keynote of the style of Bhārhut.

Bhārhut represents an early and primitive phase in classical Indian art. In spite of the relation that exists among the different forms within a composition, the single figures, the main actors of the stories, appear to be unaware of the parts that they are to play in the scenes, and are hence without any expression. They simply exist, and by mere existence they fulfil the needs of the stories depicted. It is perhaps owing to this that the Bhārhut art has been described as modest and restrained in general tone. But this modesty or restraint, whatever name we give, cannot be said to be deliberate, either on the part of the artists or of the actors of the scenes. In spite of this apparent drawback, the stories are told with exhaustive clearness, no single detail pertinent to the story being left out. Added

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to these, the descriptive labels leave no doubt about the identification of the scenes. Indeed, the artists are so much engrossed with details that nothing escapes them, be it the tattoo-mark on a person, the ornamentation on a door-frame, the pattern of caparison or upholstery, or the fine veins of a leaf. The meticulous care with which the details are exhaustively worked out has almost a disturbing effect and it is only with difficulty that an impression of the whole can be obtained.

(*ii*) *BODH GAYĀ*

The next important landmark in the history of early Indian art is supplied by the remnants of the square railing at Bodh Gayā that enclosed the early Bodhi shrine. Among the donors appear the names of Kuraṁgī and Nāgadevā, wives of the kings Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra,[1] who have to be assigned to about the first half of the first century B.C. On the whole, the carvings on the Bodh Gayā rail are in the Bhārhut style, but more advanced in technique as well as in visual and consequently in plastic effect. What strikes one at first sight is that the narrative reliefs are freed from all unnecessary detail, only the indispensable and essential elements being retained so as to convey the full import of the stories depicted. A comparison of the two versions of the same subject, that of the purchase of Jetavana, at Bhārhut and Bodh Gayā will bring out this point clearly. Instead of being scrupulously exhaustive, as at Bhārhut, the Bodh Gayā version is more suggestive and aesthetically more appealing. The abbreviated form of narration results in less crowded compositions in which the figures move freely and with greater ease and clarity. Because of a more organic modelling with softer contours and subtler gradation of limbs, the body acquires a rhythm, perceptible not only along the surface but also extending into the depth. In three-dimensional extensiveness again the composition is more advanced than that of Bhārhut and results in an easier movement of the planes and more harmonious spatial relations. Inseparably linked with the Bhārhut tradition the art of Bodh Gayā represents a convincing advance on the previous achievements. For the first time the composition begins to vibrate with a charming vitality and the body to pulsate with soft, warm flesh. Orderliness, clarity and closer organic relation take the place of the unsteady medley of forms and motifs characteristic of the Bhārhut style.

(*iii*) *SĀÑCHĪ : GATEWAYS OF THE GREAT STŪPA*

The Great Stūpa at Sāñchī, in Bhopal, is the most stupendous of the early Buddhist establishments and supplies in its splendid gateway carvings a panorama of contemporary life and civilisation portrayed with great vigour and dramatic intensity. The circular balustrade and the four *toraṇas*, which front the entrances between the four quadrants, are of the

[1] *ASIAR.* 1908-9, p. 147

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same technique and design as those at Bhārhut. Carvings, however, appear only on the gateways, the rails being left severely plain. In spite of this limitation on space the wonderful decorative sense of the artists with their simple and easy story-telling diction, graphic in content as well as in representation, remains unequalled in early Indian Art.

All the four gateways are of the same design and each extends a little from the line of the balustrade. Tectonic, and to some extent, stylistic, considerations indicate that they were not all erected at one and the same time. The first to be raised was the southern gateway fronting the steps leading to the terraced berm of the *stūpa*. On this gateway there appears an inscription which offers a clue to the date of its erection. One of the architraves of this gateway owed its origin to the munificence of one Ānaṁda who was overseer of the artisans of king Śrī Śātakarṇi.[1] This Śātakarṇi was apparently the son of Simuka, the founder of the Śātavahana dynasty. The southern gate was followed by the northern, the eastern and the western and this sequence is established by tectonic experiments towards a more harmonious and balanced design of the gateway form. But there are indications that no great time intervened between the erection of the first and the last of the gateways, the southern and the western. This is evident from the name of a patron, Balamitra a pupil of Ayachūḍa, which appears both on the south and the west gates.[2] All the gateways thus appear to have been put up within one generation.

The carvings on the gateways of the Great Stūpa at Śāñchī belong, on the whole, to the same genre as Bhārhut, but mark a distinct advance on it. They indicate, however, a definite turn from the main Bhārhut diction of flowing linear rhythm. Some of the panels and a few individual sculptures are no doubt endowed with the graceful lyricism of mellifluous lines, but they are few. The Śāñchī trend, again is unthinkable without a reference to the earlier plastic achievements at Bhārhut. The strenuous effort of about a century or so has enabled the artist to master depth and dimensions and to regulate the contour, and with this new awareness and in its scope he visualises his subjects in a manner that is quite different. Of this manner we have a few clumsy attempts at Bhārhut, as for instance on the Ajātaśatru pillar. The horizontal and vertical arrangement of the composition, as we see on this pillar, completely unfolds its possibilities in the *toraṇa* carvings of the Great Stūpa and leads to variegated and almost bewildering compositions, rich and dramatic in character and epic in quality. The movement is no longer confined to the harsh and schematic treatment of the preceding century, but boldly traverses the composition diagonally and in intersecting planes. With the increased depth of the relief and greater freedom of movement the forms are presented at various angles

[1] *ASIAR.* 1913-14, pp. 4f; Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, 2nd ed. p. 52; Lüders, *List*, *Ep.Ind. X* no. 346. There have been wide differences of opinion about the identification of this king—see Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi* I. pp. 4-5, 277

[2] Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 40, 50, 79; Lüders, *List*, nos. 347 and 349

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and multitudinous attitudes and poses. No longer are the forms and figures conceived singly as separate units in the composition, but several are grouped together in a well-defined space. In the relief the group now serves as the pivot of the composition, all such groups in a given composition being organically related to one another.

The result of all these developments is a dynamic expansiveness which extends not only along the surface but also to depth. The forms burst forth from the stone, so to say, and spread over the surface in almost endless masses reverberating the entire composition and illumined by the sharp passages of darkness. The dark shades give greater relief to the forms and accentuate their vigorous onrush over the composition in bewildering and tumultuous variety. The chiaroscuro, i.e. the rich interplay of lights and shades, and the strong feeling for volume, coupled with clear-cut outlines and multitudinous angles, attitudes and poses, act and react upon one another and produce vital and dramatic compositions surging with life and energy almost to the point of boisterous frenzy. The scenes of the exciting struggle, such as the War of the Relics (south gate and west gate) best illustrate the epic quality of Śāñchī compositions. In both the scenes the compositions are instinct with vigorous actions and movement, and they differ only in dramatic intensity. In the more peaceful scenes the artists are able to portray successfully the easy, free and frolicsome character of the actors, their buoyancy and joy of existence.

At Śāñchī the distinctive trend characterised by the horizontal and vertical arrangement of the figures in the composition, first recognised on the Ajātaśatru pillar at Bhārhut, reaches its climax and ultimate fruition. Some of the reliefs, however, adhere to the harsh and schematic treatment of the older version, perhaps the work of artists less alive to the creative urge felt in the majority of the Śāñchī carvings. The dynamic energy that bursts forth in diagonal and intersecting arrangements, in high lights and deep shadows, is absent from the panels executed in the earlier idiom, though the qualities in respect of modelling and sense of volume are the same.

The human figures remain squat and sturdy, but the reserved contours gradually acquire softness and flow harmoniously from the shoulders to the ankles. The body now appears as a beautiful and integrated union of the single parts, the fluid contours with their gliding sinuousness leading to a well-constituted whole, no longer shy, hesitating and faltering, but sure and agile in movement. With the masterly rendering of volume, the body exhibits collective strength, but without being sensuous, as at Bodh Ggayā. The guardian figures at the bottom of the gateway posts and the *yakshas* over the architraves, surging with pent-up energy, now stand firm and stretch their limbs freely and surely. The *yakshiṇī* dryads on the outcarved branches of the trees swing overhead with easy grace and agility and emphasise the full curves and contours of the female form. In the treatment of the drapery, too, a greater energy is noticeable. The stiff and stylised treatment with the flat ends spread fan-wise like ironed aprons, that we see at Bhārhut, now disappears. A greater interest is taken in the

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weight of the garment and its changing folds, so as to free it from its subjection to the body. Though not successful everywhere, the direction taken indicates a suggestive advance on the earlier mode.

The gateway carvings of the Great Stūpa portray the contemporary life of India in all its varied forms. The rich and aristocratic life at the court, the busy and exciting life of the city, the homely and modest country-life, and the varied luxuriance of the jungle, have all been treated faithfully and exhaustively. Nowhere do any signs of unnaturalness appear, and the actions expressed are intensely sincere and dramatic. Though there is a glow of religious impulse in the background, the authors of these reliefs were men of the world, and it is the worldly life and existence in all its varied manifestations that they so eloquently portray with the help of the stories of Buddhism told in the simplest and most expressive language. The strong sense of simple naturalism and transparent sincerity is a trait characteristic of all early Indian art. It is an art of the people, free alike from artificiality and idealism, and it is because of this character that it has a wide and universal appeal.

(*iv*) *UDAYAGIRI AND KHAṆḌAGIRI CAVE RELIEFS*

The two adjoining hills of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri near Bhuvaneśvar (Orissa) contain a number of caves, all Jaina in affiliation, and a few of these have sculptured friezes and panels decorating their façades. The approximate period of these excavations may be ascertained from the inscriptions of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga, in the Hāthīgumphā and that of his chief queen in the Mañchapuri nearby.[1] Khāravela flourished in the first century B.C. These two caves and possibly a few others were excavated about that period. But not all the caves, apparently, were produced at one and the same time; activity in the two hills, apart from the mediaeval excavations in the Khaṇḍagiri, was carried on for about a century, the latest in the series possibly falling in the first century A.D.

Carvings in the different caves present fairly wide divergences, but belong mainly to the school of Madhyadeśa, as represented by Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and Sāñchī. In spite of this dependence on the Central Indian tradition they have a local character. The reliefs in the Mañchapurī cave show an advance on Bhārhut in the depth of the relief and plastic treatment of the figures, though the workmanship is poorer and coarser. With the masses modelled in high relief with strong contrasts of lights and shades there is a suggestion of vigorous action and intense vitality which appear to link these reliefs with the Sāñchī trend. But technical insufficiency results in isolated and compact figures which prevent convincing compositions. The carvings in the Anantagumphā (Khaṇḍagiri), stylistically and iconographically, are reminiscent of the Bodh Gayā reliefs. The two-storeyed

[1] Lüders, *List* nos. 1345-6; Sircar, D. C., *SI.* pp. 206-11, 213-4

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cave, the Rāṇīgumphā, is the best decorated of all with elaborate friezes of sculpture both in the upper and lower storeys. Unfortunately, the subjects depicted have not been identified beyond doubt. In spite of the differences in quality discernible in the reliefs of the two storeys, there is an advance on the earlier achievements, both in technique and in style. The compositions are more vital and better integrated, and the conception of a theme and its presentation more harmonious. The execution, however, remains comparatively coarse and lacks the smooth and clear-cut finish of the contemporary Central Indian School. Nevertheless, the reliefs represent a mature tradition, a local movement dependent mainly on the art of Central India. In the Gaṇeśagumphā are depicted practically the same subjects, though in a slightly inferior style. With the signs of deterioration already manifest in the Gaṇeśagumphā the movement loses itself in the coarse and conglomerated work found in the Jaya Viyaya and Alakāpurī caves.

(*v*) *MATHURĀ.*

Mathurā, the home of one of the most important and prolific artistic movements in early India, has also supplied stray, though significant examples of early plastic art, inspired by the same artistic impulse which characterised the production of the Central Indian school and having many things in common with it. A few such early sculptures may now be seen in the Mathurā Museum. The two fragmentary figures of *yakshas* with their hard lines, flattened treatment, exaggerated by large and protruding eyes and heaviness of dress and ornaments represent an art perhaps slightly more mature than the Bhārhut style but less advanced than the easier and more refined conceptions at Bodh Gayā. The two *toraṇa* architraves indicate a technical as well as stylistic advance in the increased depth of the relief, less heavy appearance and happier grouping of the figures in the composition. The figure of a dryad, modelled almost in the round, on an architrave support from Kaṅkālī-Tīlā anticipates the charming dryads of the Sāñchī *toraṇas*. The movement at Mathurā in this early period runs parallel to the Central Indian school and with these significant achievements it bursts forth in superb magnificence in the subsequent periods.

(*vi*) *YAKSHA AND YAKSHĪ STATUES.*

Several massive and independent sculptures, carved wholly in the round, hail from widely separated regions, such as Parkham and Baroda near Mathurā, Besnagar and Pawāya in Gwalior, Lohanipur, Didarganj and Patna in Bihar. They are usually described as *yakshas* and *yakshiṇīs*, and this description may hold in the absence of any exact identification. They are carved out of Chunar sandstone and bear remnants of the polish that characterised the finish of the Aśokan columns and their sculptured capitals. Because of the material and these traces of polish, usually called

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'the Mauryan polish', these sculptures are tentatively ascribed to the Mauryan period. The ascription, however, fails to take note of the wide divergences which distinguish them in their technique, style and aesthetic expression. The divergences are too manifest to be ignored and are clear enough when the statues are placed side by side, particularly the *yaksha* figure from Parkham and the *yakshī* from Didarganj; the one in its massive burliness and flattened treatment without any co-ordination of the parts, and the other in its smooth, rounded and naturalistic features pleasingly integrated into a complete whole and inspired by the fluid linearism of the mature classical tradition. They represent practically two extreme plastic conceptions, and the other figures represent different degrees of expression. A fresh study of these sculptures on these considerations is therefore necessary in order to ascertain their chronological and stylistic positions. It should be mentioned that the material and the polish (which again is not Mauryan in quality) cannot be regarded as sufficient grounds for assigning these sculptures to one particular period when they differ so much in technical aptitudes as well as in their plastic and aesthetic conceptions.

In this analytical study the two sculptures from Baroda and Parkham should come first. Of the Baroda sculpture only the upper part remains, while the Parkham specimen is more or less well preserved except for the missing hands and slight abrasions on the surface. We have here a clear expression of massive portliness and volume which may also be found to be the essential qualities of the other sculptures of this group. It is strictly frontal in treatment, and the modelling suffers from inadequate or insufficient technique. The masses appear to be superposed one above the other without any organic relation among them. The sides and the back have practically no modelling except a slight chamfering. What we find here is an archaic stolidity, which again is not convincingly expressed for the lack of harmony and co-ordination in the composition. The drapery appears transparent where it clings to the body and has been given flat volumes where it is free. The plaits in between the two legs are interesting and remind one of similar plaits in Bhārhut statuary.

The burliness and sheer volume, though crudely expressed, connect these figures with the ancient indigenous tradition, and gradually this primitive quality experiences the trends and fashions of what has been described as classical Indian art. In the two Patna statues, almost identical in form and conception, and in the *yakshī* figure from Besnagar we have the same archaic heaviness; but the treatment and modelling appear to be easier and freer. In the front each of the figures exhibits more rounded features, including the arms, breasts and abdomen. The linear contour at the sides is less harsh and has a smoother movement. The draperies are given separate volumes where they do not cling to the body, but are indicated merely by parallel ridges of folds where they do. In spite of the general heaviness of forms, the more rounded features and the attempt at freer linear contours separate these figures from the Parkham image.

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The two torsos, said to be Jaina, from Lohanipur near Patna are analogous to the Patna *yaksha* figures, but the heaviness gives place to a stiff and flattened modelling in which the fully rounded features are equally in evidence.

The figure of *yaksha* Maṇibhadra from Pawāya, though usually classed with the Parkham image, exhibits a greater sense of modelling, both front and back. It is a well-balanced production, and the artist appears to have overcome the conflict between rounded forms and flattened surface which is clearly immanent in the other figures discussed above. A greater co-ordination of volumes, one naturally flowing into the other, definitely shows a mature conception in which one may feel, as it were, the soft, warm flesh. There is nothing primitive or archaic in this figure except its heaviness, but heaviness is a quality inherent in early Indian art and its most potent characteristic.

Equally free from primitiveness is the *yakshiṇī* figure from Didarganj, conspicuous as the most outstanding creation in the entire series. The massive body is fully modelled in the round, the sides and back not excepted. The full and rounded features, including the prominent bust, narrow waist, broad hips gradually tapering down the shapely legs, are all kept within the compactness of the whole and within a fluid contour that one may recognise in the rendering of the front, the back and the sides. The plastic treatment of the whole gives a dynamic character to the entire form, further emphasised by the easy and slight stoop and forward movement of the upper part of the body and by a delicate bend of the right leg. No longer is there any sign of the clash between rounded masses and flat surface; the masses coalesce and converge into one another in a free and fluid linear movement; and seen from whatever angle the composition is one of sweeping curves that accentuate and give relief to the volumes and masses. In the sensitive rendering of the live flesh, in the treatment of the hair, of the drapery and of the ornaments, and lastly in its graceful stance, we have here a female pattern, urban and sophisticated and classical in its idea and content.

The extremely flattened treatment of the Parkham *yaksha* with its inane superposition of volume upon volume compressed between two surfaces, the front and the back, is allied to, and perhaps more primitive than the relief statuary on the Bhārhut *toraṇas* of the second century B.C. The other figures are allied to it, though gradually they begin to feel the impress of the trends and fashions of the contemporary art movement exemplified by the relief compositions of the Central Indian school. The portly statues of *yakshas* from Patna, conscientious in the rendering of earth-bound weight but with greater roundness of features and less harsh linear treatment, are found to be essentially identical with the *yaksha* figures crowning the *toraṇa* architraves of Sāñchī. In the rendering of these colossal statues, representatives doubtless of the old plastic diction of weight and volume, one may recognise the extension of two-dimensional treatment to the three-dimensional depth, evident in the relief compositions

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of the period. The old indigenous plastic diction appears to be inspired by the classical idiom of fluid and sensitive lines, and in the Didarganj *yakshiṇī* we have a successful integration of the two dictions, the old and the new. In its fully rounded form and flowing lines, in the lively and sensitive modelling of the limbs and the almost sensuous touch of soft, warm flesh, the physiognomical type is not far removed from that of the dainty *yakshiṇī* forms on the Mathurā jambs and is certainly nearer to them in date. From the static weight of congested flesh joined in a conglomerating manner between two flat surfaces, the front and the back, the figure has freed itself to three-dimensional extensivensess, and though heavy in form a dynamic movement characterises the entire composition.

(*b*) *ŚAKA-KUSHĀṆA.*

The early phase in classical Indian art, outlined above, represents a formative age in which the foundations were laid of those trends and tendencies that were to form the essential and characteristic qualities of later Indian sculpture. The further development of artistic movement covers the early centuries of the Christian era in which these trends reach their maturity and become inherent in Indian plastic art. Artistic activities, widespread in the earlier period, become centralised in a few distinct localities, particularly Mathurā in the North and Amarāvatī in the South. Apart from these two well-defined centres there flourished a prolific school in the north-western part of India, a school that owed its origin to an extraneous and eclectic art tradition commissioned to serve an Indian religion. After these achievements in the early centuries of the Christian era, classical Indian art reaches its fruition in the age of the Guptas.

(*i*) *MATHURĀ.*

With the disruption of the Mauryan empire, the north-western part of India was again a prey to foreign aggression. The Greeks, the Śakas, the Pahlavas and the Kushāṇas entered India. Some of these invaders advanced far into the interior, but in spite of constant upheavals the old Indian art continued to enjoy an unbroken continuity. There was no break or disturbance; and except for certain minor details of ornament and presentation, plastic art developed in the Gangetic valley along the lines already determined in the early classical phase. Mathurā, the converging-point of ancient trade routes from all directions, was not only an important and prosperous city, but also grew into a centre of art where the history of Indian sculpture can be studied in an unbroken sequence from quite early times right up to the mediaeval period. The fame and prestige of this great centre spread far, and sculptures of Mathurā style and workmanship have been found in widely separated regions. For the history of Indian art few sites are of greater interest and importance than Mathurā.

The early phase of artistic activity at Mathurā, recognised by a few stray and isolated finds, is closely linked with the Central Indian school of

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Bhārhut and Sāñchī and has been dealt with already. The great period of Mathurā art begins with the Christian era, and its most prolific output synchronised with the rule of the Kushāṇas who extended their supremacy over substantial portions of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab. So far as indigenous artistic activity is concerned, it is at Mathurā that we first notice the prolific use of images representing the various divinities, and with the creation and introduction of the cult image a new direction of Indian art comes into existence. The origin of the cult image in India has been a matter of much controversy. In the popular religions of the early Indians a strong anthropomorphic character was immanent. Though it was subdued by the preponderance of the religion of the Vedic Aryans in the early days of aryanisation, this tendency received a great impetus on the rise and development of theistic devotional cults which may be considered as an emergence of the popular non-Aryan and pre-Aryan fashions and practices, now recognised, absorbed and systematised in relation to Aryan philosophies. It is at Mathurā that this innate anthropomorphism and iconism was asserted with vigour and found expression in images of cult divinities.

In the new iconography thus occasioned as a result of creations of the image, the figure of the Buddha plays a prominent part and conveys the contemporary notions underlying the divine image. With the idea of the divine image expressed in human form the artist's conception of the importance of the human figure and its relation to its surroundings necessarily changed. The earlier conception of a relief composition is of very little import in this new iconography in which the chief interest centres upon the human figure boldly carved and set against the plain surface of the ground. The earlier concepts of continuous narration and of spatial relations are of little use in this art and are discarded. New techniques are evolved leading to the development of stereotyped image stelae with the ideas of the grouping of the central and accessory figures determined by iconographic prescriptions.

The image proper, in its initial stage, is shaped, as it were, in the form and content of *yaksha* primitives and hence to some extent on the older indigenous tradition. Indeed, the earliest Buddha figures, called Bodhisattvas in inscriptions out of deference to old scruples against the figuration of the Master, are intimately related, formally, psychologically, and in treatment, to the colossal figures of *yakshas* and *dvārapālas*, and, like them, are characterised by massive earthliness and robustness of form and volume. Several images of the Master, dated in the reign of the Kushāṇa emperor Kanishka, are instructive examples of this. One of them comes from Kośaṁ (Kauśāṁbī) and was installed in the second year of Kanishka's reign.[1] From Sārnāth[2] and Saheth-Maheth (Śrāvastī)[3] we have two such images, both dedicated by Friar Bala in the third year of the reign

[1] *Calcutta Review*, July 1934; also *ABIA*. 1934, IX p. 10, pl. ii c. For doubts regarding the date see *IHQ*. X p. 575 f.

[2] *ASIAR*. 1904-05, pp. 78-80; *EI*. VIII p. 173

[3] *JASB*. LXVII (i) p. 274; *EI*. VIII p. 180

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of the same monarch. A second image from Sārnāth, closely similar to the above, may also be dated about the same period, though some scholars ascribe it to a slightly earlier period on account of the incisions of the folds of the drapery appearing on the upper torso.[1] In the other figures the folds do not appear on this part of the body. All these images are executed in the mottled red sandstone of Sikri and were apparently of Mathurā origin. Each of them represents the Master in a standing pose with the left hand held near the hip and the right, wherever preserved, raised up to the shoulder in *abhaya-mudrā*. A lion is shown on the pedestal between the legs, and indicates that the figure portrayed in each case is that of Śākyasiṁha, or 'the lion of the Śakya race', i.e. the historical Gautama. The head, wherever preserved, is closely shaven and the forehead bears no mark of the *ūrṇā*. The upper part of the body is only half covered, the right shoulder being left free. The drapery, which consists of an upper garment and a lower, clings closely to the body, and folds are shown in schematic lines over the left arm and in the lower part. The under garment is fastened to the waist by a knotted girdle, while the upper is wound round the left shoulder and drawn diagonally across the body, the ends being gathered up over the left lower arm. The hems and ends of the drapery are given separate volumes. Though in the round, each of these sculptures is conceived in strictly frontal aspect and is static in character. The broad shoulders, the prominent masculine torso, the heavy and massive form firmly planted on the pedestal, the gesture and other features are expressive of enormous energy and mundane force belonging to this world and not of any transcendental concept or idea. The open eyes and smiling countenance also make no suggestion of spiritual introspection. In these sculptures the image comes into view only in its physical aspect as that of a world conqueror; the spiritual form, suggestive of superhuman divine existence, is yet to come.

This series of colossal sculptures inaugurates the line of Buddhist images, or for the matter of that of all cult images, extending down to the Gupta period. They indicate the primitive and indigenous tradition of image-making, already evident in the massive *yaksha* and *yakshī* figures discussed in a previous section, following the movement of the progressive classical idiom. This is clearly noticed in other sculptures from Mathurā, both standing and seated, in which there may be recognized a conscious and gradual progress towards an expressive contour, a distinct articulation and co-ordination of the different parts and a refined and more effective modelling. Some of these figures have spiral *ushṇīshas*, while the *ūrṇā* is sometimes indicated by a raised dot between the eyes. The halo, wherever preserved, is circular and scalloped at the edge. A few are dated with reference to the reigns of the Kushāṇa kings, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, and they exhibit the gradual development of the type chronologically as well as stylistically. In the Katra Bodhisattva and a few other analogous

[1] Bachhofer, L., *Early Indian Sculpture*, II pl. 80

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figures we have the beginnings of the image stele in which may be recognized the rudiments of group compositions that become conventional and stereotyped in the later images. The heavy and massive form becomes relaxed in course of time, grows supple and pliable with a gliding linear contour and with smooth and submerged shadows playing all over the surface. But in spite of these developments towards refinement and elegance, the figures remain earthbound, as before with no suggestion of spirituality. This is true not only of Buddhist sculptures, but also of other cult images, Jaina and Brahmanical. The iconographic details gradually reach their fulness, but spiritual grace, the true import of the image of a divine being, is found to be lacking.

The Mathurā artists were aware of the contemporary Gandhāra art tradition of the North-West, and certain Buddha figures and reliefs give hints of this awareness. In several figures of the Buddha the drapery hanging down in semi-circular folds is found to cover both the shoulders, and in a few the feet also. The head again is not shaven, but covered with curls. The eyes and lips are full and sharply cut, the upper eye-lid being especially heavy. These features, unknown in early Indian sculpture and in the Mathurā type of Bodhisattvas, may be traced to contacts with the Gandhāran tradition. More definite evidence of such contacts is provided by certain *motifs*, such as the woman and the acanthus, the vine with fruits, etc. These, however, are late incidents in the history of the Mathurā school and constitute a very small fraction of its productions. It may be that the popularity of the Gandhāra school influenced the Mathurā artists on the simple grounds of competition. Gandhāran influence on Mathurā art was, however, very slight. Certain *motifs* were evidently borrowed, but practically nothing of technique or style, and whatever influence came from outside was assimilated and drawn into the fabric of Indian plastic tradition.

Certain groups of Mathurā sculptures, all dealing with strong drink and inebriation, have been classed as Bacchanalian and their interpretation is still a matter of uncertainty in spite of long discussions. In several sculptures of this group foreign touches are marked in the treatment of the drapery, in stance and in the general features of the composition, and the theory that the *motif* was inspired by foreign subjects is plausible. Similar is the case with the so-called 'Heracles and the lion' composition. But such *motifs* formed no part of the Indian art movement, nor did the Bacchanalian scenes, in spite of their seeming popularity in this period, survive in subsequent Indian art. They are just passing fancies which may have touched the imagination of the Mathurā artists, but are of very little import for the general history of Indian art.

We must not omit in this discussion the few large-size portrait statues of Kanishka, Wima Kadphises (?), and Chaṣṭana (?), which belong to a distinct style and class. The statue of Kanishka, King of Kings, represents an extremely linear and angular art in which the figure, though free, is entirely set into the surface and is frontal in the most rigorous sense of the term. The main effect is one of a flat and compressed surface of harsh

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angles and sharp lines in which the ponderous volume of the early Indian tradition and the plastic rhythm of the classical are equally absent. The other two statues represent different stages of this style, which is no doubt Central Asian or Scythian in inspiration. But this too remains a transient phase in the history of Mathurā art and of Indian art as a whole.

A particular kind of Mathurā sculpture is represented by votive slabs, known as *āyāgapaṭas*, which were erected in Jaina shrines for the adoration of the *arhats*. To this class belong also the so-called 'Holi' reliefs. These votive slabs are Indian in conception and treatment, the figures and other features of the composition following the indigenous art movement in all details. Particularly interesting is the Āmohinī relief,[1] in all probability pre-Kanishka in date, which exhibits all the mass and volume of early Indian art as also its character of relief composition. The *āyāgapaṭa* from Kaṅkāli-Ṭīlā[2] showing the seated figure of a Jina in the centre, is a pleasing study of auspicious symbols and *motifs* treated with a remarkable sense of harmonious and decorative grouping. In the 'Holi' relief, now in the Mathurā Museum, the artist's venture to represent perspective is worth noticing. These slabs are Indian in spirit as well as in technique and characterisation, and must be classed with the indigenous art movement.

So far as the Indian art movement is concerned the rigidity of the physical mass and volume is softened in course of time to an unprecedented elegance in the alto-relievo sculptures on the front sides of the rail pillars from various sites of Mathurā. At the back there appear the narrative relief panels depicting the legends. On the front, however, are represented, with very few exceptions, nude or semi-nude female figures—*yakshiṇīs*, *vṛikshakās* or *apsarasas*, and such subjects as toilet scenes, the connotation and implications of which are anything but religious. Related unmistakably to the *yakshīs* and tree-nymphs of Bhārhut, Sāñchī and Bodh Gayā, formally and iconographically, these figures have attained greater freedom of movement gestures and attitudes along with an increased plasticity and refinement of the physical mass. The increased plasticity leads to the creation of alluring female forms of which the aim is frankly sensual and suggestively erotic, though the figures themselves are possibly derived from popular religious beliefs in nymphs and dryads connected with vegetal fertility. Contemporary terra-cotta figurines from various sites in the Indo-Gangetic plain supply analogies and parallels to such figures in miniature. Whatever the purpose, these figures with their full, round breasts and hips, attenuated waists, and the smooth texture of the warm and living flesh emphasise physical charm as their substance, and sensual appeal as their aim, further accentuated by such gestures as an outward thrust of the hip, a slight turn of the head or hand, and a frankly coquettish countenance. Even in the male figures, very few of which appear on such pillars, the smooth and resilient flesh is not

[1] *ASIAR.* 1922-3, p. 90 pl. V 2
[2] Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 37, fig. 71

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devoid of sensuous charm. Indian art at this period is found to be unreservedly addicted to everything terrestrial and the entire plastic sense is steeped in the physical. The physical and worldly aspect of art, so clearly emphasised at Mathurā is seen in violent and boisterous frenzy in the contemporary art of Veṅgi in south India.

The vast repertoire of the Mathurā school may be recognised as the natural and consistent growth of early Indian art resting its foundations on Indian soil and on the indigenous trends and traditions prevalent in the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era. The different foreign peoples and races who entered India and fought for political power were ultimately indianised and absorbed in the vast current of the Indian population. Extraneous influences naturally affected Mathurā also in her artistic pursuits, but the prevailing and predominant tradition continued to be Indian, and no infusion of alien idiom could change its basic character. Thus Mathurā bequeathed a rich legacy to the development of Indian art in subsequent centuries.

(*ii*) *GANDHĀRA*

The sculpture of the Gandhāra country, embracing the North-Western provinces of India and part of Afghanistan, represents a fundamentally different art which falls outside the lines of the natural and consistent growth of the Indian movement dealt with so far. The soil upon which it grew belongs, however, to India, and a brief discussion of the school is necessary in a chapter on Indian art.

Situated close to the north-western gates of India the territory lay exposed to foreign contacts and influences from time immemorial. The Persians, the Greeks, the Śakas, the Pahlavas, and the Kushāṇas came and settled there, and the result was the birth of a hybrid culture that found expression in an eclectic school of art, prolific in output and more or less contemporary with the flourishing period of the indigenous art movement at Mathurā. The Gandhāra movement is usually described as Graeco-Buddhist, but it must be borne in mind that the school comes into view only when the Greek domination of this part of India has become a thing of the past, its principal patrons being the Śakas and the Kushāṇas from Central Asia. The technique employed is unquestionably Hellenistic, though modified by Iranian and Scythian contacts, but the themes depicted are Indian and almost exclusively Buddhist.

Already in the centuries preceding the Christian era the different peoples who had settled in the North-West and the Panjab had come under the influence of Indian religions. This fact is attested not only by inscriptions recording religious benefactions, but by the appearance of symbols and deities associated with Indian religious cults on the coins of the foreign rulers. It is through the influence of such religions as Buddhism and Bhāgavatism that these foreigners were gradually indianised and absorbed in the Indian population. The Gandhāra school of art really represents a stage of this indianisation and has to be viewed in that light.

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The Gandhāra school is best known from its most prolific productions, and important remains have come from Jalalabad, Hadda and Bamiyan in Afghanistan, the Swat valley (Udyāna), Taxila, (ancient Takshaśilā), Takht-i-Bahi in the Yusufzai country, Bala Hissar at the junction of the Swat and the Kabul rivers, Chārsadda, Palatu-Dheri, Ghaz-Dheri, etc. The material employed is usually a dark grey slate in the early period, stucco and terra-cotta becoming the favourite mediums later.

The dating of Gandhāra sculptures is still involved in uncertainty. The excavations of Marshall at Taxila, executed with much exactness and circumspection, have established a chronology, which, coupled with the results of other excavations and finds, appears to indicate that the ruler associated with the earliest remains of the Buddhist art of Gandhāra was Azes I, belonging roughly to the middle of the first century B.C.[1] The school thus began to take shape after the decline of Greek power but before the Kushāṇas came upon the scene. The days of its expansion coincide with the reign of the great Kushāṇa kings, particularly Kanishka, and the school maintains an abundant production in the third and fourth centuries A.D.[2]

Though derived, technically and stylistically, from an extraneous and eclectic plastic standard, the themes were of Indian origin, and according to some scholars the importance of the school consists in the revolutionary procedure of representing for the first time the image of the Buddha in anthropomorphic shape. Independent images either seated or standing, occur very frequently, and in the numerous representations of scenes from the life of the Master which form the principal repertoire of the Gandhāra artists, he is depicted, with very few exceptions, in human shape. This new orientation in Indian religion and art is held to be the contribution of this eclectic school. The point has been touched on in connection with the images of Buddha-Bodhisattva from Mathurā, based on indigenous and plastic and iconographic ideals. The Gandhāra Buddha belongs plastically to an extraneous artistic standard, but 'follows Indian tradition in every essential of its iconography.'[3] Though bearing all the iconographic marks and traits of the Indian tradition, the Gandhāra Buddha is rendered in the manner of the divine figures of the Graeco-Roman pantheon and with features wholly foreign to Indian notions. Robed in a thick garment arranged in the fashion of a Roman toga, with hair arranged in wavy curls, with a physiognomy and expression foreign to Indian conceptions, and sometimes with a moustache or turban, the Buddha of the Gandhāra artists is indeed an Apollo, and such representations, however popular amongst an eclectic population, failed to satisfy the Indian standard and the Indian mind. The reliefs representing scenes from the life of the Master, in spite of their minute details, have the appearance of mechanical reproductions lacking all the spontaneity and emotional warmth

[1] Bachhofer admirably summarises all available data on the chronology of the Gandhāra school (Bachhofer, op. cit., I p. 73)
[2] Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 52
[3] Ibid. p. 52

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that distinguish the reliefs of early Indian art of Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Bodh Gayä or Amarāvatī. Moreover, such representations as those of the Indian lotus in the fashion of a prickly artichoke, indicate that the Gandhāra artists did not always feel themselves at home in translating Indian ideas. The Buddha image of the Gandhāra school as a whole also conveys the same impression. The Mathurā Buddha lacked spiritual expression, so also the Gandhāra image. But the former, based on indigenous standards plastically and iconographically, expressed an Indian conception and was true to the Indian ideals psychologically as well as culturally. In this respect the Mathurā Buddha-Bodhisattva may be described as a more successful representation of the Master than the Gandhāran which employs a foreign style and follows a foreign ideal, though in the service of an Indian religion. 'Judging from expression, intention, conception and artistic mastery of the subject the Buddha-Bodhisattvas from Mathurā are purely Indian.'[1] The Gandharā Buddha, though a resourceful adaptation of Indian notions, is foreign in conception and outlook. It is possible that so far as extant remains are concerned the Gandhāra Buddha may have been prior in date, but as Kramrisch significantly observes, in no case does priority establish a claim of the Gandhāran type as the origin of the Buddha image.[2] Bachhofer, by a skilful analysis of the two types, has shown that the Buddha-Bodhisattvas of Mathurā were anterior to the influx of the Gandhāra tradition at Mathurā.[3] The Gandhāra influence had nothing to do with the indigenous type which served as the model for all Indian images of the subsequent days.

The earliest specimen of Gandhāra art so far discovered is the Bimaran reliquary which circumstantially has to be dated to the reign of Azes I. The reliquary is adorned all round with figures set in niches between slender pilasters supporting semicircular ogee arches. The mobility of the figures is striking, and the free and dynamic quality is further accentuated by the flowing treatment of the drapery, conceived plastically as a separate volume with its own weight and covering the body entirely from the shoulders to the ankles. The free-standing Buddha from Loriyan Tangai, dated in the year 318 of an unspecified era (probably Seleucid, i.e. A.D. 6),[4] is in a static pose confronting the spectator. In spite of its indifferent preservation, the drapery can be recognised to be plastically treated as a separate and voluminous mass, though there is a conscious attempt to make the forms underneath the garment visible. The movement towards a diaphanous treatment of the drapery became gradually prominent and asserted itself fully in the third and fourth centuries A.D. It may have been due to contact with the indigenous Indian tradition of which such a treatment was the ideal. The well-known Buddha from Takht-i-Bahi now in Berlin, appears also to belong to the same period as the Loriyan Tangai image. In the Buddha from Chārsadda, dated in the year 384, again in an unspecified

[1] Bachhofer, L. op. cit. I p. 99
[2] Kramrisch, Stella, op. cit. p. 40
[3] Bachhofer, L., op. cit., I p. 114
[4] *ASIAR.* 1903-4, pp. 254 f.

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era (Seleucid in all probability, i.e. A.D. 72),[1] the design of the transparent drapery has become more pronounced, and in the standing Buddha from Takht and the seated Buddha from Sahri-Bahlol it reaches a convincing solution. The image of Hāritī from Skarah-Dheri bears again a date in an unspecified era, 399, i.e. A.D. 87 if referred to the Seleucid era.[2] The drapery clings to the body closely with small parallel folds which suppress the transparency to a certain extent. It has a certain rough and rustic strength which is also noticeable in the figures on the Kanishka reliquary from Shah-ji-ki-Dheri; the latter, however, is far superior in execution. In these two objects there are signs of a stylisation which becomes characteristic of the Gandhāra art of this period; throughout the second century A.D. the style follows a path of progressive schematisation, so that fluted drapery with flat parallel folds is the rule. The early group of Buddha figures from the latter half of the first century B.C. down to the first century A.D., is characterised by clear and impressive heads with long and beautifully drawn curves outlining the lineaments and showing locks of hair in wavy curls overflowing the *ushṇīsha* wherever it is marked. The body is balanced with clear-cut proportions, and the attitude relaxed. The second century A.D. in Gandhāra art represents a period of decadence and provides a strange contrast to the contemporaneous artistic movements in Northern and Southern India.

Gandhāra art thus arises during the period of Śaka domination. The art of the Greek princely courts, of which specimens are as yet wanting except on coins, was a strongly coloured Hellenism, and this under the Śaka and Kushāṇa patrons assumed a local character in the service of Indian religions, particularly Buddhism. The spell of Hellenism, felt in the earlier productions, gradually fades until schematisation in the second century A.D. leads to a degeneration of the earlier artistic forces.

From the third century onwards a revival of the artistic tendencies of the first century A.D. is noticed. Stone sculpture has become rare, and is not of high quality, stucco and terra-cotta of easier tractability being the favourite materials of this period. The style is much more free than the schematic productions of the second century A.D. The drapery again tends progressively to the transparent gossamer type, and in the body treatment the harmony of rhythmic lines, such as we feel in the earlier productions, though greatly softened is more in evidence. In the attitudes of the figures we observe the same tendency to relax. The two significant centres of this late Gandhāra art are Mohra Moradu and Jaulian. This art was nearer to the work of the first century A.D. than to that of the second. The revival of artistic impulse in Gandhāra after a period of decadence has naturally to feed upon the earlier productions of the first century A.D.[3] Geographical as well as ethnical reasons probably precluded the possibility of turning to the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley for artistic inspiration. It

[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Bachhofer, L., op. cit. I p. 87

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is this late Gandhāra tradition which was carried to Central Asia and China via Afghanistan.

In the fabric of Indian art as a whole the Gandhāra school is nothing more than a passing feature. It made only a negligible contribution except for a few *motifs*, which again were quickly indianised. In aesthetic import and significance the products of the school can hardly be compared with the spontaneous productions at Bhārhut and Sāñchī or the work of the later schools of the Gupta and Pallava periods with all their emotional and spiritual content. This eclectic art is an eastward expansion of Hellenism, transformed by strong Iranian and Scythian elements and applied to Indian subjects. From the Indian point of view it is a westward expansion of Indian culture in a foreign eclectic garb. As Dr. Kramrisch rightly observed, 'Gandhāra . . . occupies a position apart. For, if it is Indian and colonial from a Hellenistic point of view, it is Hellenistic and colonial when viewed from India'.[1]

(*c*) *TERRA-COTTA.*

Terra-cotta was the medium of artistic expression for the common people and a considerable number of terra-cotta objects have been found along the Gangetic plains in various sites and in different levels of occupation. The most prolific centres were Ahichchhatra, Mathurā, Kauśāmbī (Kosam), Bhita and Rājghat in Uttar Pradesh, Pāṭaliputra (Patna), Buxar, and Vaiśālī (Basarh) in Bihar, and Bangarh, Mahasthan, and Tāmralipti (Tamluk) in Bengal. At Taxila, a flourishing centre of Gandhāra art, have also been found numerous terra-cotta objects and figurines of different periods and of varied style. The movement was thus extensive and widespread in Northern India and was known also in the South as the recent finds from Kondapur (Hyderabad State) show. There were objects in terra-cotta intended chiefly for domestic worship and household decoration, for children's toys, for popular religious and magical practices. Seals were fashioned out of the same material for purposes of documentation and also as personal ornaments for the use of the poor. Apart from its aesthetic significance, the terra-cotta art, in its varied uses and purposes, supplies invaluable material for a study of the life and culture of the Indian people.

A study of Indian terra-cottas leads to their division into two well defined groups—one exhibiting a primitive form and experience, and the other showing the impress and formulations in chronological sequence of a stylistic advance, natural to a progressive art movement. What is interesting is that the primitive type has been found in association with the other, and its existence can be traced from the time of the Indus civilization right up to the present day. Hence an eminent scholar describes the two groups—one as 'ageless' and the other as 'time-bound'.[2] The ageless

[1] Kramrisch, op. cit., p. 44

[2] Kramrisch, Stella, 'Indian terra-cottas', *JISOA.* VII pp. 89 f.

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type, whether representing a human figure or an animal is characterised by a modelling that reduces the form to a simple description of the main volumes corresponding to the main parts of the body. Eyes, lips, hair, navel, etc. are either indicated by mere scratches or by separate strips applied to the modelled form. The appliqué technique is also resorted to for ornaments and head-dresses, and usually the form is heavily burdened with them. Most of the human figurines represent females with heavy bulging hips and prominent rounded breasts, sometimes with the navels and lower abdomen clearly marked, and seems to be associated with the primitive conception of a mother or fertility goddess.

The terra-cottas of the 'ageless' type are modelled by hand, but with the 'time-bound' group the mould also comes into use. The earliest in the latter series appear to be those in which the faces are found to be impressions from moulds with the hair, head-dresses and even the ears in appliqué. The heads thus fashioned are fixed to bodies modelled by hand. Such terra-cottas follow from age to age the stylistic and aesthetic characteristics marking the progress of the plastic arts in the country. A considerable number of detached heads have been extracted from different sites, and of these a few bearing remarkably individual traits in physiognomy and expression are usually described as Mauryan in date. These are followed by miniature plaques, each bearing one or more figures in reliefs, entirely produced from moulds. Such plaques have been found in various sites in fairly large numbers and are ascribed to the second and first centuries B.C. The earlier examples, resembling contemporary work in stone, are characterised by flattened reliefs, heavy forms and somewhat harsh linear schemes. Soon they give place to pleasing specimens in which the reliefs are higher, the forms more refined and sensitively modelled, the lines more disciplined, and the contours and gradation of planes better regulated. As a rule, the figures are heavily coiffured, and wear elaborate apparel and jewellery, sometimes applied, concealing to some extent, the loveliness of the delicately modelled body. In the various modes of coiffure, dress and jewellery one may find ample materials for a study of the fashions and tastes of the time.

In the Śaka-Kushāṇa period various ethnic types and fashions are represented in terra-cotta, a clear reflection of the racial influx characteristic of the period. Mathurā and Taxila represent two prolific centres of this art, while Ahichchhatra, Kauśāṁbī, Vaiśālī, Bhita and other places supply conspicuous objects also. The repertoire is varied and apart from the figures of already known designs various homely scenes and popular stories enrich the subject-matter. The terra-cotta art bears the impress and stamp of the parallel contemporary style in stone, and is likewise no less worldly and physically minded. With their well-modulated forms and smoothly refined contours, the figures are animated and lively, and supply a manifold picture of secular life, rich in social content and significance.

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B. ARCHITECTURE.

The earliest remains of the builder's art in India have been found buried in the vast alluvial plain along the course of the lower Indus and its several affluents. They represent the ruins of well planned brick-built cities that reveal a full-fledged urban civilisation to be dated in a period roughly between 3,000 and 2,500 B.C. The principles and technique of building-construction are found in a well developed and mature state, resulting no doubt from much anteriror experience.

A long gap separates this early phase of architecture in India from the succeeding one. The sixth century B.C. is the next landmark. In that century two new religious systems were born, one of which was destined to spread far outside the limits of India. Almost contemporaneously we find states organised on a vaster scale which, with the accumulation of power, prestige, and wealth, permitted, indeed fostered, the development of arts and crafts. When Magadha expanded into a great empire in the fourth century B.C. this development received an unprecedented impetus, and it is from this period that we begin to trace the history of Indian architecture in a reasonably assured, and a more or less unbroken, sequence. The gulf that separates this period from the Indus Age might suggest that the powerful traditions of the earlier epoch had completely died out. This cannot be proved by negative evidence. It is just possible that the buildings of the intermediate period still lie hidden under the soil or, having been made of impermanent materials, like wood, have perished altogether. The second supposition becomes more than a probability when we find that the earliest lithic architecture bears the clear stamp and impress of wooden prototypes and of architectural techniques originally evolved of wooden structures

(a) SECULAR ARCHITECTURE.

The emergence of bigger state organisations ultimately coalescing into a vast empire, and the flourishing state of trade and commerce, as pictured in the Jātaka tales, led to the growth of big cities. In Buddha's time there were six great cities, namely Rājagṛiha, Śrāvastī, Sāketa, Kauśāṁbī, Vārāṇasī and Chaṁpā.[1] Other cities also rose into prominence, and are mentioned in early Buddhist literature. These cities appear to have been surrounded by protecting walls, pierced by gateways and furnished with lofty watch-towers.[2] Rājagṛiha was the old capital of Magadha and a new

[1] *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, *SBE.* XI p. 99

[2] The *Mahājanaka Jātaka* (No. 539) refers to the gate, watch-tower and the walls of the city of Chaṁpā, capital of Aṅga, now represented by the site of Champanagar, near Bhagalpur, in Bihar. The city of Girivraja (old Rājagṛiha), capital of Magadha, has been described as an impregnable city (*puraṁ durādharshaṁ*) in the *Mahābhārata* (ii. 20. 30), being surrounded by five hills, namely Vaihāra, Varāha, Vṛishabha, Ṛishigiri and Chaityaka. The walls of the city, constructed of cyclopaean masonry, can still be seen.

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capital city, Pāṭaliputra, was founded between the rivers Gaṅgā and the Hiraṇyavāha or the Son; a picture of this magnificent city and its civic organisation has been left to us by Megasthenes.

Very few vestiges of these early cities have survived. Arrian, who based his *Indica* on the accounts of Megasthenes, states that cities on the banks of rivers and in other low lying spots were built of wood; those in more commanding positions, less exposed to floods, of mud or brick.[1] Wooden structures have a very short span of life and soon fall to pieces. Mud buildings are flimsier still. Even brick structures cannot withstand the disintegrating forces of time and weather for long, and possibly lie buried under their own debris.

But though no remains are forthcoming, a general idea of the plan and lay-out of early Indian cities may be obtained from references to cities and city organisations in the Buddhist literature, the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, the Epics and other works. The *Milindapañha*,[2] or the 'Questions of Menander', offers us a graphic picture of the city of Sāgala (Śākala, modern Sialkot in the Panjab). It was a city 'fine and regular, measured out into quarters, with excavated moats and ramparts about it, with stout gate-houses and towers, with market places, cross-roads, street corners and public squares, with clean and even main roads, with regular lines of open shops, well provided with parks, gardens, lakes, lotus-ponds and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples of the gods, free from every fault, and standing in all its glory.'

This eloquent description of the city of Sāgala appears to hold good for the entire period under reference. The standard scheme of an early city was thus somewhat as follows. It is surrounded by a moat or moats and further protected by a wall (*pākāra*, *prākāra*) running all around. The plan is rectangular, usually square, with gate or gate-houses (*dvāra*, *dvāra-koṭṭhalaka*) in the middle of each side, each gateway being approached by a bridge across the moat. Four main streets from the four gateways lead to the centre of the city which is laid out into quarters (*bhāgaśo mitam*). Within the city lofty buildings of all kinds rise up in orderly rows. The moat apart, such a layout, might well suit even a modern city.

No remains have been found in a sufficient state of preservation to give us an idea of what these early cities looked like when entire. But a reconstruction, hypothetical but authoritative, may be made from the relief representations of Bhārhut, Sāñchī, Amarāvatī, Mathurā, etc. in which many of the historical cities of ancient India including Rājagṛiha, Śrāvastī, Vārāṇasī, Kapilavāstu and Kuśinagara, have been shown, as required by the stories and legends that they represent. An outer view of the city wall, with imposing gateways and lofty defensive towers, and occasionally some glimpse of the buildings inside may be clearly obtained from these reliefs. Along the city wall there runs the moat, the water which fills it being indicated by wavy ripples, and sometimes with lotuses which add

[1] *CHI.* I p. 617
[2] I 34 and 330 f.; *SBE.* XXXV p. 53; XXXVI pp. 208-9

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to the scenic beauty of the surroundings by contrast with the grim and austere aspect of the wall rising high behind the moat. The walls are usually shown as built of brick, though wooden palisade construction is also resorted to as is evident from a Sāñchī relief. Sometimes, the walls run in re-entrant angles, the salient corners being provided with projecting bastions. At the top the walls end either in a coping, or, more usually, in battlements. The gate-house, boldly projecting from the line of the walls, has two lofty towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka, gopura-aṭṭālaka*) at the two sides, which are joined together by a gallery hall (*śālā*). Soaring high above the walls these towers add to the strength and dignity of the entire scheme of the massive portal. They rise to several storeys with open balconies or verandas and have each a barrel-vaulted roof with gable ends at the top. The dimensions of the gate-house are often imposing. In some of the reliefs they are shown as large enough to provide passages for chariots and horses and elephants with riders. Inside the gateway-building accessory defence towers are also occasionally shown.

Apart from the gate-house and situated at the far end of the bridge communicating with the gateway stand ornamental *toraṇas*. Such a *toraṇa* is usually made up of two free standing pillars which support one or more architraves at the top. The design leaves no doubt of its being imitated from wooden constructions, if not actually made of wood. Compared with the forbidding aspect of the massive walls and imposing portals, the *toraṇas* are light in build and in effect, and serve merely as ornamental approaches to the city gates.

The early Indian reliefs are also instructive in the reconstruction of the plan, lay-out, elevation and other features of an urban building. It usually faced a court, occasionally flanked by other buildings at the sides but left open in front (cf. Sāñchī, East Gate). This open court was approached by a light *toraṇa* of wooden technique and construction (Amarāvatī). The buildings usually rose to several storeys, the uppermost storey being covered by a wagon-vaulted roof having gables at either end and crowned by pointed finials. Along the front of the upper storeys ran balustraded verandahs (*alindas*), while the ground floor was sometimes an open pillared pavilion probably intended for an assembly hall. The pillars, either square or round, sometimes carried the so-called 'bell capitals' at the top. The upper floors were reached by stairways supported on a framework of beams and rafters resting on plain pillars. A Mathurā relief of about the second century A.D. supplies us with the view of an external stairway which is roofed at the top and provided with railings at the sides. The replica of a pleasure palace within a garden is also furnished by the same relief. The palace rises up to three storeys, the topmost having probably a tiled roof.

The appearance and other features of the buildings shown in early relief compositions leave no doubt of their being constructed of impermanent materials, like wood, or bamboo. Every essential of wooden technique is scrupulously imitated in these reliefs and this strict adherence to a wooden

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style presumes the existence of an age of wood in the history of Indian architecture. The elaborate cave façades are clear and explicit imitations of structural modes and patterns in wood,[1] and from their testimony, the early urban buildings, in spite of their wooden structure, appear to have been large and imposing, beautifully laid out and richly decorated. The nature of the material precluded extensive change in the shape and form of the buildings, but the simplicity of the shape and form is amply compensated by the wealth of ornament, the like of which can very seldom be seen. With spacious windows, open pavilions, balustraded verandahs and shaded overhanging balconies, they were quite comfortable dwellings. These buildings when standing must have presented a strong contrast to the earliest Indian architecture of the secular order found in the Indus cities, which was strictly utilitarian and devoid of any ornament.

It will not be irrelevant to recall the interesting description of Pāṭaliputra, the foremost city of the time, left to us by the classical writers[2] and the Chinese pilgrims. The description tallies in almost all essentials with our picture of an early Indian city and its buildings, and has been confirmed by excavations.

Remains of brick-built cities have been laid bare in excavations at various sites e.g. Basarh, Bhita, Ahichchhatra, Taxila, but they are too fragmentary to be of any real use for a systematic study of ancient Indian civic architecture. The plan and lay-out as gathered from the surviving foundations and plinths correspond generally to those of an early city as described in literature. Plainly, however, such brick buildings afforded no scope for the ornamental detail and exuberance of wooden structures, and were therefore much simpler in appearance. At Ahichchhatra, the capital of the Pañchāla kingdom, excavation has revealed the remains of streets leading from the gateways and converging to the centre of the city where stood a lofty temple. The houses are found arranged on both sides of the street.

(*b*) *RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE*

Art in its early period flourishes mainly as a handmaid of religion, and this is substantially true of architecture. An oriental thinks more of his religion and his god than of himself and hence the desire to build a permanent habitation intended for religious purposes is strong in his mind. It is for this reason that the change from perishable to more durable materials occurred much earlier in religious buildings than in those meant for domestic and residential purposes. The phenomenal growth of the religions of Gautama Buddha and of Mahāvīra Jina and the rise of the sectarian cults of Hinduism supplied a great impetus to the progress of architecture. With Buddhism is particularly associated the *stūpa* which represents a domical structure of brick or stone masonry. Shrines, usually

[1] Compare particularly the magnificent façades of the caves at Kondane, Kārle etc. in Western India.
[2] See Chh. i and iii ante.

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known as *chaitya* halls, and monasteries also formed important concomitants of the Buddhist religious establishments, the extant monuments of the early period being mostly of the excavated order. The sanctuaries of the Jainas that are known to have been raised have perished, but cave dwellings meant for their recluses still exist. The *bhakti* cult gave a great impetus to the worship of images and several *devagṛihas* or 'houses of gods', pertaining to the worship of the different gods of Hinduism, going back to the second or first century B.C., have been exposed, though in extremely fragmentary states. *Dhvajastaṁbhas* or columns bearing the emblems of the gods used to be erected in front of such sanctuaries, and several of them, associated with the worship of Vishṇu in his *vyūha* forms, still stand in and around Besnagar in the Gwalior region. These no doubt testify to a prolific architectural activity in the religious buildings of different denominations. Our knowledge of the buildings of the structural order, built, according to custom, of impermanent materials, is however, very meagre. Nevertheless a continuous movement may be traced in respect of the *stūpa* and such other architectural forms as are connected with cave excavations.

(*i*) *STŪPA.*

The word *stūpa* (dagoba, tope) is an architectural term and means something raised up by accumulation. A variant may be found in the word *chaitya* which, in its restricted sense, is used as a synonym for the *stūpa*. Etymologically the term *chaitya* derives from the root *chi* to collect or pile up, but came to denote anything particularly connected with the funerary pile (*chitā*), usually tombs raised over the ashes or relics of a dead person. In a land of relic and ancestor worship it signifies, in a wider sense, all edifices that have the character of sacred monuments, and Coomaraswamy rightly applies it to various 'kinds of sacred objects coming under the head of sanctuary or holystead.'[1]

The custom of erecting *stūpas* as a form of memorial to the dead was pre-Buddhistic, as is evident from a passage in the *Mahāparinibbāna suttānta*[2] where Buddha enjoins Ānanda to erect at the crossing of four highways (*chatummahāpathe*) a *stūpa* over the remains of his body, after it had been burnt on the funeral pyre, in the same manner as the *stūpa* of a universal monarch. The custom of erecting this form of memorial was also prevalent among the Jainas in the early times. It is the Buddhists, however, who especially selected and adapted it to their own use, and gradually it acquired a special Buddhistic connotation and association as enshrining the relics (*dhātu*) of the Buddha or of his chief disciples and as the symbol of *Mahāparinirvāṇa* or the Great Decease of the Master. The relics enshrined in the *stūpa* were of three kinds—*śārīra dhātu* (corporeal relics), *paribhogika dhātu* (relics that had been in use), and *niddeśika dhātu* (indicative, commemorative or referential relics). In this last aspect it

[1] Coomaraswamy, op. cit. p. 47

[2] *Dīgha Nikāya.* xvi 5. 11

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was erected in places specially sacred in the life of the Buddha or in his legend. As the container of the relic, which was itself an object of veneration, and as symbolising the Master himself, a votive and devotional aspect is also latent in the *stūpa* from the very beginning, and *stūpas* were set up in place of the altar for worship in special shrines known as the *chaitya* halls. They were also raised up in sacred Buddhist sites as pious gifts, the gift of a *stūpa* being considered as meritorious as that of an image, even when the latter came into prolific use. From the standpoint of architectural form, however, there is no distinction of one class from the other, and all the classes of *stūpas*, whatever their purpose, must be treated as one architecturally.

Wherever Buddhism has flourished, it has left its visible traces in the form of *stūpa* monuments. Varying as they do in detail and elaboration according to the period and the country, all these *stūpas* may be seen to have evolved out of a simple hemispherical dome-shaped structure on a circular base, the form of the earliest Buddhist *stūpa* in India. We need not discuss the various theories that have been advanced regarding the origin of this hemispherical shape. It may be surmised to have emerged from the earthen funerary mounds (*śmaśānas*) under which according to the Vedic ritual, the ashes of the dead were buried. It is relevant to note that the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[1] significantly says that the Prāchyas make their *śmaśānas* circular (*parimaṇḍala*) in shape. Apart from an identity in respective designs and uses, the connection of the Buddhist *stūpas* with the Vedic *śmaśāna* mounds becomes further evident from the regular shafts of brick filled with clay that have been discovered in two of the earliest *stūpas* known in India, namely those at Piprahwa and Bhaṭṭiprolu, such shafts being reminiscent of the wooden posts which were erected according to Vedic usage in the centre of the funerary mounds.

Of the *stūpa* monuments extant now, the earliest presents a plain and simple structure, a hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*, literally 'egg') on a low basement, surmounted by a square pavilion (*harmikā*, i.e. the 'box') and crowned by the parasol (*chhatra*), the symbol of universal paramountcy. The principal element in the design and composition was certainly the dome which was surrounded by a *pradakshiṇa-patha* or passage for circumambulation, occasionally enclosed by a balustrade or wall. The tendency in evolution, however, was towards elongation and height and, as we proceed, we find that the circular base is transformed into a solid cylinder (literally known as the *medhi* or the 'drum'), which gradually increases in height. The whole structure again is raised on a square plinth, sometimes with a projection, or two, or even more, on each face. The crowning *chhatra*, originally one, gradually increases in number in a tapering row of flat discs, the topmost one usually ending in a point. Side by side with these additional elements, which certainly constitute an advance on the composition, there was a corresponding elevation of each component part. The whole

[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, trans. Eggeling, *SBE.* XIV p. 423 n.

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composition thus gives the *stūpa* an elongated appearance, and the term 'tower', by which the Chinese pilgrims usually designate a *stūpa*, is not far from an accurate description. This is clearly evinced by a comparison of the early pre-Christian *stūpas* with their mediaeval successors in India and outside. In the earliest of the *stūpa* monuments the almost hemispherical dome was the principal member, and the base and finials were simply accessory parts. But driven by a tendency towards height and elongation, the *stūpa* ultimately attained a spire-like shape, in which the original hemispherical dome loses its importance, being reduced to insignificance between the lofty basement and the drum on the one hand, and on the other, the tapering series of the *chhatrāvali* transformed into a high and conical architectural *motif*.

The *stūpas* that were raised over the eight portions of the relics of the Master just after the *parinirvāṇa* can no longer be recognised. The other early *stūpas*, those that are known to have been erected before the days of Aśoka, are also mostly level with the ground. The *stūpas* in and around Bhilsa,[1] (ranging in size from the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī, 100 feet in diameter at the base and with its vast and imposing dome nearly 50 feet high, down to miniature examples no more than a foot in height), are important and instructive for ascertaining the shape and form of an early *stūpa*. Originally built of bricks in the time of Aśoka,[2] the Great Stūpa was enlarged to nearly its present size and encased in stone perhaps a century later. As it now stands, it consists of an almost hemispherical dome, flattened at the top, and supported on a sloping circular base approached by a broad double ramp on the southern side. From relief representations of *stūpas* in early Indian art it appears that this basement, along with the approach ramp, was enclosed by a balustrade and was formally used as an upper procession path (6 feet wide) for *pradakshiṇa* around the

[1] The Great Stūpa is the principal monument among a number of such remains at Sāñchī and the adjacent region. They are collectively known as 'the Bhilsa topes.' Within an area of about 10 miles by 6 there may be found five or six groups of *stūpas* containing nearly sixty individual examples. Of all these, the Great Stūpa is architecturally the most important, while those described as Nos. 2 and 3 at Sāñchī are interesting as revealing relics of a historical character. Of the eight examples of the Sonārī group two are important structures enclosed within square courtyards. Of the Satdhāra group one nearly approaches the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī in dimensions. A second *stūpa* at Satdhāra yielded relics of Sāriputta and Moggallana like No. 3 at Sāñchī. The most numerous examples are situated at Bhojpur where a number of *stūpas* may be found grouped together on various platforms, while at Andher may be found a group of three very small *stūpas* in a more or less damaged condition. None of the examples may be dated prior to the time of Aśoka, and some are distinctly later.

[2] Tradition credits Aśoka with having erected 84,000 *stūpas* and other monuments scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. The tradition is apparently exaggerated. There can be no doubt, however, that several important *stūpas* were raised during the reign of this illustrious monarch, and recent explorations have brought to light quite a number of *stūpas*, mostly built of ponderous Mauryan bricks, e.g., the earliest cores of the *stūpa* at Mirpur Khas (Sind), of the Dharmarājika *stūpa* at Taxila, of the Dharmarajika *stūpa* at Sārnāth, etc. The *stūpa* which existed at Piparahwa and enshrined the relics may belong to the same date or to a date slightly earlier.

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monument. On the truncated summit is the square *harmikā*, enclosed again by a balustrade surrounding the shaft of the sacred parasol.

The original brick *stūpa* was in all probability surrounded by a wooden fence, which had to be abandoned with the enlargement of the dimensions of the original brick monument and its encasement in stone. The massive stone balustrade that was erected around the foot of the enlarged monument appears to be nothing but a copy, in more permanent stone, of the wooden original that had been swept away. This stone balustrade is made up of octagonal upright posts (*thabas*, from Sanskrit *staṁbhas*) and capped by a continuous coping stone (*uhṇīṣa*, from Sanskrit *ushṇīsha*), rounded at the top, which is fixed to the upright posts by means of tenons socketed to mortice-holes. The posts are further joined to one another by three horizontal cross-bars (*sūchīs*), which are slipped into the lens-shaped mortice-holes on the sides of the upright posts. On the four cardinal faces are the four imposing gateways (*toraṇas*) each projecting a little from the line of the balustrade. In design and dimension they are identical, though, as already mentioned, they were not all erected at the same time. Each gateway consists of two square pillars surmounted by capitals which in turn support a superstructure of three architraves with volute ends ranged horizontally one above the other. The pillar capitals are adorned by standing dwarfs, or by forefronts of lions or elephants set back to back. Caryatid figures of graceful and pleasing outlines act as supports to the projecting ends of the lowest architrave and figures of men and women, horsemen, elephants and lions are disposed between and above the architraves. Crowning the topmost architrave and dominating the entire scheme of the gateway is the sacred wheel, the symbol of the law of the Buddha, flanked on either side by attendant *yakshas* and *triratna* emblems. The technique of the construction of the stone balustrade, including that of the gateways, is essentially wooden, every joint being practically the same as what a carpenter, working in wood, would have made. The gateways, in contrast to the balustrade which is kept severely plain, are richly carved, both pillars and architraves being covered with elaborate bas-reliefs illustrative of the Jātaka legends, or scenes from the life of the Buddha, or of important events in the subsequent history of the religion. The *stūpa* No. 3 at Sāñchī is also surrounded by a rail of identical design, but with a single gateway on one side. The *stūpa* at Bhārhut, in Nagod, had also rails and gateways, both richly carved, a portion of which may now be seen in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Carvings of analogous but more archaic workmanship also characterised the ground balustrade of *stūpa* No. 2 at Sāñchī.

The *stūpas* of mid-India have almost all perished and the evolutions of the form presented by the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī may be studied with reference to the *stūpas* of Gandhāra, dating mostly from about the beginning of the Christian era. Unfortunately, the majority of these monuments are in a hopelessly mutilated condition. The few that may be found still standing have undergone extensive repairs and renovations in subsequent

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ages, and it is difficult to ascertain their original shapes and forms. The Dharmarājika *stūpa* at Taxila was probably originally constructed by Aśoka, but underwent several reconstructions at different dates. As now excavated, it is circular in plan with a raised berm around its base approached by four flights of steps, one at each of the cardinal faces. The dome is semicircular in shape, but the berm has already grown in elevation. The monument, originally of rough rubble core, is faced with ponderous limestone blocks with chiselled *kanjur* inserted for mouldings and pilasters of the niches that contained images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This ornamentation faced the *stūpa* above the berm, and as it now stands it cannot be dated earlier than the second century A.D. It is apparent that an extensive renovation of the original monument took place in the Śaka-Kushāṇa period when many of the surrounding structures were erected.[1] In spite of such reconstructions and renovations, the Dharmarājika still retains the archaic form and traditional shape of the Great Stūpa at Sāñchī. The archaic form is also recognised in the small *stūpa* at Chakpat in the Swat valley and the great *stūpa* at Māṇikyāla in the Panjab.[2] The latter experienced a second encasement at a later date which still followed the original contour. As it now stands it cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, but in spite of an added elevation and ornamentation of pilastered niches, the traditional hemispherical form still remains the dominant note of the composition. The characteristic tendency to the elongation of the *stūpa* as a whole is also equally evident in the monuments of the post-Christian period. This is recognised in the provision of a substructure of a tall drum or series of drums raised upon a square plinth of one or more terraces approached by stairways in the cardinal faces. This substructure supports the hemispherical dome with the square *harmikā* which is crowned by a many-tiered *chhatrāvali* of conical shape. The height and elongation of the structure as a whole are clearly emphasised though the dome itself still retains its position of importance. The body of the *stūpa*, especially of the plinth and of the drum, is richly adorned all around with sculptures set in niches between pilasters, and this arrangement forms the characteristic mode of ornamentation of the Gandhāra *stūpas* of the Śaka-Kushāṇa period. Miniature votive *stūpas* of this distinctive shape and form have been found in large numbers in different sites throughout Gandhāra, and these give us an idea of what the bigger monuments of this order, now mostly ruined, looked like in their original state. The Kunāla *stūpa* at Taxila[3] is traditionally ascribed to the period of Aśoka. But as we see it now it represents a monumental type that is particularly associated with the Śaka-Kushāṇa period.

The Chinese pilgrims furnish us with graphic accounts of the remarkable *stūpa* which the great Kushāṇa king Kanishka erected at Purushapura. It consisted of 'a basement in five stages (150 feet), a superstructure (*stūpa*)

[1] Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed. pp. 38 f.

[2] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2nd ed. 1 pp. 91-2, f. figs. 23, 25-6

[3] Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, pp. 71 f.

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of carved wood in thirteen storeys (400 feet) surmounted by an iron column with from thirteen to twenty-five gilt copper umbrellas (88 feet), making a total height of 638 feet.'[1] Because of its graceful proportions Fa-hien describes it to be of incomparable beauty and adds, 'tradition says that this was the highest tower in Jambudvīpa.'[2] The *stūpa* was already in a decayed state in Hiuan Tsang's time, and gradually every vestige of this colossal tower was obliterated, mainly because the superstructure was made of wood. The site has been identified with Shah-ji-ki-Dheri where excavations have revealed a basement that appears to have been 286 feet in diameter, and the monument may on this account be considered to have been the largest of its kind in India. Coomaraswamy appears to be right in holding that the monument represented a transitional form between the simple *stūpa* and the Far-Eastern Pagoda.[3] Towers of generally identical shape and form may possibly be recognised in the illustrations of storeyed towers found on several *toraṇa* architraves from Mathurā,[4] indicating the prevalence of the form in the Gangetic region.

During the post-Christian epoch a distinct advance of the *stūpa* design may clearly be recognised in the Gandhāra type, not only in the clearly emphasised height of the monument as a whole, but also in its rich and elegant ornamentation. In both these respects they present a striking contrast to the archaic form of the *stūpa* as seen at Sāñchī. The highly elevated substructure of the plinth and the drum serve as the support to the domical *aṇḍa* which still retains its hemispherical shape and also its dominant position as the principal architectural member. But the original hemispherical outline of the *stūpa* as a whole has already been transformed and the contour of the monument with all its elements takes a cylindrical shape. The entire form is not far removed from that of the subsequent Gupta period of which we have a conspicuous example in the Dhamekh *stūpa* at Sārnāth.

(*ii*) *CHAITYA HALL*

Apart from the *stūpas* few other monuments of the structural order have survived, and our knowledge of the other kinds of edifices of this period is based on cave excavations. The custom of fashioning shelters and shrines out of the rock, either by enlarging a natural cavern or by new excavations, appears to have been in vogue in every country, expecially in the primitive stages. In India this primitive practice develops into a brilliant movement that endures uninterrupted for a period of more than a thousand years. This creative movement has bequeathed to us a series of architectural forms pertaining to all the principal religious denominations, and these may be found to have important bearings in the history of Indian architecture. The convenient texture of the rocks made rock-cut forms well suited to

[1] Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 53
[2] Beal, *Fa-hien*, p. 35
[3] Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 53
[4] Ibid. figs. 69 and 69A

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India, and such forms were further inspired by the desire to endow a god with an abode, permanent and indestructible, in conformity with the idea, inherent in the Indian mind, of the unchangeable and immutable nature of God. In rock-hewn architecture no new architectural forms were evolved, instead the forms of structural buildings were adjusted and adapted. As the structural buildings of the period were essentially of wooden technique and style, the caves were but excavated replicas of wooden forms which have not survived except in sculptured representations in early Indian art.

Before the introduction of the image, the *stūpa*, as enshrining the relics of the Master and as the most outstanding and ubiquitous symbol of the faith, was the centre and focus of the devotion and adoration of the Buddhists, a sacred object to which the prayers of the faithful were directed. In early Indian art the adoration of the *stūpa* was a very frequent theme. A *stūpa* having the character of a sacred object is known as *chaitya*, and the *chaitya* hall represents the shrine chamber in which the votive *chaitya* occupied the place of the altar. *Chaityagṛiha* has been referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[1] and the commentary explains the word as *Buddha-āyatana*. Such shrines, with the *chaitya* as the sacred object of worship, were characteristic of the early days of Buddhism and continued to be so down to a period long after the image of the Master had taken its rightful place in the devotion and worship of the faithful.

Chaitya halls appear to have existed from very early times, and at Sāñchī, Sonārī, Sārnāth, and elsewhere there have been traced foundations of sanctuaries that may have belonged to the time of Aśoka. In its perfect and fully developed form a shrine of this kind consists of a long rectangular hall rounded at the rear end and divided in the interior into a central nave and two side-aisles by two rows of pillars running along the entire length of the hall and meeting at the apsidal end which contains, in place of the altar, a *chaitya* as the votive object. The nave is covered by a barrel-shaped vault and the two aisles by two vaults, each half the section of that of the nave. The entrance doorway is placed opposite to the votive *chaitya* and over the doorway is placed a huge arched window, shaped like a horse-shoe, dominating the entire scheme of the façade. Structural examples of a *chaitya* hall being extremely fragmentary, the development of the type and the details of a typical shrine of this kind can be worked out only with the help of rock-cut monuments. A series of caves in Western India and the Deccan affords the picture of a brilliant and prolific activity in monuments of this kind.

Though the *chaitya* cave as a clearly established type has to be looked for in Western India, its genesis and anterior process of evolution are probably to be traced in certain excavations in the east. Perhaps the earliest excavations in rock, which may have some connection with the *chaitya* hall type of the later days, are the rock-cut caves at Barābar, near Gayā

[1] vv. 12, 14.

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in Bihar. The Sudāma (Nyagrodha) cave, excavated in the twelfth year of the consecration of Aśoka[1] and dedicated to the use of the Ājīvika monks, and the Lomas Ṛishi, undated but certainly Maurya in date, have probably some connection architecturally with the evolution of the Buddhist *chaitya* cave type. The former consists of two apartments, a rectangular one at the outer end, and, separated from it by a solid wall, a circular one at the back. There is a narrow connecting passage between the two. The outer chamber is covered by a barrel-shaped vault and the circular by a hemispherical dome. The length of the cave runs parallel to the face of the rock and hence the entrance doorway is near one end of the longer side. Deeply set in the face of the rock the doorway has sloping jambs. The Lomas Ṛishi cave, in plan and other arrangements, is closely identical with the Sudāma cave, but the inner chamber, instead of being circular, is oval. The façade has been finished with great care and is important as reproducing the form of the structural *chaityas* of the age. The entrance consists of a rectangular opening, narrower at the upper end. On either side are two posts, sloping internally and supporting 'two longitudinal purlins morticed into their heads'. Over these there rises a framework of arched shape with a slight ogee point at the apex, apparently copied from wooden prototypes, and over this framework is supported a curved roof with a pointed finial at the top. The space between the doorway and the roof is occupied by a semi-circular panel with a frieze of elephants and a latticed screen above it, resembling a wicker-work pattern. The entire scheme of the façade is reminiscent of wooden technique, and the doorway with sloping jambs, here as well as in the Sudāma, is frankly imitated from wooden constructions in which it was necessary to counteract the outward thrust of the roof. The façade of the Lomas Ṛishi cave at Barābar represents the beginnings of the elaborate scheme of ornamentation that characterised the *chaitya* hall frontages of the later days.

The plan and arrangements of the Sudāma and the Lomas Ṛishi caves are essentially similar and both may be attributed not only to the same period but also to an identical religious zeal and fervour. Coomaraswamy rightly observes that 'a ground plan . . . exhibited by a cave of the Sudāma type corresponds to that of a circular shrine preceded by a hall of assembly or approach . . . and that in fact it exactly reproduces that of the Sudhamma *sabhā* of the Bhārhut relief'.[2] It is significant that the remarkable plan of the Sudāma cave is followed in the somewhat later Buddhist cave at Kondivte[3] in Salsette, where the circular inner chamber, instead of being empty as in the Sudāma, is occupied by a votive *chaitya* that leaves a narrow passage of circumambulation all round. In conformity with the circular design of the *chaitya* it is possible that the earliest form of a *stūpa* shrine consisted of a circular cella alone containing the votive *chaitya*, and this suggestion is significantly corroborated by the remains

[1] Hultzsch, *CII.* III p. 181; Sircar, D. C., *SI.* p. 78; Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit. I p. 130; Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 18

[2] Coomaraswamy op. cit., p. 19

[3] Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., I p. 131, fig. 54

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of a structural shrine of this kind laid bare in the excavations at Bairat in the Jaipur area.[1] It was constructed of brick and wood and from finds in the vicinity may be considered to be Aśokan in date. It is circular in plan and the votive *chaitya* is contained within a peripheral range of twenty-six wooden pillars that leave two ambulatories, one within and the other outside. The outer ambulatory is covered by a brick screen with an entrance passage in the east. The shrine at Bairat illustrates in all probability, the earliest form of a *chaitya* sanctuary, and rock-cut counterparts are recognised in the Tulaja-lena group at Junnar[2] and in a circular shrine at Guntupalle,[3] the last, however, without the ring of pillars surrounding the votive *chaitya* These caves, though of later date, may be recognised to be the survivals of the original form of a *chaitya* sanctuary as exemplified by the structural shrine at Bairat. The outer hall comes into view later to accommodate the gradually increasing congregation, and a shrine of this kind developed into a component of two apartments, as we have evidence in the Sudāma and the Lomas Ṛishi caves of the Ājīvikas and the Kondivte cave of the Buddhists. Gradually the two apartments were turned into one by eliminating the wall separating the two and the apsidal plan of the *chaitya* hall of the familiar type was obtained. In the cave shrines of Western India we are further impressed with the bold move of driving the hall axially into the depth of the rock, instead of cutting it parallel to its face.

Remains of structural sanctuaries of this kind belonging to this period are also known, but as already observed they are too fragmentary. A few go back to Mauryan days, such as the foundations laid bare of chapels beneath later erections at Sāñchī,[4] Sārnāth,[5] etc. The plan, so far as it can be made out, is that of a rectangular hall with the apsidal end characteristic of this type of shrines. In all probability the pillars and superstructure were made of wood and the roof was of curved shape. The shrine at the lowest level at Sāñchī at the site marked No. 40 is interesting inasmuch as it shows an entrance in each of its two longer sides, instead of one or more in front opposite the apse, as is characteristic of the typical *chaitya* hall plan. In this respect this structural sanctuary at Sāñchī recalls the arrangement and placement of the doorways in the Sudāma and other Barābar hill cave shrines. At Taxila[6] also there have been found apsidal shrines which go back to the Śaka-Kushāṇa period. Only the foundations and insignificant portions of the walls have been preserved. They are of the usual plan, but one of them, that to the west of the Dharmarājika *stūpa*, presents a singular shape of the interior of the apse which, instead of being

[1] Sahni, D. R., *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Bairat*, pp. 28-31; pls. vii and viii; Brown, op. cit., p. 15

[2] Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit., I p. 158, figs. 79, 80; Wauchope, op. cit. p. 32, pl. xxx

[3] Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit. I p. 168, fig. 87. The votive *stūpa* was later on converted into a *liṅga* and worshipped as such.

[4] Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, 2nd. ed. pp. 115, 124

[5] Sahni, D. R., *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sārnāth*, 5th ed. p. 26

[6] Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed. pp. 58-9, 94-7

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circular, is octagonal. The apsidal temple at the site of Sirkap was an imposing monument and was provided with a porch in front of the entrance opposite the apse.

(iii) *SAṄGHĀRĀMA OR MONASTERY.*

The *saṅghārāma* or *vihāra*, i.e. the monastery, supplies another important class of early Indian architectural forms. Intended for the residences of the monks, a monastery in India was designed on much the same lines as a private house, i.e. with a row of cells on each side of an open inner quadrangle. In the earlier period the monasteries were usually built of wood on a stylobate of stone or brick. With the growth of the monastic organisation they developed into elaborate brick structures with many adjuncts. Often they consisted of several storeys and along each side of the inner quadrangle there usually ran a corridor with its roof supported on pillars. Hence the interior of a large-sized monastery, when entire, presented a pleasing spectacle of a many-storeyed peristyle of rare grandeur and magnificence. The structural buildings of this order being mostly in ruins, the beautiful effect of a monastic form may be recognised in the elegant interiors of the elaborate monastic caves of Western India and the Deccan. A monastic organisation is associated both with Buddhism and Jainism, but more particularly with the former, in the early extant examples, structural or rock-cut.

Buddhist monasteries of more or less identical structural pattern were being erected in India from a rather early period, one of the earliest being traced near the old *stūpa* at Piprahwa. Remains of early structural *vihāras* may also be found at Sāñchī, Sārnāth, Kasia, Basarh, etc. and Taxila and other Gandhāran sites. Such remains go back to the centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era. Unfortunately, in most instances, it is only the foundations that can be traced now; the characteristic type, as deduced from such fragmentary remains, essentially tallies with what has been said above. The simple and unpretentious scheme is scrupulously adhered to, and the march of time and consequent development of the type as an architectural form may be noticed in the gradual enlargement of the dimensions of the establishment and the addition of more and more accessory structures, usually in well defined order and regularity.

The early structural *vihāras* being mostly in an extremely fragmentary condition do not call for detailed notice. Rock-cut examples of monasteries have been found in abundance, and with the help of these it is possible to trace the development of the type from its beginnings as a simple dwelling-house, scooped out of the rock, to an elaborate establishment of imposing dimensions and rich decorative embellishments. The most perfect examples were planned like the structural *vihāras* with the single, unavoidable difference that the range of apartments on one side of the inner court was replaced in the excavated *vihāras* by an open verandah for the admission of light and air into the interior. This conventional plan, however,

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was reached only after some time. It will be better therefore to take the monuments pertaining to the different religious persuasions together in order to trace a consecutive history of the monastic type of architecture.

The Barābar and Nāgārjunī groups of caves represent perhaps the earliest extant remains of cave dwellings (*kubhā* as they were called in the inscriptions) for use of the recluses of a particular religious order, the Ājīvikas. The Barābar group belongs to the time of the great Aśoka[1] and the Nāgārjunī to that of Daśaratha.[2] The Sudāma and the Lomas Ṛishi caves of the former group have already been discussed in connection with the *chaitya* halls. The remaining caves of the two groups[3] (Karan Chaupar and the Viśva Jhopri, dated respectively in the 19th and 12th years of the consecration of Aśoka, and Gopikā, Vahiyakā and Vaḍathikā dated in the reign of Daśaratha) were simple rectangular chambers,[4] cut out of the rock, each with a barrel-vaulted roof above. The caves, except the unfinished ones, are all characterised by a lustrous polish on the interior walls resembling that on the Aśokan edict pillars. As usual with the early caves, every one is excavated with the length parallel to the face of the rock and the narrow doorways slope inwards towards the top in an exaggerated fashion. Some of the caves are provided with raised platforms at one end. The Son Bhandar cave at Rajgir agrees essentially with the above, and may appear to belong to a date not far removed from them, i.e. considerably earlier than that of the inscription of the Jaina monk Vairadeva engraved on the front face of the rock.

The Jaina caves at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri[5] near Bhuvaneśvar in Orissa should next merit our attention. The two groups consist of a little over thirty-five excavations, large and small, but only a very few of them are of any importance for our discussion. Many of these partake more of the nature of natural caverns enlarged by artificial cutting. The approximate date of these excavations has already been discussed in connection with the relief sculptures of the caves.

The caves, whether at Udayagiri or at Khaṇḍagiri, were not laid out on a definite and regular plan, but excavated at convenient places according to the configuration of the rock. A few of these consist of single cells[6] only or of verandahs with cells opening on to them. There are a number of caves, again, each of which consists of several cells together with a portico and an open courtyard in front. The largest, comprising four caves only, are composed of groups of cells preceded by pillared verandahs in two

[1] Hultzsch, op. cit. pp. 181-2; Sircar *SI.* pp. 78-9

[2] Sircar *SI.* pp. 79-80

[3] Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit. I p. 177; Wauchope, op. cit., pp. 21-3.

[4] The Gopikā cave consists of a rectangular chamber, but with both the ends semicircular.

[5] Fergusson and Burgess, op. cit. II pp. 91 9-18 and relevant figures; *CHI.* I pp. 638-42; Wauchope, op. cit. pp. 24-31 and relevant plates; Brown, op. cit. pp. 34-7 and relevant plates.

[6] Of the single cells, one carved in imitation of the open mouth of a tiger (Vyāghragumphā or Tiger Cave) is interesting.

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storeys overlooking an open quadrangle in front.[1] The pillars of the verandah are usually simple square shafts, sometimes changing into an octagon in the middle section, with bracket capitals of a crude and primitive order like the curved branches of a tree. The inner façade, consisting of doorways surmounted by semicircular arches above, presents a delightful system of arcading, the spaces between the arches being linked by bands of rail *motif*. These spaces are also covered by friezes of sculptures, which are the most elaborate in the Rāṇī and Gaṇeśa *gumphās*.

The Rāṇī-kā-Nur or the Rāṇī *gumphā* in the Udayagiri is the largest and best preserved of all the caves. It consists of two storeys, each originally preceded by a verandah supported on pillars, the upper, longer in dimensions, opening into four cells and the lower into three. On either side there are found remains of irregular chambers which may indicate that this double-storeyed production was originally designed with cells on three sides of an open quadrangle, the fourth being left open for access. It presents thus a very near approach to the usual type of monasteries.

Monastic organisation was particularly characteristic of the Buddhists, and it is in the Buddhist caves of Western India that we may notice the further advancement and ultimate culmination of the type, seen just in its beginnings in these early caves of Eastern India.

Brahmanical monuments, both in structural and rock-hewn forms are known to have existed during the period under discussion. But the remains are much too fragmentary or insignificant and commonplace to offer any real help individually to the study of the early architectural types and forms in their chronological and stylistic sequences.

Editor's Note :

The chronology adopted by the author of this chapter differs from that of the rest of the book. If the latter were followed, the Śātakarṇi mentioned on page 690, ll. 14-15 would rather be described as 'apparently Śātakarṇi II, 166-117 B.C. or a later king of that name' and ll. 29-30 would read 'the strenuous effort of half a century or more.' Again on page 692, l. 26, the date for Khāravela would be second century and not first century B.C. and in l. 30, the latest in the series of the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri caves would fall in the first century B.C., not A.D.

PLATES XI TO L HAVE REFERENCE TO THIS CHAPTER.

[1] In these double-storeyed caves the upper of the two floors appears to have been excavated first, though the interval of time between the two need not necessarily have been long.

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CHAPTER XXIII

ART AND ARCHITECTURE : SOUTH INDIA

ARCHITECTURE

IN India south of the Vindhyas the six centuries from 300 B.C. to A.D. 300 mark an era of great activity in architecture and art. While the lithic monuments with their associated objects of art are still extant, those made of less permanent material have either totally perished or survived only as ruins. The extant remains, material and literary, show that the development of architecture and the associated arts was mainly indigenous and regional, and expressive of the religious and emotional life of the people. Here, as elsewhere in India, the greatest creations of architecture were more religious than secular, and characterised by the harmonious blending of plastic decoration with the architectural scheme.

The active penetration of the three religious faiths, Vedic Brahmanism, and the more organised and missionary faiths of Buddhism and Jainism, produced its reactions on the cultural life of the South. Religious edifices of a monumental character began to engross the attention of the people. They gradually began to employ stone, at least in the basement courses, or as a casing over brick-built structures, e.g. the *Stūpas*, or they carved out of the live rock. They kept on, however, much of the technique originally employed in the erection of secular structures of more perishable material.

Besides the impetus derived from these religions, there were commercial contacts with the western world and the Far East. These led to the growth of prosperous local mercantile communities who vied with kings in their benefactions for the founding and enlargement of religious monuments, as the inscriptions of the period go to show. The 'Yavana' traders established colonies and emporia mostly on the coast to get the natural products and manufactured articles of luxury and art in exchange for gold and their own products. The hoards of Roman coins found in many places, coastal and inland, the references in contemporary literature, Indian and western, the mention of 'Yavana' guards in South Indian palaces, and of 'Yavana' women in harems, and the few classical-occidental looking sculptures standing out from the rest at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, and the gifts of Ushavadāta, the *Dharmātmā* and son-in-law of Nahapāna, to the Buddhist monks at Nāsik mark different phases of this commerce. To a certain extent, this contact influenced both the plebeian crafts and the aristocratic arts of the country. On the one side we see its effect on a very basic and common art of the country, in the local manufactures of pottery imitating the

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characteristic foreign ceramic ware at Arikamēḍu near Pondicherry as contrasted with the types called 'Andhra' and 'Megalithic' wares found in abundance in different parts of the country. On the other, we have also from Arikamēḍu a few imitation gem-intaglios indicating the extension of foreign influence to the more advanced jeweller's art. We have, besides, references to articles of 'Yavana' or Śōnaka origin or style in the old Tamil works.[1]

Maṇimēkalai and *Peruṅgadai*, though later than our period, aptly summarise this development. The former says in one context[2] that 'the artisans from Magadha, the metal workers from Maraṭṭa, the blacksmiths from Avanti, the Yavana carpenters all worked in unison with the artisans of the Tamil country.' The latter is a little more elaborate:[3] 'Yavana carpenters, the blacksmiths of Avanti, the jewellers (or expert artisans) born in Magadha, the workers on fine gold born in *Pāṭali* (Pāṭaliputra), the artists (painters and modellers) who flourished in Kōsala, and the metal smiths of the Vatsa country.'

While in the northern half of the peninsula have survived a larger number of religious monuments, or their remains, to serve as examples of the art and architecture of the period, there are practically none in the southern half. But luckily this deficiency is fairly made up by an extensive local literature giving a tangible account of the Tamil states, which included Malabar also, their rulers, polity and culture, the earliest strata of which belong to this period. The reasons for the deficiency are not far to seek. As the literary evidences in Tamil show ,the buildings and the objects of art belonging to this part of the country were of perishable material. In the entire peninsula no monument of a secular nature has survived and we have only to infer their nature from the literary descriptions, sculptural representations, and the architectural types of the surviving religious monuments. The few extant monuments of this period of Buddhist or Jaina association in the South are the natural caverns with drip ledges in many districts, particularly Madurai, Tirunelvēli, Ramnad and Pudukkōṭṭai, South and North Arcot, with polished stone beds and pillow-lofts with short inscriptions in Brāhmī script, the language often being Tamil. Attempts at vaulting of the roofs of these caverns are to be seen in some of them as in Kuḍagumalai (Pudukkōṭṭai). The caverns bear resemblance to similar ones in Ceylon.

Megalithic monuments, likewise indicative of human activity and endeavour, are found all over the peninsula. Though varied in type, these are essentially one in character and are seen all over the cis-Vindhyan region in greater profusion and density than in Central or Northern India. These monuments often called 'Rude Stone Monuments', constructed of large-

[1] Swan lamp (*ōdima-viḷakku*) of the Yavanas, beautiful statuettes holding the bowl of a lamp of Yavana make, Yavana ornaments (*Yavana mañjikai*), Yavana caskets (*Yavanap-pēḻai*), śōnaka ornament (*śōnaka-ch-chiḍukku*)-*Maṇimēkalai*, *Peruṅgadai*, *Perumbāṇārṟupaḍai*.

[2] *Maṇimēkalai*, xix *ll.* 107-9

[3] *Peruṅgadai*, i, *ll.* 40-44

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sized stones, were constructed both before and after the advent of the more artistically wrought stone monuments. Peninsular India seems to have been the stronghold of the megalithic culture, and many of these monuments show a similarity amounting to kinship with megaliths in other parts of the world—in the lands bordering upon the Atlantic and Mediterranean, in the Caucasus, in Iran,[1] in South Africa, and Farther India.

These megaliths of sepulchral nature or association betraying a cult of ancestor-worship or animism, were long considered to be prehistoric or proto-historic and of uncertain date. But the physical proximity of these megaliths to the oldest historic monuments of South India such as the Aśokan edicts in Mysore and Hyderabad, the Buddhist *stūpa* sites in the Kṛishnā valley[2], the natural caverns with polished beds with or without Brāhmī inscriptions in the southern half of the peninsula[3], and the ancient city sites[4] may well indicate their proximity also in time. While below the foundation of a *stūpa* at Amarāvatī, an urn burial was noticed,[5] cist burials were found to underlie 'Andhra' structures or to show relationship to them in the excavations at Maski in Hyderabad[6] and Brahmagiri in Mysore.[7] A more definite stratigraphical correlation was made during the recent excavations at Brahmagiri[8] in respect of at least two types of these megaliths—the cist and pit burials in the area, with a clearer picture of their functional and constructional details and definite data for their dating. These monuments represent a full-fledged iron-using culture (with a distinctive variety and fabric of pottery among the grave goods as found from the megalithic monuments all over South India), which made its appearance as an intrusive culture in the Brahmagiri region towards the close of the third century B.C., immediately overlying, and unconnected by transition elements with, a pre-existing neolithic or stone-axe culture, which had its origin about the beginning of the millennium. Available evidences indicate that this culture, which thus superseded the earlier polished stone-axe culture, continued till after the middle of the first century A.D. when it was overlapped by a local phase of 'Andhra' culture. This is corroborated by independent numismatic evidence pointing roughly to the same horizon in the find by W. H. Tucker of a coin of the Eran type assignable to the third-second century B.C. along with the bones and grave goods of a cist in Sulur in the Palladam taluk of the Coimbatore district,[9] and a silver coin of Augustus (24 B.C.—A.D. 14) along with several

[1] *Ancient India*, 1947, No. 4, pp. 1-13

[2] Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Gōli, Mallavaram, and near Jagayyapeta.

[3] Śittannavāśal, Ténīmalai, Āḷuruṭṭimalai, Kuḍagumalai in Pudukkōṭṭai, neighbourhood of caverns in Kuttālam (Āykkuḍi) and other caverns in Turunelvēli and Madurai districts, and near the natural cavern (Jaina) in Tirumalai (North Arcot district)—See Sewell's *List of Antiquarian Remains in Madras Presidency*.

[4] Koṛkai, Koḍumbāḷūr, Puhār (Kāvēripaṭṭinam), and Chandravalli and Brahmagiri (Mysore).

[5] *ASIAR*. 1908-9, pp. 90-1

[6] *HAR*. 1935-36, p. 23 and 1936-7 p. 14

[7] *MAR*. 1940, p. 67

[8] *Ancient India*, 1947-8, No. 4, pp. 140 ff.

[9] 'India' Number of *Man* 1930, No. 13, p. 172

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punch-marked coins of the pre-Christian epoch[1] in similar tombs. A port-holed cist from Cochin too yielded russet-coloured pottery similar to the well-known yellow-painted 'Andhra' ware, and excavations at Arikamēḍu have revealed the distinctive red-and-black ware of megalithic fabric in levels otherwise assignable to the first century A.D. Literary references to contemporary customs and traditions in the old Tamil works also indicate the continuance of this practice till about the fifth century A.D.[2]

The elaborate construction of these Megalithic monuments involved a good deal of plan and method and no little manipulative skill in their hoisting and erection.

The Brahmagiri[3] cists were constructed in pits dug for the purpose with four upright slabs or orthostats to form the sides of a box-like cell often with a flat floor-slab to form its bottom. The successive lateral edges of the orthostats are made to project slightly beyond the corner to form a *svastika* pattern, evidently an expedient to buttress one side by the next and prevent the sides from falling inwards. On the outside the cist was surrounded by dry stone walling which added further support and prevented their falling outwards. The box was covered by a cap-stone slab. On the eastern slab of the box was a circular opening or port-hole, approached externally by a passage formed by two flank slabs. The entire buried structure was marked out on the ground surface by, and included in, a circle of roughly trimmed boulders. Besides the pottery, iron weapons and other grave goods, were disarticulated skeletal remains indicating post-excarnation burial with the port-hole closed by a slab. The adjoining pit-burials were large pits of oval or circular section 8 to 10 feet across and of about equal depth with a shallow ramp on the eastern side leading to the entrance, which on the analogy of the port-hole of the cist, was also closed by a thin door-slab. On the floor of the pit lay four stone slabs marking out an oblong space about 4 feet by 3 and the funerary deposits lay within a height of 2½ to 3 feet from floor level consisting, besides the grave goods, of skeletal fragments. It is surmised that on the four floor slabs rested the legs of the bier which contained the human body or bodies for exposure and excarnation, and in course of time bones of the major part of the skeleton were collected for interment in the cists described above.

The megaliths of the Chingleput area[4] are dolmenoid-cists, which too are box graves of stone slabs where the orthostats of the buried cist project over ground level to a height of one to two feet. In the southern parts of the district, where a number of loose boulders are used for the uprights, the grave does not form a compact chamber. Inside these chambers are found placed many-legged terracotta coffins or sarcophagi orientated

[1] *Madras Journal of Literature & Science*, 1884, p. 214; *IA.* II, 1873, p. 241; *JBBRAS.* I, 1843, p. 293

[2] *Ancient India*, 1946, No. 2, pp. 9-16

[3] *Ancient India*, 1947-8, No. 4, pp. 180 ff.

[4] *Ancient India*, 1949, No. 5, pp. 35-7

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usually east to west and containing skeletal remains and grave furniture. The cist is surrounded by a circle of stone boulders and the inside of the circle packed with a heap of rubble to form a low cairn,—the cairn circle.

The other class of megaliths in the area are cairn circles which, as the name would indicate, are stone circles with a low mound of stone rubble inside, covering often one or more buried urns, or sometimes a pottery sarcophagus as in the cists and dolmenoid-cists of the area.

The Pudukkōṭṭai cists, or rather dolmenoid-cists,[1] are of the transepted variety. The oblong box of stone slabs orientated east to west, generally, is partitioned into two lateral halves, the north and the south half by a vertical stone slab or longitudinal septum across the middle line. One of the halves is further subdivided into two shelves, an upper and lower, by a horizontal slab or transverse septum, resting like a bench-plank on two short uprights placed at either end of the floor of the chamber; these two shelf chambers are individually connected with the undivided half by means of port-holes cut one above the other through the central line of the longitudinal septum. Adjoining the undivided half and usually on the east, in a few cases on the west as in Tāyinippaṭṭi, is a smaller square chamber of shorter slabs forming a sort of ante-chamber or entrance communicating with the main cist through a port-hole cut into the slab of that side and closed by a thin door-slab. The cist is surrounded by a stone circle, which often has a cairn inside it. Where the orthostats project over ground level making the cist dolmenoid, the height reached by these huge gneissic slabs above ground is often six feet. In no case was a cap-stone in position over the orthostats of these dolmenoid-cists, though often large slabs, which perhaps were once hoisted on to the orthostats, were found lying in their vicinity. These appear to be post-cremation burials; among the grave goods are usually found two pyriform urns.

On the Nīlagiri and Paḷani hills[2] are many free standing dolmens of considerable size associated with cairns. Besides these montane regions, such dolmens are found on the plateaux in Southern Hyderabad,[3] South-Eastern Bombay,[4] Mysore and Northern Madras (Anantapur), and the high ranges of Travancore. Menhirs and alignments of monolithic orthostatic slabs have been discovered in Cochin and Hyderabad (near Maski).

The urn-burials of Ādichchanallūr, though standing apart from the rest by the absence of lithic elements, are also to be mentioned here

[1] *Manual of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, II (i), 1940, pp. 523-4; *Admn. Reports of the Pudukkōṭṭai Museum*, faslis 1344, 1347, 1348.

[2] Breeks, *Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilgiris*, (London, 1873); *MASI.* No. 36—Anglade and Newton, *Dolmens of the Pulney Hills* (1928).

[3] Meadows Taylor's papers on *Megalithic Tombs and other Ancient Remains in the Deccan*, collected and published by the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad State 1941; E. H. Hunt—'Hyderabad Cairns; *Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society*, July 1916, pp. 180 ff. Hunt records a suggestion made by Marshall that the shape of the cist suggested that it might be a 'horse', and that the dolmen, the unburied house, may have preceded the buried house, the cist.

[4] Panchamukhi R. S. 'Dolmens & Cairns of Karnatak', *Journal of Bombay University*, XIV (iv), 1946, pp. 10-28

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because of their apparent association with the megalithic culture as a whole. The urns, which have been placed in largish pits, contained iron implements and weapons, funerary vessels, bronze lids crowned with animal representations, and personal ornaments of gold and bronze, besides human remains indicating fractional burials.[1] Elsewhere in South India, as in Pudukkōṭṭai, the buried urns have a large cap-stone, buried a little above them, and overground the burials are marked by stone circles with heaped-up cairns inside.

The 'Tōpikal' and 'Kuḍaikal' familiarly called 'umbrella or hat stones' or 'hood stones' are peculiar to the Malabar coast and are numerous in Cochin. The 'umbrella stone' proper is conical with a chamfered interior resting on four clinostatic slabs, truncate at the top, the clinostats forming a rough square on plan, and each facing a cardinal direction. The whole structure is from four to seven feet high. The 'hood stone' resembles an umbrella without the handle, and rests directly on the ground without the clinostatic supports.

These classes of megaliths offer interesting features of construction and manipulative skill—the quarrying of large slabs of gneiss or granite, perhaps by the method of firing the surface and tapping, boring port-holes through them, the arrangement and assemblage of the slabs and boulders of huge dimensions and weight on definite plans, and sometimes of cutting the laterite slabs forming the circle in a cupped concavo-convex plane, so as to form the arcs of the circle. Even more interesting are the *taḷis*[2] or rock-cut tombs of Cochin and Malabar, excavated into the local laterite. These differ in technique from the foregoing examples in being excavations while the others are structural, though the contents entombed are essentially similar.

The surface indication for such a cave tomb is generally a large prominent slab of stone, circular or square, or, sometimes, a rude unshaped boulder, covering the top opening. In some cases the stone circle round this cap stone, as in the case of typical cairns of urn burials and cists, has been found to be intact.[3] The cap-stones are of the same material (laterite) as in the tomb at Chenaparamba hill near Feroke or of granite as in the Parambantaḷi-tomb.[4] Below the cap-stone in these two cases is the tomb proper which is a hemispherical hollow excavated into the core of the laterite, the top of which communicates through a vertical cylindrical opening, like a chimney shaft, terminating in a circular opening at the surface below the cap-stone. In front of this hollow semi-dome on its eastern or north-eastern side is a transversely cut entrance passage which connects the inside of the tomb to a rectangular pit or ante-chamber in front of it. This pit or stair-well has a series of steps cut on one side enabling one to

[1] *Archaeology in India*, 1950, p. 43. See V. Smith, *Oxford History*. This has been treated usually as intrusive due to foreign settlers.

[2] For derivation of the name see *Ancient India*, 1946, No. 2, pp. 10-11

[3] Babington, *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, 1819

[4] Aiyappan, A., *QJMS*. Bangalore XXIII, 1933, No. 3, pp. 299-314

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descend to the level of the entrance passage. This passage is found closed by a slab of laterite placed against it outside. The size of the passage is such that it would permit a man to crawl through to the interior of the dome-like tomb which is of sufficient height for a person to stand erect. While cutting and levelling the floor of the tomb, a rectangular portion towards the left of the centre is left uncut so as to stand out as a bench or platform, though it is no more than an elevated portion of the floor. Examples of such platforms were discovered by Rea in Peruṅguḷam.[1] The tomb near Calicut which Longhurst opened was somewhat superior in its design in having a circular rock-cut chamber with a domed ceiling supported at the centre by a round pillar tapering from the top to the base, the whole of it being hewn out of the solid laterite rock. Besides the presence of the central pillar which recalls the central pillar of the Lauriya mound (*śmaśāna*), a further difference from the preceding types was the absence of the ante-chamber and the orientation of the entrance, the latter being effected by an opening cut on the western side of the domical roof and, as usual, closed with blocks of stone. Internally the tomb had a diameter of 7½ feet and a height of 3 feet 9 inches. Cut into the north-west wall of the chamber close to the opening was a small recess, not unlike a little doorway. Perhaps this represented the unfinished passage with the ante-chamber seen in the other examples. A few rectangular caves with flat ceilings as also a multi-chambered one from Kaṭa Kampal in Cochin are also known. The latter has a large rectangular central pit, the walls of which are excavated beyond to form chambers leading from it.

The entire group of megalithic complexes show certain mutual affinities. For example the stone circle is common to the *taḷis* and the cairns over urn and cist burials, dolmens, and sarcophagi; the cairn covers alike cists, urn burials, sarcophagi, and dolmens; the cap-stone is found on the *taḷi*, *kuḍaikal*, and buried urn; the flight of steps leading to the aperture of the hollow enclosing the urn is found in the *taḷi* and the *kuḍaikal*; the ante-chamber is noticeable in the *taḷi* as well as in the cists, transepted or not. Taking the contents into consideration, pyriform urns are found inside *taḷis*, *kuḍaikals*, urn burials, and cists (Pudukkōṭṭai); multi-legged sarcophagi inside *taḷis*, cists (Pallāvaram, Perumbair and Sānūr in Chingleput, Kolatūr in South Arcot and Gajjalakoṇḍa in Kurnool); hook-like projections inside urns in the *taḷi* near Feroke, and burial urns from Puddukkōṭṭai and Ādichchanallūr (though some urns from near Bangalore had them outside); the 'arrow-head' pottery mark has been found in the pottery from the Feroke *taḷi*, and in urn burials from Cochin, Puddukkōṭṭai, Pondicherry, Coimbatore, North Arcot, and Hyderabad. Above all is the characteristic texture and fabric of the ceramic ware, and the find of iron objects in all these types including the Ādichchanallūr urns. In their yield of iron implements or at least of wheel-made pottery appropriate to the iron age, the megaliths of the Indian peninsula are far removed in point of time from

[1] Rea, A., *Annual Report Archaeological Survey*, Madras, 1910-11, 92

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those of North-Western Europe or of cis-Caucasia[1] which belong to earlier periods and are devoid of iron objects or wheel-made pottery. In South India these funerary practices and their resulting monuments are found amidst a civilised folk of the iron age enjoying a stable and progressive society

From their number and distribution all over the districts of the peninsula, it would appear that they were not restricted to a few sections of the people, but were almost universal. Tradition as embodied in the comtemporary or slightly posterior literature of the Tamils shows that a Chola king, a Chera king, a Pāṇḍyan queen, some chiefs as well as common folk[2] were interred in this manner.

While an older verse[3] is content to mention the three methods of disposal viz. exposure, cremation, and burial, the later epic *Maṇimēkalai*[4] in its description of the necropolis of the city of Puhār enumerates cremation, exposure, pit burial, interment inside cells in the womb of the earth, urns, underground or in rock-chambers, it also mentions that in the same place there were many monumental shrines, big and small, built of burnt brick over the burials of saints, kings, *satīs*, and heroes, signifying their *varṇas*, *āśramas*, and sex. The persistence of the custom of erecting miniature and commemorative megalithic structures even today amongst certain hill tribes of South and Central India shows that the tradition is by no means totally extinct.

We get a real glimpse into the metropolitan structures and arts of civil life in this age from Tamil literature. While stone was used in funerary monuments perhaps more by way of tradition and ritual, secular and sacred buildings were of brick and mortar, timber and metal. This is clear from the fact that the great Pallava Mahendravarman (early seventh century A.D.) mentions in his Maṇḍagapaṭṭu inscription that he fashioned a temple for the Trinity without using any of these materials in its construction. Numerous Chola inscriptions (ninth century A.D.) mention the renovation of old brick temples as stone structures.

In the descriptions of cities such as Puhār, Madurai, Uṟaiyūr, Kāñchī, and Karūr[5] we read about temples (*kōṭṭam*), palaces (*kōyils*), and mansions (*māḍam*), and high ramparts with one or more imposing gateways (*tōraṇavāyil, gōpuram*) decorated by many painted stucco figures.[6] The ramparts of cities were surrounded by deep moats full of water. The outermost fortification was a thick forest (*puṟamiḷai*). The city of Madurai is itself

[1] Gordon Childe, 'Megaliths,' *Ancient India*, 1947, No. 4, p. 10. Though the similarity of the South Indian Megaliths seemingly amounts to a kinship with their counterparts in the western world, viz. cis-Caucasia and the lands bordering the Mediterranean, the Atlantic and the North Seas, 'still between the easternmost of the latter and the Indian Peninsula remains a vast space, not wholly covered with water but unspotted on any dolmen map available. There seems also a chronological gap'; while the megaliths of South India belong to the Iron Age, the others belong to earlier periods, dating about 1500 B.C. and earlier.

[2] *Ancient India*, 1946, No. 2, pp. 13-14

[3] *Puṟanānūṟu* 239, *ll.* 20-1

[4] Ch. 6, Śakkaravāḷakkōṭṭam, *ll.* 66-7

[5] Paṭṭinappālai, Madurai-K-Kāñji, Perumbāṇāṟṟu-p-paḍai, Ahanānūṟu, Śilappadikāram etc. in many places.

[6] *Neḍunalvāḍai*, *ll.* 76-120

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referred to often as *māḍakkūḍal* or *nān-māḍakkūḍal*, the city with storeyed mansions. The gateway of Madurai was high and broad enough to allow three elephants to enter abreast; it had massive wooden doors, and supported a storeyed watch-tower on top.[1] The gateway of the ramparts of Puhār which surrounded mansions 'reaching the sky' had a *makara tōraṇa* lintel on which rested a tall *śikhara*.[2] While the massive wooden frame of the Madurai gate was glistening black with a coat of mustard oil,[3] its double doors were armoured with sheet iron painted red, perhaps to prevent rust.[4]

The buildings inside were storeyed mansions,[5] sometimes seven storeys high or with flat open terraces[6] or vaulted roofs.[7] A dense aggregation of such tall buildings in the city of Karūr is likened to the many peaks of a hilly range. A mansion in Puhār is described as having a low enclosing wall, a high outer gate with steps and curved pials, an approach path well guarded and high storeys.[8] The seven-storeyed mansions were perhaps of the type of the Satmahal *pāsāda* of Ceylon[9] and the Bhitargaon temple. While the walls were of brick and mortar, the beams, doors, doorways, and pillars were of some hard wood often carved or covered with embossed metal sheeting. The large assembly hall of Uṟaiyūr had such pillars.[10] The windows or ventilators were sometimes of the shape of the deer's eye[11] and the façade exhibited likenesses of animals such as the lion and tiger.[12]

The temples (*kōṭṭam*) and religious institutions of the Brahmins, Jainas, and Bauddhas (*paḷḷi*)[13] were likewise brick structures. Shrines were dedicated to the various Hindu gods—Śiva, Vishṇu (Māyōn), Indra, the Airāvata and the Vajra, Baladeva, Devī, and many minor gods, and some of them were of many storeys (*neḍu-nilaik-kōṭṭam*). The memorial or sepulchral shrines of brick in the necropolis of Puhār dedicated to kings, saints, *satīs*, and heroes have already been mentioned.

Other references tell us that palaces and temples were planned and constructed by architects versed in the science in consultation with the *élite* of the artisans.[14]

[1] Contemporary sculptures from Amarāvatī depict such gates. One on the inside of the outer rail shows a gateway with a storeyed facade and side towers with a part of the rampart wall on one side and seven elephants coming through one after the other carrying relic caskets. See Burgess J., *Amarāvatī* and *Jagayyapeta*, 1887, pl. xxv, 2 and pp. 58-9; pl. xxvii, 2 p. 62; *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, General Section IV, 1942, plates xi & xliii, 1.

[2] *Ahanānūṟu* 181, *ll.* 20-2

[3] *Neḍunal. ll.* 79-90

[4] Ibid. *ll.* 80-1

[5] *Nirai-nilai-māḍam* or *neḍu-nilai-māḍam* or *eḻu-nilai māḍam*.

[6] *Vĕyā-māḍam*

[7] *Kūḍam*

[8] *Paṭṭinappālai ll.* 142-5

[9] See Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 165. This scheme of diminishing squares in ascent is the key-note of South Indian or 'Dravidian' temple architecture maintained throughout in the extant *vimānas* and *gōpuras* from the seventh century A.D.; they started as replicas in stone of earlier examples in brick and timber and after some time reverted mostly to the original materials.

[10] *Puṟanānūṟu* 375, *ll.* 2-3

[11] *Siḻ. v. l.* 8

[12] *Paripāḍal* 10, *ll.* 46-7

[13] *Maduraikkāñji*, *ll.* 467 and 474

[14] *Neḍunalvāḍai*, *ll.* 76-8; also *Śilappadikāram* on the construction of the *Pattini* temple. XXVIII, *ll.* 222-5

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While in the South only these word pictures of the *Śaṅgam* period exist to give us an idea of its buildings, arts and crafts, we still have before us some of the monuments themselves to the north of the Tamil country. These comprise brick *stūpas* and *vihāras* and rock-cut monuments of the Buddhists, the former mostly along the banks of the Kṛishṇā and its tributaries and the latter mostly confined to the north-west part of the Deccan in Bombay State.

The typical Buddhist monuments are the *stūpa*, the *vihāra* and the *chaitya*. Originally sepulchral in nature or association the *stūpa* or the *dhātu-garbha* (dagaba) was styled *śārīraka* when bodily relics of the great were interred, *uddeśika*, when it was commemorative, and *pāribhogika* when it contained articles used by the Buddha. The *stūpas* in the South belong mostly to the first two categories; and the large *stūpa* forming the nucleus of a complex of Buddhist monuments including *vihāras* and *chaityas* is called the *mahāstūpa* or *mahāchaitya*.

The monuments in the eastern part of the Deccan are mainly brick-built structures. The important *stūpa* structures now known are those at Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Guḍivāḍa, Amarāvatī, Ghaṇṭaśāla, Jagayyapēṭa, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Gōli and Pedda Ganjam. Much skill is exhibited in the plan adopted to form the immense masses of unmortared work, so laid (often with mud) from base to summit in horizontal courses as to assume the shape of domes of semi-spherical or flatter section having no traces of true arching. The expedients adopted for providing adequate support to the structure and the prevention of fracture at the crown are equally remarkable. The exterior in most cases was encased in its lower parts by local marble-like lime-stone, often sculptured, a material more chaste from the point of view of the builder than the sandstone of the North Indian examples; the upper part of the dome was covered by white moulded plaster perhaps appropriately painted and with ornaments picked out in stucco.

The large *stūpas* at Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Guḍivāḍa which form the earliest examples of the series (third century B.C.) were built of solid brick from base to top. The *mahāstūpa* of Amarāvatī too was similar. In shape the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *stūpa* seems to have been a low hemispherical mound similar to the large *stūpa* at Sāñchī, but the others had their domes raised up on drum-like platforms; evidently the *medhi* or platform was devised to enhance the loftiness and grandeur of the structure and make of what would otherwise appear to be of little architectural merit, an imposing structure commanding the landscape. This *medhi* also served to provide a second and smaller ambulatory round the *aṇḍa* of the *stūpa*.

The Bhaṭṭiprōlu dome had a height of about 132 feet and a diameter of 148 feet at the base. The corresponding approximate dimensions for Amarāvatī have been computed as 90 to 100 feet and 162 feet. The much ruined Guḍivāḍa *stūpa* too seems to have approached the dimensions of Amarāvatī and Bhaṭṭiprōlu.

The other great examples were devoid of a solid brick core and were

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made more or less hollow, evidently in order to save brick and labour without sacrificing stability. The hollow spaces were filled by different packings. The *stūpa* at Garikapāḍ with a basal diameter of 81 feet was constructed of an outer brick ring 8 feet thick at the base with alternate layers of lime concrete and earth in its core, probably because of the abundance and availability of good limestone. The Jagayyapēṭa *stūpa* had an outer brick casing with an interior packing formed of layers of earth, each about two feet thick; between the layers was laid a compact flooring of very large bricks closely fitted together, resulting in a series of superposed masonry floors of decreasing diameter stretching across the interior at different stages with packings of earth in between. The construction of the largest of the three *stūpas* at Pedda Ganjam was more or less of this type. As economising valuable brick material this style represents a definite advance over the solid brick structures.

The Ghaṇṭaśāla *stūpa*, 122 feet in diameter at the base and 111 feet at the wall above it, shows the most scientific construction among these early *stūpas*, calculated to conserve brick material while providing the necessary strength. There is a core of solid brick 10 feet square in the centre, rising to the height of the top of the dome, enclosed by an outer concentric square of 22 feet side with a hollow in between divided by cross-walls stretching from the inner to the outer square, at the centre of each side. The whole is surrounded again by a circular brick wall nearly 56 feet in diameter externally, the inner face of which is touched by the projections of the four cross-walls referred to above as well as the produced sides of the outer square. Beyond this circle and concentric with it at a distance of $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet is another massive walled circle $18\frac{1}{4}$ feet thick, the space between these two circular walls being divided into sixteen cells by an equal number of radially disposed cross-walls connecting the two circles. While the broad outer circle formed the basis of the *medhi*, the inner circle corresponded to the vertical base of the dome. The thirty-two hollow chambers—16 between the two circles, 12 inside the inner circle, and 4 inside the outer square—were packed firmly with mud. An almost similar arrangement is noticeable in the plan of the second large *stūpa* in Pedda Ganjam. It is of two concentric circular walls of brick, the outer about 39 feet with a gap of five feet between them, divided into a series of twelve cells by radially disposed cross-walls, four of which form the main radii, penetrating to the centre. It would seem to be only a step further to the regular cart-wheel-shaped foundation of the later Andhra *stūpas* as in the *mahāstūpa* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Here the squared axial brickwork column of the Ghaṇṭaśāla *stūpa* gives place to a circular one forming the hub from which emerge eight radial walls to meet the peripheral circular wall, like the spokes of a cart wheel. Thus by a system of three concentric circles and eight radial walls at the centre and sixteen each inside the two outer circles there were formed forty cells filled with packing material as the *stūpa* was built up. One of the peripheral cells however contained the reliquary. The diameter at the base was 106 feet while the height of the *stūpa* may have been

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70-80 feet. This foundation plan must have been adopted in many of the other *stūpas* in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.

In the smaller *stūpas* where the sinking of foundations and consequent fracture of the masonry are not liable to occur, a simple earth packing seems to have been general. The foundations often were of rubble, and the superstructure of brick.

Another characteristic feature of these Andhra *stūpas*, was the embellishment of their architectural appearance by the addition of a square or rectangular projection on the base of the dome at each of the cardinal points facing the gateway of the outer entrance. This structural offset to the *medhi* on the same level with it provided a sort of platform or altar for the offerings of the perambulating devotee. Each of these platforms carried five tall free-standing stelae or *āyaka* pillars; hence they are known as *āyaka* platforms. On either side they had short flights of steps, *sopāna*. In addition to the stilting up of the otherwise unimposing domical main structure, this offsetting of the cardinal faces into projecting platforms carrying the slender and graceful pillars was an ornamental attribute which imparted artistic distinction to these Andhra *stūpas*. The stelae appear to be later additions. As can be judged from the remains of the minor *stūpas* in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, the lesser ones had the *āyaka* platform but no *āyaka* pillars. In the earliest *stūpas* such as Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Jagayyapeṭa, and Garikapāḍ, only the 'marble' slabs which encased the basement at the projections were sculptured, the rest being covered with more or less plain slabs showing little carving except perhaps for a pilaster in low relief reaching up the edge of each, as in Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Jagayyapeṭa, and in Amarāvatī in its first period. In Amarāvatī these slabs contain the earliest sculptures showing animal figures over the bell-shaped capitals of the edging pilasters and devotees adoring the symbolic representations of the Buddha. Even after the renovations, and in the later *stūpas* covered by the sculptured slabs, the *āyaka* platforms seem to have attracted the greatest attention of the sculptor and were clothed with the best sculpture work—so that they present indeed a very beautiful and attractive appearance. The circumambulatory walk on the top of the *medhi* in all the *stūpas*—judging from the remnants in Ghaṇṭaśāla, Pedda Ganjam, Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and Jagayyapeṭa—had a parapet or balustrade round its edge, formed of rectangular slabs morticed between uprights with a coping on top. From the bas-relief reproduction of the *stūpa* details in miniature found in the casing slabs (the so-called *stūpa* slabs of Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa which have given us the clue for reconstructing the shape of these *stūpas*) it would appear that only the inner faces of the balustrade slabs were sculptured.

Apparently the *pradakshiṇapatha* round the base of the *stūpa* had originally a wooden railing on brick foundations which was perhaps later transformed into one of stone in some cases. While in Guḍivāḍa the railing was perhaps of wood, in Bhaṭṭiprōlu the extant remains show that it was of 'marble' stone piers with laterally cut lenticular mortices into which were

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fitted the ends of similarly shaped cross-pieces or rails (*sūchī*), which like those in Amarāvatī were unsculptured. In Amarāvatī evidence could be traced to show that the original monument, dating about 200 B.C., was subsequently reconstructed and that it emerged in its final architectural form in the period between A.D. 150-200, when the stone railing was erected by the great Nāgārjuna. Then followed the last phase of its embellishment when the slabs which covered the base all round and contained the earliest sculptures (referred to earlier), were reversed and large panels showing *stūpas* with frieze above were sculptured on them between *c.* A.D. 200 and 250. The great *stūpa* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, almost coeval with Amarāvatī, is supposed to have had a wooden railing, the brick platforms of which have alone been discovered. This *mahāchaitya* too was renovated about the same period, according to the inscriptions, by an Ikshvāku princess Chāṁtisiri and other royal ladies of the same line, the *āyaka* pillars were also set up at the same time. This must have been between the third and fourth century A.D.

Of the two well-known examples, the great *stūpa* of Amarāvatī may be said to typify the class of brick *stūpas* encased in stone and sumptuously sculptured. In its ultimate form it had a ground balustrade or outer railing about 13 feet high composed of a number of uprights (*ūrdhvapaṭa*) planted at intervals connected with each other transversely by three lenticular cross-bars (*sūchī*) and crowned by a coping (*ushṇīsha*), all so profusely embellished by sculptural work that the structural framework was hardly recognizable. This railing was interrupted at the four cardinal points by the gateway openings, which were projected to form an open portico, of which the front was flanked by pillars and two pairs of sedent lions on their copings. The *pradakshiṇapatha*, which this railing enclosed, was about 15 feet wide, having free standing pillars at intervals bearing miniature *stūpas* or similar symbols as their capitals. In the centre rose the drum (*medhi*) of the *stūpa* 20 feet high with its four rectangular offsets—the *āyaka* platforms, *āyaka* pillars, and the upper processional path surrounded by a parapet about 8 feet high. These upright slabs of the parapet, as also those encasing the face of the drum and its offsets, were profusely sculptured. The lower portion of the dome (*aṇḍa*) was also thus encased, the slabs covering it up to the frieze encircling the middle of the dome more or less at a point which marks its springing. Above this line the surface of the dome was covered by plaster and all the ornaments of the festoon or garland round the top were in stucco. The kiosk (*harmikā*) on top consisted of a square balustrade around a central pillar of imposing dimensions flanked and surmounted by parasols.

In contrast to this the great *stūpa* of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and some of the lesser ones in the same place may be said to belong to the class of uncased *stūpas*. The external brickwork was simply plastered over from base to top, the dome being decorated by the usual large garland ornament. Practically no stone was used on it, except for the *āyaka* pillars which, as in Amarāvatī, were later additions. The drum rose to 5 feet with the four

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usual rectangular offsets 22 feet long and 5 feet broad carrying the *āyaka* pillars. The width of the ambulatory over the drum was about 7 feet. The *stūpa* was surrounded by a *pradakshiṇapatha* 13 feet wide and enclosed by a wooden railing on brick foundations. The gateways were formed by forward extensions of the railing, and perhaps resembled those at Amarāvatī in not having a *tōraṇa*, usual in the North Indian examples like Sāñchī. The rails and gates were constructed of carved woodwork.

Other *stūpas* in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were of the cased and sculptured variety like Amarāvatī, and these formed the main source of the extensive sculpture collection from the place.

The *chaitya* or temple hall and the *vihāra* or monastery too had their beginnings and development in the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna phase of this period, and under the Andhras gave rise to two types of construction. One was the brick built *chaityas* and *vihāras* associated with the great *stūpas* and Buddhist centres on the east coast in the Godāvarī and Kṛishṇā valleys; and the other the rock excavations mostly confined to Western Deccan round about Nāsik, though two of these exist in the eastern region, the rock excavations at Guṇṭupalle in West Godāvari district and Saṅkaram in Viśākhapaṭnam. The Guṇṭupalle *chaitya* and rock-cut retreats are dated about 200 B.C. in Hīnayāna times, while much of the remains on the Saṅkaram hill would belong to a period between A.D. 300 and 350, in the succeeding Mahāyāna times, though even amongst them the monolithic *stūpas* might have been anterior to the Christian era.

While the rock-cut examples which are facsimiles in rock of contemporary structural buildings give us an idea of the total aspect of these monastic structures, the extant remains of the structural ones show the plan, dimensions, and methods of construction employed.

The Chinese pilgrims have described a many-storeyed *vihāra*, identified with the one that dominated the Buddhist establishment at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The great *saṅghārāma* described by Hiuan Tsang with its high walls, storeyed towers, and beautiful ornamented balconies, with two stone *stūpas* in front, existing in the neighbourhood of Vengila (*P'ing-k'i-lo*), was perhaps the one at Guṇṭupalle. We infer from inscriptions that there was a monastery at Bhaṭṭiprolu. Hiuan Tsang mentions forty monasteries in working order in Dhānyakaṭaka (Amarāvatī), and Tāranātha says that the great monastery and university at Lhasa in Tibet was built after the model of the establishment at Dhānyakaṭaka.[1] Though such monastic establishments must have thriven in the *stūpa* sites and Buddhist centres described above, yet we are left only with a few extant ruins in Guṇṭupalle, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Rāmatīrtham, Arugolanu, and Saṅkaram.

Besides small rock-cut cells, which still remain, traces of a large *vihāra* have been found at Guṇṭupalle.[2] There are also the remains of a large

[1] *IA.* IV p. 363

[2] *ASIAR.* 1905-6, p. 166 and *Madras Archaeological Reports* 1888, April 30, pp. 11-12; 1889, August 2, pp. 1-3, 1916-17, pp. 30-7

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pillared hall. This *saṅghārāma* seems to have consisted of two separate groups of chambers forming a large and a small monastery with a brick-built *chaitya* hall and *stūpas* of various sizes, most of them rock-cut.

Arugolanu in West Godāvari seems to have been a Buddhist settlement of considerable size and contains the ruins of a large *vihāra.*

The remains at Rāmatīrtham show the extensive ruins of a monastery attached to a large *stūpa* of 84 feet diameter; the foundations of at least two large *vihāras*, four or five distinct rows of monastic cells and about five *chaityas* and smaller *stūpas* are scattered at different levels on the hill facing it. The *vihāras* measure 81 feet by 65, and 91 feet by 39½[1] on plan. The excavations at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa[2] give more information about these *vihāras.* Among the monastic establishments here each unit was complete and self-contained with a *vihāra* or residence for the monks and an apsidal *chaitya* temple, both attached to a *stūpa.* The *vihāras* had a rectangular courtyard enclosed by a brick wall, and in the centre was a square stone-paved hall with a wooden roof supported by stone or wooden pillars. All round the inside of the enclosure and abutting on to the outer walls was a row of cells for the monks, often with a verandah in front. Some of these cells formed store-rooms, a few others were used as shrines and there was usually one large room which served as a refectory. One *vihāra*[3] built by Bodhisiri is an irregular square. The square central hall which it enclosed was perhaps entirely of wood with wooden columns, since no stone pillars were found. The brick walls had plain plaster mouldings along the plinth of the cells, surrounding the central hall in the courtyard. Another *vihāra* at the northern end of the Nallarāḷḷabōḍu hill[4] was perhaps more regular and complete. The main opening on the south of the rectangular walled enclosure led to an open courtyard with two apsidal structures flanking the passage immediately inside the entrance. The centre was occupied by a square pillared hall and surrounded on the three sides, east, north, and west, by rows of small cells, with a larger square cell at the north-west corner and a rectangular one with a semicircular (moon-stone) step on the north-east. An opening at this north-east corner led to an adjoining rectangular enclosure on the east. This annexe had a large open courtyard and a rectangular building abutting on its eastern wall, running round which was a stone seat: a big stone table stood outside the doorway denoting that it was a refectory. Along the southern wall of this annexe were three rooms and along the inside of the western wall was fixed another stone bench in the open courtyard. The whole monastery was as usual associated with a large *stūpa.*[5] While the two apsidal temples, the *Buddha-chaitya* and *stūpa-chaitya*, must have had barrel-vaulted roofs of brick and plaster, the roof over the rest was of wood and, from the

[1] 'Buddhist Monasteries at Ramatirtham', *ASIAR.* 1910-11, pp. 78-88
[2] Longhurst, A. H., ibid.
[3] Monastery No. 1 of Longhurst.
[4] Monastery No. 2 of Longhurst.
[5] *Stūpa.* No. 4 of Longhurst.

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absence of tile fragments, was perhaps thatched. The roof of the central hall was supported by stone pillars carrying wooden beams.

A similar arrangement of a pair of apsidal *chaityas*, one enshrining a structural *stūpa* and the other with a high platform for a standing Buddha whose feet alone are extant, is to be found near the great *stūpa* on top of the hill at Śālihuṇḍam on the banks of the Vaṁśadhārā in Viśākhapaṭnam district. The foundations of the associated monastery with its *vihāras* and cells have however been destroyed. While in the earlier monasteries of the Hīnayāna times the *stūpa* alone was enshrined in a *chaitya*, in the later kind, of about the second century A.D. and after, Buddha images came to be enshrined, and then both types of *chaityas* became common.

In the absence of any of the earlier structures associated with the *stūpas*, the rock-cut examples of *vihāras* and the *chaityas* at Guṇṭupalle give us some further idea of contemporary structural types[1] in this area. Because of their proximity to and association with the ancient *stūpa* sites they are better considered here instead of with rock-cut examples of Western Deccan. The remains of the *saṅghārāma* in this place as already mentioned consist of two separate rock-cut groups of chambers forming a large and a small *vihāra*, a rock-cut *chaityagṛiha*, *stūpas* of different sizes, most of them rock-cut and a few structural, and the remains of a big brick-built *chaitya* temple. The rock-cut *vihāras* and the *chaityagṛiha* may be assigned to about 200 B.C. on stylistic grounds.

The lower and better preserved of the two rock-cut *vihāras* is near the *chaityagṛiha*. The façade of this monastery, facing more or less south, was fairly recessed on the vertical face of the rock, leaving a narrow terrace in front. The overhanging rock above was cut away so as to form a verandah sheltering the face of the building from sun and rain. The façade had three main entrances with doorways, each flanked by a window on either side. Each of these three doorways led into some sort of a main cell, apparently a hall, rectilinear in shape and of different dimensions. The three inner walls of each hall were again pierced by one or more openings leading into cells excavated into the core of the rock beyond with a square annexe on their east, west or north, all disposed in a very haphazard manner. This would apparently indicate that no co-ordinated plan was followed in the arrangement of these cells, which became crowded together probably because other chambers were later inserted in the available intervening spaces. On the façade both doorways and windows are round-arched with a projecting horse-shoe dormer archway above, ending in a finial, the space between being filled by the radiating spokes of a blind *chaitya* window. The narrow entrance, the simplicity of design, the absence of sculptures or niches for sculptures to rest in, the absence also of the usual apsidal temple inside, show that these were not only essentially residential in character but were also early in date. Compared with the contemporary rock-cut examples of Western Deccan dating from the

[1] Longhurst, *Madras Archaeological Report* 1916-17, pp. 30-7

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Hīnayāna times the work here is coarse, betraying execution by unskilled hands. The second *vihāra* higher up the hill is in similar style but hopelessly ruined and damaged.

The rock-cut *chaitya*, while being similar to the circular *chaitya* halls of curious early type at Junnar and Kondivte in the west, recalls more the inner cells and façades of the Lomas Ṛishi and Sudāma caves in the Barābar hills near Gayā, from which it cannot be far removed in point of time. It is a version in stone of a circular hut with a domical or conical roof of thatch resting on a wooden framework resembling an inverted basket and accommodating a *stūpa* in the centre, a circumambulatory all round, and a gabled porch in front of its doorway. This temple faces east, the circular cell is 18 feet in diameter and 14¾ feet high inside. The monolithic *stūpa* inside occupies one half of the internal area leaving a circumambulatory three feet wide all round. The drum of the *stūpa* is 11 feet 8 inches in diameter and 3 feet 9 inches high, while the hemispherical *aṇḍa* is 9 feet 2 inches in diameter and 4 feet 9 inches high, thus making the total height of the *stūpa* 8½ feet. The *harmikā* was a structural addition on top. The ceiling of the dome shows sixteen curved ribs inside, cut in the same stone in imitation of a wooden prototype, all meeting at the apical centre and connected with one another by circular hoops of decreasing diameter from below up. In front of the simple opening of the circular cell, and as if it were framing it and showing a part of the simulated overhanging thatch, is the façade of the porch, with a round-arched entrance and over it a projecting horse-shoe dormer arch showing even the ends of the little longitudinal rafters supporting the curved roof-board of the gabb. In passing, one may note here the remarkable similarity in essentials of the plan of these two Guṇṭupalle rock-cut *vihāras* on the one hand and the sepulchral multi-chambered laterite *taḷi* opening into a common rectangular well at Kaṭṭakampal in Cochin on the other. The same similarity marks the plan of the rock-cut *chaitya* here and the domical roofed sepulchral *taḷis* of Cochin and Malabar described before.

The manner in which the shape and details of the structural prototype are reproduced in this rock-cut monument greatly helps one to imagine the nature and methods of construction of contemporary structural forms. The circular shrine with a domical roof to accommodate the object of worship and the hall in front with a barrel-vaulted roof in which the devotees would assemble and pray could easily combine into an apsidal structure resembling a basilica.

It is such a type that we see in the structural *chaitya* of a later date, in the same place and those in a few other places in Eastern Deccan, not to mention the rock-cut examples of apsidal *chaityas* in Western Deccan.

The ruins of the brickwork structural *chaitya* at Guṇṭupalle of the Mahāyāna period assignable to the second century A.D. represented, as excavations have revealed, an apsidal structure facing south-west, 53½ feet long and 14½ feet broad, with side walls about 4½ feet thick resting on massive footings making for secure foundations. A rather unusual feature

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here is that internally the semicircular apse portion was cut off by a cross-wall from the main building, and a flight of steps passed under this wall and followed the curved line of the back wall of the apse and was carried all round to the corresponding flight of steps on the other side so as to form a circumambulatory passage around the object of worship that was installed in the apse; the object of worship was not the usual *stūpa* form, but something else, perhaps a Buddha placed on a kind of raised brick throne, with a facing of three large niches for the accommodation of other sculptures of Buddha or of the donors. The three niches were divided by solid brick piers in front of the throne platform, below and round which passed the circumambulatory passage. Between the cross-wall containing the niches and the two side walls of the building were two little passages, one on either side, which gave access to the steps leading into the passage at the back of the platform mentioned above. The entrance in front had an arch spanning the doorway, and, judging from the point of springing of the semicircular brick arch, the height of the interior of the building must have been about 15 feet. Probably the entrance had a carved wooden door-frame with the usual ornamental fanlight above. The brick door jambs were semi-octagonal in plan and were carried up as pilasters to the springing of the arch. Flanking these two door jambs, on each side, was a tall niche containing a limestone image of Buddha. Projecting basements set on either side of the doorway suggest a frontal porch or possibly they formed the bases for a couple of *staṁbhas*. The front of the building has massive plinth mouldings of the usual heavy curved type and with a broad band forming a kind of dado decorated with the Buddhist rail ornament between the cornice and the plinth. Beyond this there was no other decoration and presumably the whole structure was plastered over and painted in colour. The roof was evidently of the vaulted type made of brick and plaster, and probably the barrel vault was cribbed inside with wooden ribs and cross-pieces on the analogy of the earlier rock-cut *chaitya* of the place and similar examples from Western Deccan. The ridge of the roof was adorned by a row of earthenware finials. This would be the largest known *chaitya* hall and there are remains of another at Vidyādharapuram near Bezwada.[1]

In Nāgārjunakoṇḍa were found the remains of a few *chaitya* temples associated with the *viharas*. They are long brick buildings with an apse at one end and a doorway at the other, the thick walls were high and the roof built of brick in the form of a barrel vault. There were no windows, other than the arched opening over the doorway, and the interior must have been in semi-darkness. The walls inside were plain, plastered and washed. The floors and steps in front were of stone, the front step always semicircular or half-moon shaped (moon-stone), plain and not ornate as in the Ceylon examples, except in one case which had a frieze of lions, horses, and bulls along the edge. Outside, the walls were adorned with a few rows of simple mouldings along the base and cornice while the summit

[1] Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 28

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of the wagon-top roof was crowned by a row of tall pottery finials. The orientation of these temples seems to have been dictated by choice. The larger ones built by princess Chāṁtisiri near the great *stūpa* for the Aparamahā Vinaśéliya sect and by princess Bodhisiri on the Nallarāḷḷabōḍu or Lesser Dhammagiri hill were both *stūpa-chaityas* and contained stone built *stūpas* inside. The paired *chaityas*, facing each other inside the entrance of the monastery of the lower end of the same hill, already referred to, perhaps constituted a *Buddha-chaitya* and *stūpa-chaitya* respectively.

Similarly in the 'University area' in the north-east corner of the valley was an extensive monastic establishment consisting of three *vihāras*, a large *stūpa* and two *chaityas* in front of it, forming a unit. One of these enshrined a small *stūpa* of cut 'Cuddapah' stones and the other an image of Buddha.

The remains on the Saṅkaram hills near Viśākhapaṭnam indicate the existence of a large Buddhist monastery there, the monolithic *stūpas*, some of the cells, and perhaps the three structural apsidal *chaitya* halls dating from the second century B.C., though the site continued to be in occupation up to the Pallava period and some of the constructions are dated after A.D. 350. The monolithic *stūpas* here include some of the largest of their kind, the main one in front of the monastery having a diameter of 65 feet at base.

The few *stūpas* built of cut stone noticed amidst the numerous brick-built examples indicate that construction in stone was not unknown to the masons of this period, who were adept at brick-laying; but like rock-cut architecture, it took a long time to be adopted on such a large scale in Eastern Deccan and South India, where it supplanted brick architecture in the seventh-eighth century A.D. and after.

The earliest stone structural *stūpa* is that found amidst the Buddhist remains at Guṇṭupalle.[1] This *stūpa* is faced with cut-stone blocks enclosing a core of earth and rubble stones like an ordinary cairn. It is a hemispherical dome of 16 feet diameter, 8½ feet high, resting on a cylindrical drum 18½ feet in diameter and 5 feet high. The *harmikā* and umbrella on top have been dislodged. The stone blocks of the facing are neatly cut and accurately fitted in a regular coursed masonry without the use of mortar, the outer surfaces of the blocks slightly curved in each case to conform with the smooth contours of the drum and dome. The rim of the drum is ornamented by two courses of simple mouldings. In style, construction and dimensions this *stūpa* is similar to some of those discovered by Cunningham in Andher near Bhilsa in Bhopal[2] and assigned by him to the second century B.C. The style of the relic casket found in this *stūpa* and its archaic simplicity would show that it cannot be much later than the Andher *stūpas*.

The stone-built *stūpa* in the first *chaitya* near the main *stūpa* at Rāmatīrtham has been referred to. This is 5 feet in diameter at the drum and

[1] Longhurst, op. cit., pp. 35-6

[2] Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 342-50

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7 feet high. The stones are well cut and beautifully fitted. The stone *stūpa* is raised on a double-stepped brick-work base. Fragments of the stone umbrella which crowned it have been found near the *stūpa*. This and the similar cut stone *stūpas* inside *chaityas* at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa described above would form the later examples of stone work of the early centuries of the Christian era.

Western Deccan witnessed a different type of activity where *chaitya* temples and *vihāras* were being excavated from the live rock. This rock-cut mode was a direct sequel of the types excavated by Aśoka and Daśaratha in Barābar and Nāgārjunī hills near Gayā in Bihar for the Ājivika ascetics. Its development, primarily in the hills of the Western Ghats, in its first phase between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D., seems to have been in part dictated by the nature of the terrain and the material. The horizontal strata of amygdaloid and cognate trap formations laid in considerable thickness, and the fact that the edges of these strata terminate in perpendicular cliffs providing ideal scarps presented most suitable features for excavation. These fine monuments were really hewn out of the live rock by means of the pick and finished off by the dexterous application of the chisel, as examination suggests. While the pick was used for the preliminary work, the cutting and finishing were done entirely by chisel and hammer, in the hands apparently of the same craftsman who was at once a quarryman and sculptor.

The fashioning of architectural forms out of live rock which had its beginning in Aśokan times and endured until after the first millennium of the Christian era occupies a very prominent place in the creative art of India, and may be more adequately designated as 'rock architecture', though in the light of the accepted definition of the term 'architecture', which is understood as 'good construction truthfully expressed', the technique of these monuments would not strictly conform to such classification. These rock-hewn forms, no doubt expert achievements in themselves, involved no constructional principles, nor do they display in their forms any functional properties; their members, such as columns and arches, were not adjusted or designed to support load, carry weight or counteract thrusts. Thus from a strict point of view this kind of work will not be 'architecture' but sculpture on a grand and magnificent scale.[1]

The first excavations were Buddhist in character, corresponding to the Hīnayāna creed, and consist of *chaitya* halls and *vihāras* forming about ten groups, all copies in rock of the structural prototypes of less permanent material, wood and brick. The noteworthy examples include the excavations at Bhājā in Poona district, Kondāṇe in Kolaba district, Pitālkhorā and Ajaṇṭā (Cave Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 12) near Aurangabad in Hyderabad, Beḍsā in Poona district, Nāsik (the cave called Pāṇḍulena, Gautamīputra, Nahapāna and Śri Yajña), Junnar and Kārle in Poona district and Kaṇheri in Salsette near Bombay.

[1] Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu*, chh. v and vi

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The Hīnayāna *vihāras* or monasteries in these places, though not of such 'architectural' importance as the contemporary *chaitya* halls, embody many interesting features. They are facsimiles in rock of structural *vihāras*. Though they are not exactly of identical design and present varying forms and plans, they yet possess certain common features which differentiate them from the later Mahāyāna products in and around the same localities.

The three *vihāras* (Caves Nos. 8, 12 and 13) at Ajaṇṭā associated with the contemporary *chaitya*s (Caves Nos. 9 and 10) are probably the earliest ones. *Vihāra* No. 12 for instance is an example of a single-storeyed monastery which has lost much of its original façade. There is a square central hall surrounded by a horse-shoe shaped arcade, with a frieze in its upper portion. A similar single-storeyed *vihāra* is to be found in Kondāṇe attached to the *chaitya* hall of that place. But here the central hall is not plain but pillared. Apparently it had a pillared portico over which a massive cornice projected itself, with an entablature, imitating woodwork. Behind the portico, a central doorway with a window on either side leads through the screen-wall into the courtyard surrounded by a peripheral colonnade. Cells opened into this courtyard and were disposed on its three sides. The Pitālkhorā *vihāra* too has a pillared hall, though only a few cells remain, which in contrast to other *vihāras* have vaulted, instead of plain roofs and ribs and lattice windows all modelled as if by carpentry.

The three *vihāras* at Nāsik (Cave Nos. 3, 8 and 15) called from their inscriptions *Gautamīputra*, *Nahapāna* and *Śrī Yajña* are also single storeyed, but at the same time highly decorated. They have in common pillared porticos, square, unpillared halls and cells on three sides containing couches; but show variations in detail, especially in the design of their pillars.

The plan of the *vihāra* at Bhājā, though irregular, is more or less similar to the others. There is an outer verandah separated by a wall pierced by two doorways and a barred window from an inner hall, which in this case has excavated cells on two sides only. The roof of the verandah is barrel-vaulted with gable ends.

More interesting than these are the *chaitya* halls consisting of a vaulted congregation hall terminating in an apse covered by a semi-dome at its inner end and itself divided longitudinally by two rows of pillars into a central hall and wings, very much like the apse, nave, and aisles of a Christian church. The centre of the apse contains a *stūpa*, hewn out of the same rock or sometimes wholly or partly built of brick and wood. The aisle is continued round the apse forming a perambulatory passage round the *stūpa*. The chronological sequence of these examples would take us first to Bhājā, and successively to Kondāṇe, Pitālkhorā, Ajaṇṭā (No. 10), Nāsik, Junnar, Kārle and Kaṇheri. The guiding principle involved in determining this sequence is that the earlier the example, the closer the imitation of the designs and devices peculiar to constructions in wood. Other characters are the degree of the inward slant of the pillars and jambs copying faithfully, and quite needlessly, the expedient necessary in the case

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of wooden posts devised to counteract the outward thrust of the heavy timber roofing; next, the extent to which free use of timber additions to the excavated *chaitya* was made in the form of ribs, girders, and cross-pieces in doorways; lastly, and most of all, the character and form of the arches that span the entrances, which incidentally are the most attractive and carefully designed part of the façade, forming the main feature of these *chaityas*. The form of the *stūpa* enshrined might furnish another index of relative age.

The earliest in the series would thus be the *chaitya* hall at Bhājā (*c.* 200 B.C.) enclosing a hall 55 feet long, 26 feet broad and 20 feet high, with side aisles 3½ feet wide. As an early example, it closely approximates to the Lomas Ṛishi cave near Gayā in its undeveloped ogee-arch window and betrays its pioneering character by many other features including a pronounced slant of its pillars, the closely ranked roof-ribs, and the wooden *harmikā* and umbrella of the *stūpa* it enshrined. The *stūpa* itself is of the plain type consisting of a cylindrical base supporting a tall domical body with a *harmikā* on top. The open frontage of the *chaitya* originally framed a highly finished wooden construction fitted into the rock-cut archway and consisting of two uprights held in position by a cross-piece fixed at mid-height, the lower half being covered by a carved screen with a central and two side doorways, while the cross-beam carried in the upper half a projecting gallery, supported by four pillars. The whole formed an elegant balcony.

The *chaitya* hall at Kondāṇe which would come next in order is a little larger and had a façade of similar type as at Bhājā with the difference that the two uprights were partly of rock and partly of wood. The curvature of the façade archway too displays more finished lines.

The ruined *chaitya* halls at Pitālkhorā and the similar one at Ajaṇṭā (No. 10) belong to the same order. They show a slight advance in that the roof-ribs of the side aisles are cut out in stone instead of being mere wooden attachments. In Pitālkhorā, owing to a natural fault in the rock, a few of the pillars are finished structurally, and apparently the *stūpa* inside it also, now absent, was structural built. This *chaitya* hall when complete must have been 50 feet long and 34½ feet wide and 31 feet high. The larger Ajaṇṭā *chaitya* measuring 100 feet by 40 feet and 33 feet high, shows that these excavators were growing bolder in conception. The *stūpa* within is more elaborate with a double tier at the base and a slightly elongated dome.

The example at Beḍsā shows an elaborate façade fronted with pillars and pilasters carrying 'Persepolitan' capitals, as in Pitālkhorā, crowned by spirited sculpture of human and animal figures.

The early *chaitya* at Ajaṇṭā (Cave No. 9) and the Pāṇḍulena at Nāsik are alike in that no wooden attachments have been made to their frontage, the whole being carved out of the rock. The Ajaṇṭā façade is a well-balanced work, elaborately designed with a door opening at the centre flanked by a window opening on either side and carrying a minstrel

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gallery above supported on a broad ledge. The peculiarity in this is that the hall within is rectangular and the ceilings of the aisles, instead of being vaulted as in other cases, are flat. The vault of the nave was originally braced by wooden ribs, but these were removed at an early date apparently as being superfluous. The ornamental façade of the Pāṇḍulena *chaitya* is two-storeyed presenting a curved lunette above the doorway and an arcade with repeated *stūpa motif* and 'Persepolitan' type pillars flanking the arch-window. The pillars inside it are almost perpendicular, better proportioned, and have received some decorative attention, more at the base than at the capital. For the first time the bases become pot-shaped while the abacus is square. There was a musician's gallery of timber immediately inside the entrance and above the doorway.

The Manmoda *chaitya* hall in Junnar shares many features of the Pāṇḍulena e.g. the absence of a wooden frontage and of a portico and the presence of 'Persepolitan' pillars. It differs, however, in its rock-cut façade, where the carved lunette fills the upper space of the archway over the sun-window, while in the Pāṇḍulena it is over the doorway. In this context, among the other excavations at Junnar, the one with a peculiar plan, the Tulaja-lena, deserves notice. The plan of this interesting *chaitya* hall is circular (25½ feet diameter) recalling the Guṇṭupalle example and indicating the survival of an archaic type. The central *stūpa* is surrounded by a ring of twelve plain octagonal pillars, and the ceiling over the space enclosed by the pillars is domed, while the circular 'aisle' is half-domed, much like the double-roofed circular temple (the Sudhamma Sabhā) of the well-known Bhārhut reliefs.

Evidently the greatest effort of these architect-sculptors in rock was the magnificent *chaitya* at Kārle, the largest and most evolved of its class. It certainly deserves to be classed as one of the best and most impressive monuments of India where Hīnayāna rock-architecture reached its culmination. The *chaitya* is 124 feet long, 46½ feet broad and 45 feet high. The ornate façade consists of two storeys, as at Nāsik, with three doorways piercing the lower part, and an upper gallery over which is the usual large horse-shoe shaped sun-window, in which are still to be seen the remains of concentric arches forming a pediment. The intervening spaces between the doorways are decorated by sculptures of couples (donors?) and indifferent palimpsests of Buddha figures, which are of the later Gupta period. The set-back of the entrance provides an outer porch in front, of which the sides are filled by the sculptures of architectural storeys, the lowest showing a ground frieze of elephants. In front are two free-standing lion-pillars with 'Persepolitan' capitals carrying addorsed lions which supported a *dharma chakra* like the Aśokan columns. The great pillars which separate the nave from the aisles within are truly perpendicular with pot-bases, octagonal shafts carrying 'Persepolitan' capitals, more elaborate than those in the earlier examples we have mentioned. The top of the capital is adorned with beautiful sculpture of paired kneeling elephants each bearing a couple in front and caparisoned horses with their riders.

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The interior *stūpa* is tall and cylindrical, and is surrounded by two rail courses; its original wooden umbrella is still intact. This grand excavation is datable in the first century B.C.

The last of the series, dating about A.D. 180 is the *chaitya* hall at Kaṇheri. It is 86 feet long, 40 feet wide and 50 feet high, much resembling the one at Kārle, of which indeed, architecturally, it is nothing but a degenerate copy. The interior roof had wooden rafters, the pegs of which are still *in situ*, and the outer screen is modelled with large figures of the royal donors sculptured as in Kārle. In front were the lion-pillars, not free-standing as at Kārle but attached to the rock.

SCULPTURE

As already mentioned, there is a wealth of Buddhistic sculptural remains in stone associated with the *stūpas*, *chaityas*, and *vihāras*, both structural and rock-cut, existing in the Deccan. Sculptures related to Hinduism or Jainism are rare in this region, and these Buddhist relics are all we have to exemplify the sculptural art of the period in the South.

From contemporary literature it would appear that in the South much of the plastic art still remained in the hands of the wood and ivory carvers, the stucco workers and the terra-cotta makers. Tamil works mention Hindu temples as well as the *paḷḷis* of the Buddhists and Jainas, which were adorned with sculptures and paintings. That iconographic concepts of the deities were also in vogue is clear from such descriptions of Śiva as three-eyed, bearing matted locks, and wearing the crescent on his head, or as riding on his bull, as the wielder of the battle-axe,[1] as blue-throated (*nīlakaṇṭha*), as *Tripurāntaka*, and as *Ardhanāri*; of Vishṇu as dark-hued, the holder of the conch and discus, the lord of the *Garuḍadhvaja*, and *Sūryanārāyaṇa*, *Trivikrama*, *Anantaśāyī* reclining on a serpent couch ; as having the blossoming lotus stalk issuing from his navel (*Padmanābha*) with Brahmā seated on the blossom and also as *Krishṇa*[2] (*Māyōn*), and *Baladēva* (Vāliyōn) wielding the plough and holding the palmyra flag;[3] Murugan (Kumāra) as red-hued and riding on the peacock or the elephant, holding the peacock flag;[4] and Sūrya driving his chariot drawn by seven horses.[5] The anthropomorphic concept of these gods with their attributes could have been expressed only by images, made of wood or stucco[6] by the side of many other objects of beauty and amid *motifs* of decoration including forms of men and animals.

[1] *Puṟanānūṟu* 6, *ll.* 17-18; 55, *ll.* 1-5; 56, *ll.* 1-2; 91, *ll.* 5-6; *Ahanānūṟu* 181, *ll.* 15-18

[2] *Mullaippāṭṭu ll.* 1-3; *Puṟanānūṟu* 56, *ll.* 6-7; *Perumbāṇāṟṟuppaḍai ll.* 373; 402-4; 29-30

[3] *Puṟanānūṟu* 56, *ll.* 3-4

[4] Ibid. *ll.* 7-8

[5] *Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu*, *ll.* 215-6

[6] The tradition in many ancient shrines, *e.g.* in the Varadarāja Temple at Kāñchī, is that the original image in the *mūlasthāna* was of wood, later replaced in stone. The *Trivikrama-mūlavigraha* in the Vishṇu temple at Tirukkōyilūr (S. Arcot dist.) is of wood, as also the Oppiliyappar idol in Uppiliyappan Kovil near Kumbakonam; and the

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In the northern half of the peninsula, in the Deccan, under the Andhra kings and their successors, under the growing influence of Buddhism, sculptural activity flourished on a large scale. It is mostly found associated with the *stūpa* sites in Eastern Deccan extending from Śālihuṇḍam in Śrīkākulam (North Viśākhapaṭnam district) near Orissa to Chinna Ganjam in the Guntur district in the south and with the rock-cut *chaityas* and *vihāras* of Western Deccan. In the first group the sculptor wrought the soft and easily worked marble-like greenish-grey limestone, in some instances brought to the site from distant quarries by road and river. In the same way, the Mauryan sculptors of North India chose a particular buff-coloured sandstone from Chunar, which could take a mirror-like polish, while the sculptors of Sāñchī and Bhārhut affected the darkish-red sandstone from Central India, and those of Mathurā the spotted variety of Tantpur and Bayana sandstone. But in Western Deccan the architect-sculptors who wielded larger masses of materials *in situ* and excavated and embellished the rock-cut monuments, selected suitable places in the rock for their work.

Of these rock-cut *vihāras* and *chaityas* of the west, including those at Guṇṭupalle in the east, some have notable figure sculptures as part of their original composition. Instances are found at Bhājā, Nānāghāt, Pitālkhorā, Beḍsā, Nāsik, Kārle and Kaṇheri. In the pillars of these rock-cut monuments one can trace an evolution from the earlier examples with octagonal shafts and without base or capital, being mainly copies of plain and undecorated wooden posts, to the later ones endowed with bases and capitals, where each member of the pillar receives its elaborations. It is here that a large element of sculptural decoration is to be found. The

existence of stucco images in the *mūla-sthāna* of other ancient temples, *e.g.* Anantapadmanābha of the Trivandrum temple and Ranganātha at Śrīraṅgam protected from destruction today by a special composition applied annually (*punuku-chaṭṭam*) is well known. (See Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography* I, part i, Introduction p. 59). While the wooden forms were appropriately painted or lacquered (lac and lacquering were known in the Śaṅgam times too—*Śiṟupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai ll.* 53-54), the stucco forms were painted (as they are today on the South Indian Gōpuras and Vimānas). Such stucco images are known from the Andhra Buddhist sites and many of the *stūpas* were finished mostly in stucco. Even after the substitution of stone sculptures for these wooden or stucco images, the practice of applying a thin coat of plaster stucco, and painting them over in appropriate colours continued for a long time till the smearing of oil over the *mūlavighrahams*, as on the amorphic *liṅgas*, came into vogue. There are still some temples where the stone sculpture in the sanctum (*mūla-vigraha*) carries the painted stucco as the sculptures in the Vishṇu cave-lemple at Malaiyaḍippaṭṭi in Puddukkōṭṭai. It was evidently because the *mūla-vigrahas* or *dhruva-beras* installed permanently in the shrines were of such easily destructible material—wood, stucco, or stone covered by stucco that additional images (*bera*) of imperishable metal (or stone) were installed in the shrines for the daily bath (*abhisheka*) and anointment (*kauṭuka-beras* or *baliberas* or *snapana beras*) and metal ones as processional images (*utsavaberas*) to be easily carried in processions. These forms of *beras* came in (perhaps as a result of later *āgamic* prescriptions) in South Indian temples. For the forms of *beras* see Gopinath Rao, *Hindu Iconography*, I (i) Intro. p. 17

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pillars of the 'Persepolitan' order found in the Pāṇḍulena *chaitya* at Nāsik and the Manmoda *chaitya* at Junnar show the introduction of base and capital. While the capital takes merely the form of a square abacus, the base has already assumed the form of a *kalaśa* or pot. These pillars as a whole are better proportioned. In the Beḍsā *chaitya*, however, we notice a further advance; for here the pillars and pilasters are decorated with the 'Persepolitan' capital and surmounted by spirited human and animal figures. Kārle exhibits the culmination of this development. The vase-shaped base and the octagonal shaft persist, but the campaniform capital, (a variation of the earlier free standing Aśokan columns), supports a sculptured group, corresponding to the Buddhist symbols of the original. These figures comprise grouped pairs of men and women, lightly clad and heavily adorned with jewellery, seated astride kneeling elephants on one side and horses on the other. Originally the elephants were provided with silver or ivory tusks, and the horses were decked with metal trappings. These carved groups on the top of the pillars, though superficially alike, show sufficient variation in design to relieve monotony. The execution of these men and animals is really free and bold. Cave III at Nāsik and the *chaitya* hall at Kaṇheri are noted for the elaborately decorated railing in relief in front, suggestive of the great structural railing at Amarāvatī.

In the old *vihāra* at Bhājā are to be found more interesting sculptures. The cornice of the barrel-vaulted verandah at the front is supported by alternating *stūpa* forms, and male and female caryatid figures with waist-cloths, large turbans and heavy ornaments. The statues of the armed doorkeepers are also similarly clad. The pillar at the west end of the verandah has a capital surmounted by addorsed sphinx-like forms with bovine bodies and female busts; on the east side of the hall and the verandah are five-armed figures seated in niches. Most remarkable are the two unique reliefs at the east end of the verandah. That on the left side presents an action picture of a royal figure driving in a chariot drawn by four spirited horses accompanied by two women holding a parasol and a fly whisk, and followed by a mounted escort in which the female rider in the inner angle of the verandah is clearly provided with some kind of stirrups, perhaps the earliest known instance in the world.[1] The chariot runs across the bent backs of grossly proportioned nude female demons who seem to be floating face downwards in the air. The more elaborate relief on the right side again depicts a princely figure riding an enormous elephant with a standard-bearer seated behind, while the elephant traverses the landscape holding aloft an uprooted tree in its trunk. The elephant and its riders stand out more prominently from the background by reason of their greater proportions.[2] Another elephant forming part of the background

[1] Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 25 & *n.* 1

[2] Coomaraswamy (ibid. p. 25) in agreement with previous authors identifies the first scene as representing Sūrya with his two wives driving through the sky dispelling the powers of darkness, and the second as Indra on Airāvata, but remarks in the footnote (No. 2) that as regards these and other examples, it should be observed that not every

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is no larger than the foot of the principal one. In this landscape below the uprooted tree are falling figures and below them comes a *chaitya* tree on which hang three human figures, while still lower there is another *chaitya* tree, both the trees being shaded by parasols held over them. Below the main scene and on the left of the second *chaitya* tree and landscape is a royal court scene. To the right is a more confused jungle scene in which appear an armed man and a horse-headed deity.

These two reliefs are among the earliest of their kind. They are mental pictures transplanted without any attempt at the representation of visual appearances, though they are realistic in detail and show great knowledge, if not study, of nature. The presentation of the various elements successively in a half bird's eye view with the horizon practically out of the picture makes obvious to one accustomed to the eastern and Indian convention a three dimensional effect; there is no crowding or overlapping of planes, while the mutual relations of the parts are unmistakable. The whole approach is realistic without idealisation. 'Both are the creation of a wild and fertile, not to say an uncanny, imagination'.[1]

The great skill of these craftsmen has also produced a number of portrait sculptures in these excavated monuments. At Nānāghāt there is a portrait gallery—very damaged—of the family of Śrī Śātakarṇi, noting the names of the members. These are the earliest Indian portrait-sculptures that we know of. At Kondāṇe is another portrait-sculpture which, according to the associated inscription in the script of the period, was fashioned by the sculptor Balaka, pupil of the master sculptor Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa), a significant name as Burgess remarks.[2] This too, perhaps the portrait of the donor of the Cave, is mutilated, but the skill of the sculptor is still visible in the careful chiselling of the elaborate head-dress. Such portrait sculptures of donor couples are to be found also in the *chaitya* halls of Kārle and Kaṇheri. These cave monuments received further attention at the hands of the Mahāyānists of the subsequent Gupta epoch.[3]

The earliest sculptures, still extant, from the structural *stūpas* of the east of India are few. They are the remains of what once adorned the *stūpas* of Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Jagayyapēṭa and Amarāvatī in its first period. More than Bhaṭṭiprōlu the ruins of which contained a number of beautiful relic caskets with inscriptions, the remains from Jagayyapēṭa have yielded some sculpture fragments. The most noteworthy among these reliefs are the many pilasters with campanulate capitals and addorsed winged animals, one representing a king surrounded by emblems of royalty and another representing a *puṇyaśālā* with worshippers, the form of which is of special

rider in a four-horsed chariot necessarily represents the Sun, nor everyone on an elephant Indra.

[1] For a detailed appreciation see Coomaraswamy, ibid. pp. 26-7

[2] Burgess, J., *Report on the Buddhist Cave temples and their inscriptions*, *ASWI.* IV p. 9 (London, 1883); Lüder's *List*, 1071.

[3] For example the sculptures depicting *pādukā* worship on the capitalsof some of the pillars in Kaṇheri, and Nāsik III, and the palimpsests of Buddha figures on the wall of the lower storey of the facade between the doorways.

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architectural interest. It is the portrayal of a shrine with a façade of four pillars, provided with a flight of steps in front. The central part enshrines a *Buddha-pāda* symbolic of the Buddha, protected by a parasol and with hanging garlands on either side, while the side compartments between the pillars have each a standing woman, one of whom holds a vase of flowers. The shrine is surmounted by another storey with an arched roof crowned with ornamental finials and *chaitya* windows at the sides. The Jagayyapēṭa reliefs are characterised by their flatness, spaciousness, and large elongated figures. The carving of a kingly figure standing by his horse, from Garikapāḍu is another fine example of this early sculpture.

The more numerous and well-studied reliefs and sculptures from Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa afford a better idea of the great school of sculpture that evolved and flourished in Andhradēśa for nearly six centuries commencing from about the close of the third century B.C. Amarāvatī as the greatest centre attracted the attention of patrons, devotees, and sculptors, and underwent great elaborations and remodellings during these centuries. Thus its reliefs, supplemented by those from the other great centre, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, exhibit a continuous series showing the development and richness of this school of sculpture.

As has been already mentioned, in Amarāvatī four periods of construction are easily discernible, and to one or other of these periods are related the sculptures found from the other *stūpa* sites of this region. The sculptures of the earliest period bear some resemblance to those of Bhārhut, but the later examples show more similarity to those of Mathurā in the Kushāṇa period. Through the successive stages one may observe an advance in technique and refinement.

To the first period dating from 200-100 B.C., to which the above-mentioned sculptures from Jagayyapēṭa are related in style and age, belong a few slabs which decorated the base of the *stūpa*. Many of these were in the fourth period reversed and carved on the other side, and similarly almost all the pieces from the plinth and a few coping fragments which are from an earlier raiḷ. The base slabs, as usual in early *stūpas*, depict pilasters at intervals with animals above bell-shaped capitals and devotees adoring the Buddha symbolically represented. The human and other figures in these sculptures are flat, possessing more strength than proportion, and are on a larger scale. The apparel, like the *dhoti* and the turban, and the ornaments are well delineated and being more than conventional adornments reflect contemporary modes. The figures of men and boys driving bulls, deer, and elephants are nicely done. The human figures are characterised by a certain amount of stiffness and by rather awkward poses devoid of graceful flexions; the animal forms are rather heavy, powerful, and elongate. The *makara*, which has not yet become the fantastic creature of succeeding epochs, and the lotus typical of Indian art are found here, and also an excellent example of the swan (*haṁsa*).

To the second period are to be attributed the casing slabs above the platform. These slabs dating from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 100 are broad

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and of varying heights containing superposed panels depicting in form the Buddha preaching, in addition to symbolic representations of the Master, e.g. vase or footprints placed on a throne or the *dharmachakra* or the *stūpa*; they bear a frieze of leonine animals and over them a double frieze of *triśūlas*. Their form and the inscriptions associated with them clearly indicate that they are earlier than the railings of the next period. The figures are more graceful and natural than those of the first period, the awkward and stiff bearing of the earlier time having disappeared. The features and physiognomy are nearer approaches to the sculptures of the subsequent periods. The slabs belonging to this period are more numerous than the fragments of the first period, though scarcer than those of the later periods. Taken together they depict successively the principal scenes of the Buddha's life, the Buddha almost always being represented by a symbol, though in two or three places he is personified,—the earliest cases of his personification on record. He is in human form only when shown as preaching and not in other scenes, for his enlightenment is represented by the Bodhi tree, the scene of his first sermon by the *dharmachakra* and his death by a *stūpa*. The important remains include the much weathered panel showing Aśoka watering the *Bōdhi* tree and the attempt of Māra's daughters and the gnomes to entice the Buddha. Here the feminine forms are cleverly executed and the composition approaches that of the later groups of succeeding periods. The sculpture showing Siddhārtha leaving his palace on his journey in search of truth is typical of symbolic representation. While the figures of men and women have become more graceful than in the earlier series, some trace of heaviness still cling to them. Worth noting is the fact that the women, as depicted in contemporary Mathurā sculptures, are draped and yet appear nude. That they are clothed is clear from the incised double lines over the legs showing the folds and lines of the apparel; but though the thick waist bands and loops are there, the arrangement of the small fan-like central *guchchha* to cover the nakedness, as in later sculptures, is sometimes absent.

The railing round the *stūpa* belonging to the third period (*c.* A.D. 150), carved carefully on either face, was about 13 feet high, formed of uprights planted at intervals with three cross-bars interconnecting every two of them and surmounted by a continuous coping 2′9″ high. The sculptures on the outer face of this compound rail were of a uniform and general type. On the uprights they consisted of a disc mid-way up, and the lower upper halves of a disc respectively near the top and bottom. These were rather conventional designs of the full lotus, embellished by beautiful leaves and creepers in concentric bands. At the two ends of the pillars above and below the half discs were bands depicting animals and flowers, and in the spaces between the discs were sculptures of the *stūpa*, the Buddha, the *nāga*, the tree etc., showing devotees above and dancing dwarfs below. The cross-bars were likewise embellished by discs with leaf-patterns. The coping was ornamented with a long wavy roll garland of flowers carried

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by human figures standing at intervals and holding one or other of the Buddhist symbols. On the inner side the rail was filled with a profusion of sculptures notable for their great elaboration and beauty of detail, representing scenes of sacred legend and of everyday life. The uprights bore on their inner sides the central disc and the semi-discs above and below and friezes of animals and flowers near the top and bottom, as on the outside. On the central discs and in the spaces above and below them were delicately carved reliefs depicting scenes from the Jātakas, episodes from the Buddha's life, and varied pictures of domestic and religious life often with a vivid local colour. The inner faces of the cross-bars connecting the pillars were likewise decorated by discs with concentric rings of floral and foliage design, the central disc alone in each being a panel of figure sculpture. The inner side of the coping too was filled with a variety of figure sculptures depicting scenes from life. Thus the inner surface of the railing, on the left of the circumambulating devotee, was almost entirely covered with sculptures narrating stories of the Buddha, the Jātakas, and other lively incidents, alike pleasing to the eye and instructive to the mind. This portrayal of the whole popular lore of the Buddhists at Amarāvatī for the edification of the circumambulating pious devotees was carried out on a grander scale in Borobudur which owes not a little to Amarāvatī art.[1]

Several converging lines of evidence suggest the conclusion that the railing came into existence in the latter half of the second century A.D. These are: the palaeography of the inscriptions on the rail; the information contained in another inscription[2] that in Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Pulamāvi's reign (*c.* A.D. 150) additions or embellishments were made to the *stūpa*[3] and the Tibetan tradition associating the Buddhist Āchārya Nāgārjuna with the construction of the rail.[4] This stone railing might have been a copy of an earlier wooden railing. Though much of it has been lost, the surviving portion is eloquent enough to show how noble and imposing a structure the whole must have been, the perfection of the art of the times. The sculptures on these railing pieces and components form the high-water mark of Andhra art and the most outstanding in the whole of India. The delicacy of the figures and the impression of a soft texture in them are remarkable. Even in crowded scenes there is still a light feeling in all flexions characterising poses, with a complete absence of the meretricious. All the figures are marked by a joyous vivacity. Crowded groups are arranged with facile mastery, aiming at balance rather than at perfect symmetry. Nevertheless, here and there we meet signs of meticulous adjustment designed to achieve an obvious symmetry. Even here in spite of the correspondence of numbers and positions on either side, the composition is markedly pleasing to the eye. A new feature, absent in the earlier

[1] Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*
[2] *ASSI.* I p. LVI, no. 1; Burgess, J., *Buddhist Stūpas of Amarāvatī & Jaggayapeta*
[3] *ASSI.* I p. 100; Lüders' *List*, 1248
[4] *EI.* XV pp. 259, 261; *ASSI.* I pp. 5, 11; *IA.* XII p. 88

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sculptures of Amarāvatī, is the delineation of different planes, now achieved with triumphant ease. The figures of the first plane are carved in deep relief; and the depth of cutting gradually diminishes with the successive planes so that the figures in the distance are in such low relief as to be almost indistinguishable from line sketches. Where the figures are cut obliquely this effect of depth is achieved by carving the near side in higher relief than the far side of the same figure—for example the shoulders in human figures. It is the same with animals; the nearer pairs of their legs and feet are cut in higher relief. Most remarkable of all is the skill displayed in the representation of scenes of action. In the story of Udayana and his queens sculptured on the uprights, nothing can be more vivid than the scene of Udayana's fierce stand bow in hand, and the frightened harem; or the story of the subjugation of the elephant Nalagiri (depicted on the cross-bar medallion), portraying the confusion created by the elephant running amok in the streets of Rājagṛiha; or, though much mutilated, the lively battle-scene from the coping. The sculpture of the railing period alone supplies us with a wealth of detail covering all aspects of contemporary life. Another noteworthy feature is that besides the other usual symbolic representations of the Buddha, e.g. the empty throne, a pair of feet etc., the symbol most often used is a flaming pillar above the paired feet resting on a lotus base and crowned by a *triśūla*.

The casing slabs of the fourth period, A.D. 200-250 though only six feet high, show more rich and elaborate carvings than the rail. These consisted of the many *chaitya* slabs all carved with reliefs of the *stūpa* itself, revealing every detail of its construction. These reliefs were obviously inspired by the sculptured *stūpa* and its railing, and so would be later in point of time than both; the palaeography of the inscriptions found on them confirms this. These slabs, along with the *chakra* pillars and the other slabs, some of them terminating in *stūpas*, formed the casing round the base, while the whole was surmounted by a continuous frieze. Some if not all the sculptures of this period are found carved on the original casing slabs which formed the first series covering the base of the *stūpa* in the earlier period, and which were carved with pilasters at intervals. These slabs were pulled out in the last period and were reset after their reverse sides had been re-carved in large panels showing *stūpas* with friezes. The figures in the sculptures of this period tend to grow taller and slimmer, though on the casing slabs with *stūpa* representation, they are somewhat diminutive in size. In this period also one sees the finest miniature sculptures on the small circular bosses, in the friezes, and on the casing slabs.

The statues of the Buddha in the round dating from the third century A.D. are magnificent and powerful creations more akin to the Ceylon than to the Mathurā type. They are severe, but the features are full, and the body is far from slender, the expression aristocratic and benign; the head is crowned with short curly hair.

The various stories illustrated in the reliefs involved the representation of abundant architectural detail—circular and rectangular huts, walled

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and moated cities, turreted city gates, *tōraṇas*, palace buildings, *stūpas*, chapels and an elaborate temple of the *Bodhi* tree. According to Coomaraswamy[1] it would hardly be possible to exaggerate the luxurious beauty and the technical proficiency of the Amarāvatī reliefs; 'this is the most voluptuous and the most delicate flower of Indian sculpture.'

In the second century A.D. (137-197) the apostle Nāgārjuna found a congenial place in the Kṛishṇā region for the propagation of his faith and the preservation of the southern congregations under the Śātavāhanas, who, though not Buddhists, patronised the creed and fostered the arts of building, sculpture, and painting; Nāgārjuna's successors found equally great patrons in the Ikshvāku rulers who were the contemporaries of the later Śātavāhanas and their heirs in that region. Like many of the Śātavāhana kings, they were not Buddhists themselves. Just as Amarāvatī became a great Buddhist centre of Nāgārjuna's association with the elaboration of its famous *stūpa* and by its proximity to Dhanakaṭaka, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, by similar association with him when he spent his final days on Śrī Parvata, became another great centre of Buddhism and art, situated as it was near Vijayāpurī, the Ikshvāku capital. Nowhere else have such extensive Buddhist remains been brought to light. It was mostly here that after the great age of Amarāvatī and the Śātavāhanas Buddhism and Buddhist art rose to prominence and flourished. The sculpture of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa on the same light-green limestone was thus a sequel to the earlier Amarāvatī school and had its beginnings contemporary with the third period of Amarāvatī art.

The carved vertical slabs mostly belong to the casing of the drum, about 2 feet wide and as much in height, and the favourite sculptures on them are the representations of the *stūpa*, while those adorning the more important *āyaka* platforms portray some leading event in the life of the Buddha, by scenes or symbols such as a wheel, throne, or *stūpa*. Above the drum, the slabs encasing the base of the dome are taller (2 ft. wide and 3 to 4 feet high) with a graded concavo-convex curvature that fitted on to the rising curve of the dome. Their fronts are separated into two or three horizontal panels, the topmost of which is a frieze ornament running continuously round the dome and marking the limit of the stone work, for what was beyond was finished in plaster and decorated in stucco. Sometimes the top frieze was built separately with smaller horizontal slabs specially cut for the purpose. This frieze was composed of a band of *yakshas* carrying an enormous festoon or garland. The slabs covering the base of the dome, called *tōraṇa* or frieze-slabs for the above reason, are also carved with delightful representations of the *pūrṇaghaṭa*, the *triśūla*, the *stūpas*, and lions in groups of five. The panels in these contained scenes illustrating the Jātakas.

Amongst the events of Buddha's life, the most popular to be depicted are his descent from heaven in the form of a white elephant, queen Māya's

[1] Coomaraswamy, op. cit., pp. 70-1

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conception, the casting of his horoscope after his birth, the great renunciation, the transportation of Gautama's head-dress to heaven, the scene of temptation, the Nāga-Muchalinda protecting the Buddha from rain with his broad hood, the first sermon in the deer-park at Sārnāth, and the *mahāparinirvāṇa* represented by the *stūpa*. Besides the vertical slabs of the dome, the *āyaka* cornice stones also portray the Jātakas. The panels of the latter, especially, are separated from one another by figures in bas-relief of a pair of lovers, *yakshas*, or *nāgas*, forming purely decorative parts and not connected with the story in the panels. The ends of these cornice stones projected outside the platform in the form of brackets ornamented with *makaras* having male and female (*yaksha*) riders standing on them, the whole resembling woodwork. Below the panels was a row of medallions in the form of tiny leogryphs extending from end to end.

Besides the scenes from the Jātakas and the Buddha's life, there are others portraying local life, with incidents which are, perhaps, historical. The panels are permeated with an air of realism, and the attractive and spirited figures are marked by elegance, movement and expression. The tone and texture of the stone, the plastic quality of the work, and the smoothness of the chiselling with lines and shadows combine to stamp the impression of supple and living flesh. Among the animals, the elephants are sculptured to perfection.

In Amarāvatī, as also in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, sculptors showed themselves adept not only in the conventional symbolic representation of things and events but also in narrative sculpture, a field in which they exercised their superb talents with equal effect in the composition of a panel, in balancing a group, in the distinction of planes and in the sequence of narrative. They excel likewise in the synoptic method of introducing one scene into another and showing the same character in the same piece more than once in order to tell the story concisely. As examples, one could quote the wonderful scene of Nalagiri running amok in the streets of Rājagṛiha and the subjugation of the elephant in the same piece on the medallion of the upright, and again, the panel depicting the story of Udayana and his queens, from Amarāvatī.

The important sculptures from the Vijayāpurī site in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa are on five handsome stone pillars recently excavated. The peculiar ornamentation and the semi-classical portraits carved on these are noteworthy because they recall Graeco-Roman and Scythian types. For example, the two figures of a bearded soldier (a Scythian warrior—*kanchuki*—wearing a Roman helmet, a quilted long-sleeved tunic and trousers with a *kamarband*-like sash of cloth, holding a heavy spear) perhaps indicate the figures and accoutrement of exotic elements in the soldiery employed by the South Indian kings. This idea gains strength from the example of an inscribed *Buddha-pāda*, donated by a Śaka lady, discovered in Monastery II. The other sculpture is a Bacchanalian scene, portraying a male figure, nude to the waist, holding a drinking horn (rhyton) in his left hand, while standing on the ground near his foot is a wine jar covered with an

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inverted cup, the whole supposed to be a crude copy of Dionysus. Such instances of classical occidental figures are to be traced to the active sea-borne trade between the Roman empire and Southern India in the first three centuries after Christ; other examples from Arikameḍu near Pondicherry are known.

To the last period of Amarāvatī belong the fine sculptures from the *stūpa* near Gōli in the Guntur district. Remarkable are the similarity of subject matter, finish and pose, the style of grouping of the figures, and the resemblance in size and form of the paired couples separating one scene from another in the friezes. The costumes of the Buddha closely resemble those found in the fourth period at Amarāvatī.

The sculptures from the Buddhist sites at Chinna Ganjam, Pedda Ganjam, Kanuparti, Allūru, Gummaḍiduṟṟu etc. are mostly akin to the later sculptures of Amarāvatī. Of these the big *stūpa* at Gummadiḍuṟṟu (Rāmireḍḍipalle)[1] had around its base (when excavated) 34 reliefs encircling the *stūpa* mound on the same type of grey limestone as at Amarāvatī, all damaged at the top. These comprise larger slabs with the *stūpa* relief alternating with narrower reliefs or steles. The sculptures are excellent and well preserved; some of the *chaitya* slabs (with reliefs of the *stūpa* complete) have a seated Buddha in the centre, while others have a symbol in his place. The Buddha is curly-haired, full-robed and haloed, often seated in the preaching attitude. In one case, the central figure wears a head-dress and bangles like the kings of later date. The steles are decorated with the figure of a pillar or a tree, with a wheel or trident at the top, and deer, *svastika* or the feet of the Buddha below accompanied by the usual devotees or donors. One of the reliefs, exceptional in being undamaged at the top, is of much interest. It is a fine sculpture of Buddha standing in the preaching attitude; on its right is a deer, and lower down a kneeling figure. A long complete frieze depicts in one panel a royal court with musicians; in the other, separated by a panel of a pair of figures, a royal procession is going to worship the Buddha. Besides these fine figures, the lotus, vase, and other ornaments occur in profusion. From its inscriptions the *stūpa* and its sculptures are to be assigned to the second or third century A.D.

Besides the bas-relief representation of the Buddha, stone images in the round, some of large size, are known from Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Pedda Ganjam, Śālihuṇḍam, Guṇṭupalle, Allūru and Vidyādharapuram (Bezwada). All of them belong to the fourth period and the Mahāyāna. In the Mahāyāna period images of the Buddha were set up at the cardinal points of the *stūpa* and in the small chapels adjoining it and in the *chaityas* of the monasteries (*Buddha chaitya*). The Amarāvatī, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Bezwada and Pedda Ganjam specimens are of the marble-like stone.

Buddha images of large size made of brick and mortar and covered by

[1] *ASIAR.* 1926-7, pp. 152-6, 189-90

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stucco, representing the earlier mode prior to stone statuary, are known from Śālihuṇḍam. The stucco ornamentation over the uncased parts of the *stūpa* has been mentioned before. Even the bas-reliefs seem to have been covered originally with thin plaster, coloured and gilt; the effect must have been heightened by such colouring.[1]

PAINTING

Painting on relievos or on plain surfaces developed markedly in the period. References to and descriptions of the art of painting are numerous in contemporary Tamil literature. The Tamil word for painting was *ōviyam*. In a *Kalittogai* verse a lover describes his love as a picture wrought by Manmatha, the son of Neḍiyōn.[2] The colourful pageant of the parallel rows of shops and stalls of Madurai is likened to a painted scene in a passage in *Madurai-k-kāñji*. The *Paripāḍal* remarks in one context. 'if we think of these we are reminded of the charm of a master's painting.' References to painters and the principles of their art are more frequent and detailed in Tamil works of a slightly later period.

Murals were clearly done on the surface of white lime-plaster laid over the walls,[3] and paintings were executed on waxed cloth. Such a painted cloth canopy, depicting the twelve *rāśis* of the zodiac, the sun and the moon, and the moon with his ever constant consort Rohiṇī spread above the cot of the Pāṇḍya king, is described in *Neḍunalvāḍai*.

The palette seems to have been much restricted and the principal colours employed were perhaps only five in number namely red (as the colour of Śiva or Murugan), black (as that of Kṛishṇa), white (as that of Baladeva), green and blue, and possibly tints derived from them during actual execution. Three kinds of brushes are mentioned, *vaṭṭigai*, *tukiligai* or *thurigai* and *lēgai* (*lēkhā*).

Such a well-developed art with an advanced technique produced also a treatise on the art of painting called *Ōviya-ch-chennūl* referred to in the *Maṇimēkalai*[4] as meant for the use of the *danseuse*.

Literary tradition on this art in Sanskrit is older, dating from the time of the Vedas, the epics and the Jātakas. Ushā's dream youth and her maid Chitralekha's portraits of all the deities and great men of the time in one of which she identified the likeness of her dream companion Aniruddha, and her ultimate union with him, is an outstanding instance. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the painted halls, and the *Vinaya Piṭaka* refers to several pleasure-houses of king Pasenadi containing picture halls (*chittāgāra*). Thus painting both sacred and secular was mostly mural.

Against this rich literary evidence, the specimen of the art revealed by the extant fragments in Jogimara cave in the Ramgarh hills near Sirguja

[1] Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 70; Smith, V. A., *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 155-6

[2] *Kalittogai* 23

[3] *Neḍunalvāḍai l.* 10. *Maṇimēkalai* vi *l.* 43, ibid. iii *l.* 130

[4] *Maṇimēkalai* ii *ll.* 30-2

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dated about the second century B.C. is apt to leave one unconvinced. But painting is a form of expression the very materials of which are of obvious impermanence, and the extant Jogimara frescoes by accident typify only a very poor specimen of a rich and developed art. This will be confirmed by an examination of the earlier paintings extant in Ajaṇṭā, now assigned on stylistic and epigraphic grounds to the same period as Jogimara—the second and first centuries before Christ, and some to the first three centuries after Christ, the only surviving examples of an early art of a very rich character. These paintings are confined to Caves X and IX and are partially overlaid by later ones. The figures in them bear a great resemblance to the sculptures of Sāñchī and Bhārhut and the contemporary rock-cut *chaityas* in the west of the Deccan. These paintings represent indigenous types of noble quality, more vigorous and less highly refined than those of the Gupta period. A painted inscription in Cave X on the left wall behind the third pillar has now been assigned to the second century B.C. while another inscription on the façade is still earlier. The affinity of the early paintings of this cave with those of Cave IX indicates that they are contemporary,[1] their style being one in which the artist depicts the story in a plain and direct manner without many decorative embellishments. The art is well developed, the drawing firm and accurate, showing due regard to proportion and the three dimensions. The grouping of the figures in the composition of scenes reveals a balanced judgment and a refined taste in the choice of poses. The palette is restricted to a few colours—red and yellow ochre, terre-verte, lamp black, and white of lime.[2] The figures do not lack expression and grace and show considerable religious fervour.

The painted inscription referred to is the earliest palaeographically and is in brown pigment superposed on the painted scene, and is, according to Chakravarti,[3] datable to the second century B.C. Though fragmentary, it seems to be a label explaining the subject-matter of the painting.[4] The scene depicts the arrival of a king with his ladies and a child followed by a retinue of soldiers, and his worship of the *Bodhi* tree, an event celebrated by the music and dance of a bevy of maidens on the other side of the tree. The king, who is leading and paying homage to the *Bodhi* tree bedecked with flying banners, has a princely appearance and instead of a crown wears his hair arranged in a knot encircled by a jewelled fillet and rising like the hood of a snake. The five ladies on his left look at his face as he worships the tree, while the rest watch from behind. The women are scantily dressed but heavily adorned with jewellery—bangles, necklaces, and ear ornaments,—their pretty coiffures are varied, and display several styles. The group of musicians on the other side, all women, are similarly dressed and decked, and while two of them blow trumpets, many

[1] Yazdani, G., *Ajaṇṭā*, Text III, 1946, p. 2
[2] Paramasivan, S., *HAR.* 1936-37, App. A, pp. 25-30
[3] Chakravarti, Dr. N. P., 'Note on the painted inscriptions in the caves'; Yazdani, ibid. pp. 86-7
[4] Ibid. pp. 26-8 pll. xxv a, b, xxvi & xxvii a, b, xxiv b, xxviii a & xxiv c.

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dance about clapping their hands, in graceful poses, while a few sit on wicker stools perhaps watching or singing to the accompaniment of the clap-dance (*kummi*). The soldiers in the retinue are interesting. Most of them are spearmen, but there is a mace-bearer also, and some are armed with bow and arrows or with curved swords or axes. They are bare-headed and wear short-sleeved jackets. Their accoutrement portraying contemporary style ought to interest a student of the military history of India. Behind the musicians are a mango and a banyan tree.

This painting on the back wall of Cave x is continued on the left wall, where the scene shifts and shows the royal party worshipping a *stūpa*, which is crowned with a flag and an umbrella with flying *apsaras* above it. Commencing from the left one notices ten votaries in prayerful attitudes with hands folded in *añjali*, and on the other side there remain four figures of an originally larger group. There is a mango tree in the background. The garments, ornaments, and head-gear of these figures are similar to those of the group in Cave IX. On the same left wall, after a gap, the scene of the royal visit to the *stūpa* seems to be continued showing the royal procession passing through the *tōraṇa* gate of the *stūpa*, which incidentally is similar to that of Sāñchī. The elephant outside raises its trunk in salute. The group in the right half of the fresco, though somewhat confusing, seems to portray the arrival and return of the royal procession, the royal personages riding on elephants accompanied by umbrella and *chauri* bearers. One elephant carries on its head a *pūrṇa-kumbha* (a full vase), cornucopia-like with leaves rising from its mouth.

The scenes reveal the attempt of the artist to portray human life in all its aspects. The entire scene is well conceived and executed, the depiction revealing art of a high order that must have been developing for a long time. The figures give a good idea of contemporary dress and ornaments. The outline of the bodies is in dark red or black, the lines firm and graceful, the bodies depicted in the round and animated. The colours used are yellow ochre, red ochre, terre-verte and lamp black, and there is no attempt to show light and shade effects by use of lighter or darker tints or mixture as in the later Ajaṇṭā paintings.

The two scenes[1] depicting a *Nāga* king with his attendants from an unidentified Jātaka story on the inner side of the front wall of Cave ix above the left window would be of about the first century B.C. The subject-matter in the first panel consists of a mango tree in flower and fruit, drawn somewhat conventionally, beneath which are seated two persons scantily dressed and wearing loin cloths and turbans formed of a strip of silk intertwined with the hair in the form of an apical knob; while the headgear of one is shaded by a seven-hooded cobra, the other has a single-hooded cobra. In contrast to the dress, the jewellery is profuse—wheel-shaped ear ornaments, broad strings of necklaces of pearl with golden clasps, ornamented armlets and heavy wristlets. The figures are small and

[1] Ibid. Text, pp. 15-16, pl. xv a & xvi a

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strong-limbed, with oval faces, short noses and bright eyes. The heads of both indicate careful modelling in the original, the outline having been marked in dark red which has produced an effect of volume in painting. The adjoining panel to the right, separated from the first by the conventional bands representing hills, or buildings, is much damaged. It shows a king and his two attendants, one holding an umbrella, the other a fly whisk. Five persons supplicate in front of the king, sitting with their hands in *añjali*, while two more behind them stand and watch. Over all these are maidens (*apsarasas*) flying towards the king. The dress and ornaments of these figures are similar to those in the adjoining panel. The delineation of the bodies of the men is very realistic and indicates a variety of poses, natural and graceful.

Continuous with this on the left wall is the scene showing a group of sixteen votaries approaching a *stūpa*.[1] The artist's love of variety is exhibited in the different patterns of head-gear (made up of intertwined strips of cloth and hair ending in top knots or forming turbans), the varied decoration of the waist bands, and the different poses of the hands of the devotees in paying homage to the *stūpa*. The artist's grouping of the figures is entirely natural and he successfully conveys an idea of movement in the entire party approaching the *stūpa*. The *stūpa* itself stands inside an enclosing wall with two entrances, one with a barrel-vaulted roof as in the *chaityas* of Kārle, Bhājā, Beḍsā and Kondāṇe, and the other with a *toraṇa* entrance as at Sāṇchī. The *stūpa* is crowned by a multitude of umbrellas, and on the right half of the court in front is a group of musicians with trumpet, drum, conch, and discs, one of them, a woman, bending in rhythmic movement beating the disc. The other figures are indistinct. Outside the *stūpa* enclosure to the right is depicted a monastery with two courts, beyond what appear to be two trees, *pipal* and banyan. The apartments of the monastery have barrel-vaulted roofs. Outside the monastery to the right are two standing figures with hands in *abhayamudrā* as if in benediction. The final scene of the story drawn on the right of this shows the votaries assembled in a grove, the five seated persons engaged in animated conversation with a standing one. Their homeward journey is indicated perhaps by the flight of *apsarasas* towards a house painted at the extreme right in which are to be seen four women, one seated on a couch with a maid close to her. The other two are in the court of the house, sitting beside a fire and talking.

To about the first century B.C. would also belong the powerful delineation above the pillars of the nave on the left side of Cave IX of the frieze of animals and strong men trying to control them by hugging their necks or pulling their tails. This *motif* of men of herculean strength controlling wild animals, for instance a lion which one pulls by its tail, a tiger-like mythical animal with the head and horns of an antelope, or a bull whose tail is slipping from the man's hold are all similar to the sculptured friezes

[1] Ibid. Text, pp. 17-19 & pll. xvi b, c, xvii a

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in Kudā, Nāsik and other places.[1] The attitudes of the animals straining at the leash are realistically painted, as also the poses and movements of the men controlling them. One of the men wears a conical cap, a scarf round his arm and back as in a relief on the façade of the *chaitya* at Kondāṇe.[2]

The *Śyāma jātaka* painted in four episodes on the right wall of Cave x, behind the pillars 11-15 and the damaged *Shaḍ-dantajātaka* painted on the back wall of the right aisle in the same cave behind pillars 2-12 may be assigned to the end of our period, viz. the third to fourth century A.D. In the *Śyāma jātaka* the commencing panels shows the king of Kāśi shooting an arrow. He is followed by five attendants, with head-gear like his, and five retainers scantily dressed and in loin cloths, holding spears, bows, and arrows like the five attendants, three of whom hold shields of hide in addition. The king's horse stands behind, and, like all the horses of Ajaṇṭā, is rather badly portrayed. The king in a long coat with short sleeves and a girdle round his waist is shown well poised with bent knee drawing the bow-string in his right hand to the ear, the left fully outstretched holding the bow. A spirit in human form on one of the two banana trees in front apparently tempts him to release the arrow. The next panel shows the dutiful youth Śyāma, between the two banana trees, carrying a pitcher of water on his shoulder, and with the poisoned arrow piercing him through his heart from his right side to the left. There also stands the repentant king vowing to serve Śyāma's blind parents with all the devotion of the son they had lost by his folly. The third episode depicts the blind parents in agony feeling the wounded body of Śyāma before making the solemn asseveration along with Bahusodarī, the goddess, who revived Śyāma and restored the sight of the blind parents. The resurrected Śyāma is seen addressing the king who is wonder-struck. The deer which were Śyāma's companions in the forest are also shown galloping towards his cottage as if to inform the parents about his death. The last episode depicts Śyāma sitting on a deer-skin in front of his hut and teaching the 'ten duties of a king and the five precepts' to the rājā, while a buck and doe gaze at him with meek affection. This narration is remarkable for its rich imagery.

The episodes of the *Shaḍ-danta jātaka* or the story of the six-tusked elephant faithfully reproduce all the details of the story; the slight modification of their order was perhaps made purposely by the artist who, for the sake of impression, separates the scenes of animal life and the beauty of natural scenery from those depicting human feelings wherein 'the gloom of pathos is repelled by the light of religious feelings.' The narration commences with the wild life of the elephants in dense forest and marshy terrain infested by alligators and pythons, and closes with the crowded palace scenes and a royal procession marching to worship a *stūpa* and *vihāra* ; in between

[1] See Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pl. vii a. The one on the outer wall of Cave III at Nāsik is in slightly modified form.

[2] Yazdani, 'Sculpture of the Deccan : An Artistic Study' *Silver Jubilee Vol.* Bhandarkar Institute, pp. 967-80

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is depicted the bath of the royal elephant in the lake of lotuses and his favourite resort under the huge banyan tree. The first panel depicts the forest scene with a herd of elephants, one trying to extricate itself from the coils of a huge python holding on to its hind legs, the other elephants coming to its rescue with their trunks raised as if trumpeting in unison with their agonised mate. Another elephant above is triumphantly trampling on an alligator laid on its back, whose jaws are gaping with pain. Next comes the royal elephant shown in larger proportions than the accompanying herd, with six tusks and speckles of pollen on his body. His tail is raised, indicative of his having scented danger, and the same feeling is emphasised by his mates with their trunks raised as if trumpeting in warning. Further to the right the royal elephant lies prostrate while the hunter Sonuttara hacks out his tusk with a saw. The hunter wears a striped long coat with short sleeves. Next comes the panel in which a favourite attendant of the Bodhisattva had plucked a lotus flower and presented it to him. The incident where the Bodhisattva after sprinkling its pollen on his head placed it in the trunk of his wife Mahā Subhaddā, much to the chagrin of his other wife, the jealous Chulla Subhaddā, is shown next. Here the royal elephant presents the flower to another elephant (Mahā Subhaddā) at his side, who extends her trunk to receive it. Next is shown the lotus lake with lotuses in various stages of bloom in which the Bodhisattva sports with his mates and herd. The Bodhisattva is easily recognised among the herd by his six tusks and large size. The delineation of the elephants with variously coiled trunks and poses shows the mastery of the artist in depicting this favourite and familiar animal. Adjoining this lake scene is the *sāl* tree of the jātaka story which the Bodhisattva is said to have shaken with the result that the flowers and pollen fell on Mahā Subhaddā while only the red ants and dry leaves fell on Chulla Subhaddā who was standing on the windward side. This was another incident which increased the jealousy of Chulla Subhaddā and made her pray to be born as the queen of the Rājā of Kāśi in order to wreak vengeance on this faithless elephant. The picture here shows the royal elephant standing under his favourite banyan tree with his herd beside him, while flowers are falling from the *sāl*. To the right of the banyan tree is shown conventionally the golden cliff from which a hunter with a bow looks at the Bodhisattva. Below in a niche amidst conventional bands is a seated figure of Bodhisattva in human form and a woman, Chulla Subhaddā in her second life, lying prostrate in front. These insets portray the royal elephant, on seeing the hunter coming for him, visualising Chulla Subhaddā's whole plot which would culminate in her remorse and repentance. At the end of the last scene are two women seated on a ledge, probably watching for the return of the hunter with the tusks of the elephant. Then comes the picture of the royal palace at Kāśi where the hunter Sonuttara and his companions have brought the tusks, and Subhaddā, who has asked for them, faints on seeing them, smitten with remorse at the injury done to her erstwhile lord. The king supports the fainting queen by putting one arm behind her back and holding her

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shoulder by the other; a maid nearby fans her, another brings water, a third offers her a drink, a fourth sitting at her feet massages them while another stands with her hand placed against her mouth in anxiety and sorrow. The maid holding the umbrella over the royal couple stands looking at the trophy brought, the sight of which seems to have struck the entire court with consternation. The entire scene is dramatic, and is heightened in effect both by the details and poses and by the skilful grouping. The drawing is perfect and the brush work fine. The adjoining scene is again laid in the palace showing the king of Kāśi and the queen in court issuing orders to the hunters to fetch the tusks of the royal elephant. Next to it is the scene showing Subhaddā's bedroom, where she sits pensive on a wicker stool near her bed with two anxious maids by her side and the king standing near the bed soothing her by words. This represents Subhaddā's feigned illness, which she said could be cured only by bringing the tusks of the royal elephant. The last scene shows the king and queen and her maids proceeding to a *chaitya* for worship.[1] The architectural style of the *chaitya* is a replica of Cave x when its façade was complete. The *stūpa* to the left of the *chaitya* is decked with flags. The artistic conception and technical skill of high quality exhibited by this painting makes it an important landmark in the art history of Ajaṇṭā.

The fragments of painting extant in the Beḍsā, Bhājā, Pitālkhorā, Kārle and Kaṇheri *chaityas* await detailed study and dating. The Nāsik rock-excavations too were apparently painted as at Ajaṇṭā though all of it has disappeared. That Cave III at Nāsik was painted would be clear from the inscriptions relating to donations for its painting.[2] There were also paintings in Pitālkhora as in Ajaṇṭā. Dubreuil discovered a layer of painting under a not very old whitewash in the *chaitya* hall at Beḍsā which he considered to be of the third-fourth centuries A.D.[3] So far, the picture of a seductive young woman has been exposed. The faded figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the Bhājā *chaitya* may belong to the fifth century and later.

PLATES LI TO LXXXII HAVE REFERENCE TO THIS CHAPTER.

[1] Yazdani surmises that this refers to the worship of the *stūpa* after the wedding of Subhaddā with the king of Kāśi; after she won his affections, she feigned illness and required the tusks of the royal elephant to be brought as a cure. Others have suggested that this scene differs from the original jātaka version; Subhaddā did not die but only fainted and as expiation for her cruel act ordered the building of a *chaitya* and a *stūpa* over the elephant's remains. The procession according to this interpretation represents the king and queen going to pay homage to the last remains of the Bodhisattva-Yazdani, op. cit. III, Text, p. 36 & *n.*

[2] Gupte, Y. R., *Potdar Commem. Vol.*, Poona 1950, p. 292

[3] Aravamuthan T. G., 'A Fragment of Ancient Painting in the Dekhan,' *JOR.* XIII

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Chapter XXIV

CULTURAL AND COLONIAL EXPANSION : CENTRAL ASIA, CHINA AND THE FAR EAST

It is difficult to know precisely how far back the contact of India with Central Asia goes. The Aśokan inscriptions refer to the Yona, the Bactrian Greeks, and the Kāṁbojas about whose location there is great controversy. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya contains a reference to *Chīna-paṭṭa*, Chinese silk, but that also is not regarded as precisely historical evidence.[1]

On the other hand we get different cosmologies in the early Buddhist texts as well as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* which mention a number of nomadic peoples of Central Asia. These cosmologies are not dated but some of the notions contained in them certainly go back to the third century B.C. The Buddhist texts mention four continents spread around the central mount Meru in the following order : in the south Jambudvīpa, in the north Uttarakuru, in the west Aparagodāna, and in the east Pūrvavideha. Jambudvīpa was generally speaking India according to the Buddhists. Uttarakuru, Ottorrogorras of the classical writers, was in Chinese Turkestan. Godāna was the name by which Khotan was known in ancient times. The ancient Chinese transcription of the name as Yu-t'ien was in early pronunciation (*g*)*iu-den*, i.e. Godāna.[2]

Besides these continents the early Buddhist texts also mention such people as Chīna, Kauśikam, Khasa, Bāhlhi, Tukhāra, Pahlava, Pārata, Śaka, Vokkana and Ramaṭha. The *Rāmāyaṇa* locates to the north of Gandhāra and Madraka-Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Bāhlika, Ṛishika, Chīna, Aparachīna, Tukhāra, Varvara, Kāṁboja, Darada, Kirāta, Ṭaṇkaṇa and Paśupāla. The *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas, which contain information of different periods mixed up, mention the same peoples and many others in addition. The Śaka, Yavana, Pārada, Kāṁboja etc. are more or less well known from various other sources. The Tukhāras were the people of Tokharistan mentioned in the early Chinese records as Ta-hia. Some of the people mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* such as Śūlika, or Chulika, Kuśika or Kuchika, Charmakhaṇḍika are of known identity. Śūlikas were the Sogdians, Kuśikas—probably the people of Kucha, Charmakhaṇḍikas—probably the people of Samarkand. The Vokkanas were the people of Wakhan region.

The mention of these people in texts which may be safely placed in the third and second centuries B.C. shows that India had already established contact with these people either directly or through intermediaries.

[1] See *ante* ch. iii p. 74

[2] P. C. Bagchi, 'On the rôle of Central Asian nomads in the history of India', *JGIS.* x pp. 107-11

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Trade played an important part in these contacts. The first two lay converts of Buddha, Trapusa and Bhallika, belonged to the Bāhlika country and they were the first to build topes in their own city on their return. Hiuan Tsang testifies to the existence of these topes in the vicinity of Balkh.[1] This may be an old legend but not without significance. The first Chinese envoy to Ta-hia (Tokharistan), Chang-K'ien, records the presence of Indian merchants in that country who were intermediaries between South-West China and the Oxus valley, their caravan routes passing through Northern India.

To the same stock of legends also belongs the story of the colonisation of Khotan by Kunāla, the son of Aśoka. Kunāla had been sent as viceroy to Takshaśilā by Aśoka to quell a local rebellion. He did it successfully. He was then blinded during his stay at Takshaśilā by the agents of his step-mother Tishyarakshitā. The nobles of the prince's court, indignant at this outrage, left the country in a body, took him with them and set him up as king in Khotan. The Buddhist rulers of Khotan claimed descent from him.[2]

Another Buddhist legend places[3] the story of the conversion of Khotan to Buddhism much earlier and in the time of Buddha. This time also it is a merchant who is instrumental in introducing Buddhism in the country. The king of Khotan was not a believer in Buddhism. A merchant brought with him an Indian monk named Vairochana and having left him under an apricot tree to the south of the city went to inform the king with a view to bring him to his senses. The king felt annoyed and went to see the monk. The monk told him : 'The Tathāgata has sent me to order you to build a *stūpa* so that you may enjoy great and eternal prosperity.' The king said : 'If you can show me your Buddha I will obey you.' A miracle was then performed. Buddha's son Rāhula came there in the form of Buddha and left his shadow there. The king was highly impressed and built a *stūpa* on the spot. The story is also told by Hiuan Tsang in a slightly different form and it says that the monk Vairochana came from Kashmir.

Although the Aśokan inscriptions do not recount the details of all the Buddhist missionary activity of the period, the Aśokan cycle of legends speak more of it. It is said that after the Council of Pāṭaliputra, Tissa Moggaliputta sent missionaries to various lands. Mahinda, the son of Aśoka, was sent to Ceylon, Majjhantika to Kashmir and Gandhāra, the Yona Dhammarakkhita to Aparānta, Mahādhammarakkhita to Mahārāshṭra, and Mahārakkhita to the Yona country. Missionaries were also sent to Suvaṇṇabhūmi (Burma).

[1] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I pp. 111-3

[2] Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 156-60. The story is somewhat different in the 'Annals of the Li Country', translated by F. W. Thomas, *Tibetan Texts and Documents*, I p. 98. According to this work, it was Kustana, an abandoned son of Aśoka, brought up by the king of China, who became king of Khotan. He was joined by Yasa, a minister of Aśoka who went to Khotan with a host of other people from India.

[3] Thomas, ibid. p. 106; Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II p. 312; Chavannes, 'Voyage de Song-yun", *BEFEO*. III pp. 388-429

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Continuous movements of Central Asian tribes towards India after the downfall of the Maurya empire show that they already had some contact with Indians and acquired some knowledge of the country. The stories which point to the spread of Indian Buddhism to Central Asia either in the time of Aśoka or in the pre-Aśokan days seem to possess a kernel of truth.

The first official mention of India in the Chinese annals is in connection with the mission of Chang-k'ien to Ta-hia (138-126 B.C.)[1] In his report to the emperor, he refers to the country of Shen-tu (India) to the south-east of the Yüe-chi country. But a connection between India and China must have been established earlier in an unofficial way. The story that Buddhist missionaries went to the court of the Ts'in emperor She Huang (217 B.C.) may be a later Buddhist forgery, but Chang-k'ien's reference to trade relations between South-West China (Sse-chuan and Yunnan) and India clearly speaks of a trade route (which might roughly correspond to the modern Yunnan road) existing before his time. Moreover, the Chinese Taoist philosopher Liu-ngan (Huai-nan-tseu) who died in 122 B.C. makes use of a cosmology in his book which is clearly of Buddhist inspiration. This cosmology speaks of nine regions (chou, *dvīpa*) spread around a central mount which is identified with the Kun-lun. This Kun-lun contains the various heavens, the abode of the different kinds of gods and culminates in the highest heaven. The disposition of the heavens is exactly what we find in the cosmology of the Buddhist texts where the central mount is the Meru to the north of the Himavant mountain. Whether the identification of the Meru with the Kun-lun is due to Huai-nan-tseu or not can hardly be determined now. But all later Chinese Buddhist writers accepted the identification without question. Huai-nan-tseu also was acquainted with some Buddhist jātaka stories and made use of them. It is thus probable that relations between China and India had been established through different channels before the time of Han Wu-ti (140 B.C.) and the interest of the Emperor in the Western countries being thus aroused, he despatched the mission of Chang-k'ien. The earliest mention of China in Indian literature may go back to the last years of the Imperial Ts'in dynasty (209 B.C.).

Regular communication between India on one hand and China and Central Asia on the other was probably not established before the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C. This was the direct result of the foundation of the Yüe-chi empire in the Oxus valley and the gradual subjugation of the Hiung-nu in Central Asia after a series of Chinese military expeditions in that region. After the visit of Chang-k'ien to the Yüe-chi court friendly relations were established between the Chinese and the Yüe-chi governments. There is official mention of the presentation of Buddhist books and relics to the Chinese court by the Yüe-chi in the year 2 B.C. Buddhist monks must have accompanied the mission.

[1] Pelliot, 'Deux Itineraires de Chine en Inde', *BEFEO.* IV p. 143

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Buddhism had also penetrated China either by the sea route or the Yunnan route or by both towards the beginning of the Christian era. About the middle of the first century A.D. a Chinese prince of the Yang-ts'e valley showed a leaning towards this new religion and patronised Buddhist monks. Buddhism was put on an officially recognised footing in China about A.D. 68, when the Emperor Ming received the two Indian Buddhist monks, Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmaratna (? Chu-Fa-lan) in Lo-yang, had the first Buddhist monastery of *Po-ma-sse* built for them and encouraged the translation of a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese. Thereafter Buddhism prospered steadily on Chinese soil.

India had about this time passed into the hands of the Kushāṇas, a branch of the Yüe-chi. The Kushāṇa empire at this time extended from the Oxus valley to Benares, and most probably included Khotan and Kashgar under its greatest ruler Kaniskha. Kanishka was a great champion of the Buddhist cause and emulated the example of Aśoka in patronising the great Buddhist scholars of the period; he called a grand Buddhist council, and built the largest and most magnificent Buddhist temple at the capital city Purushapura (Peshawar) which became a model for the Buddhist architects of Serindia and China in later times. Kanishka also encouraged Buddhist missionary activities abroad. Buddhist historical tradition bears formal testimony to this and says : 'He gave patronage to and spread the teachings of Buddha in India, Shu-lei (Kashgar), Kuei-tseu (Kucha), Ni-pa-lei (Nepala), Chen-tan (Chinasthāna, China), Ta-li (Yunnan), Si-hia and other countries.'[1]

It was in the Kushāṇa period that the southern part of Eastern Turkestan came under the influence of the Yüe-chi and became a sort of cultural colony of India. In a number of kingdoms in this part—Shu-lei (Kashgar), Khotan, Che-mo-tan (Chalmadana, Cher-chen) up to the very frontier of China (Tun-huang), Indian and Yüe-chi settlers were found; an Indian dialect akin to the language of the Western Panjab became the official language in some of the states, and rulers claiming Indian descent ruled the country. This has been amply attested by the Kharoshṭhī records in Prākṛit which belong to this period and were discovered near the Niya region to the east of Khotan. Buddhism was the universally accepted religion in this region, as is proved not only by the archaeological finds but also from the Chinese sources.

The Chinese Buddhist sources mention an illustrious Buddhist monk of Lo-yang named Chu She-hing who had come to Khotan for his studies in the middle of the third century A.D. He studied Buddhism under the Indian teachers who were found in numbers in Khotan at this period, and collected a number of Buddhist texts which he sent to China either in the original or in translation. He himself remained in Khotan till his death. Fa-hien also came to Khotan towards the close of the fourth century on his way to India. His account of Khotan clearly shows that it had become

[1] P. C. Bagchi, '*Jñeyaprakāśa-Śāstra* of Saskya Pandita,' *Sino-Indian Studies*, II pp. 136-56

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a great centre of Buddhist studies long before his time. All the inhabitants of Khotan in his day were Buddhist and the monks numbered several myriads, most of whom were students of the Mahāyāna. There were numerous monasteries in the capital, but the largest and the most important was the Gomatī-mahāvihāra. It belonged to Mahāyāna and was inhabited by three thousand monks. There was another monastery which Fa-hien calls 'King's New Monastery' (Navavihāra) 'the building of which took eighty years and extended over three reigns.' Its construction therefore had begun by the beginning of the fourth century. Fa-hien while speaking of the wealth and importance of this monastery in Eastern Turkestan says: 'Of whatever things of highest value and preciousness the kings in the six countries on the east of the (Ts'ong) range (Pamirs) of mountains are possessed, they contribute the greater portion (to this monastery), using but a small portion of them themselves.' This clearly shows that the Buddhist Church of Khotan was exercising a tremendous influence on all the kingdoms of Eastern Turkestan.

The Buddhist scholars who went to China in this period and worked for propagation of Buddhism and the translation of Buddhist texts from Indian originals mostly came from this region. To mention only a few of the names : Lokakshema, the Yüe-chi, who reached Lo-yang in A.D. 147; Che-Kien, another Yüe-chi who worked in Lo-yang and Nanking towards the end of the second century and beginning of the third; Che Yao, a Yüe-chi scholar who translated a number of works between A.D. 184 and 189; Dharmaraksha, born of Yüe-chi parents at Tun-huang, who worked in China and translated more than two hundred works between A.D. 265 and 284. There were besides Sogdian, Parthian and Indian monks who went to China from the southern kingdom of Eastern Turkestan.

In the northern part of Eastern Turkestan, at least one kingdom, Kucha, emerged into importance in this period. Kucha is mentioned in Chinese history from the time of the former Hans, but the date is not known when the country came under Indian cultural influence and accepted Buddhism. In the first century A.D. there was great rivalry between the Chinese emperor and the Hiung-nu concerning the authority over Kucha. Towards the middle of the century the people of Kucha ousted the king set up by the Chinese emperor. The Hiung-nu then nominated as king one Shen-tu (Induk) who was a Kuchean noble and he was accepted by the people. The name of the noble seems to indicate that he was of Indian origin. A number of Kuchean monks appear in China in the third century as translators of Buddhist texts. The first of them, Po Yen, was in China between A.D. 256 and 260. The Chinese records tell us that about this period 'the Buddhist *stūpas* and temples in Kucha were more than a million.' This shows that Buddhism had been firmly established in the region at least a century earlier.

Further to the east, the kingdom of Wu-yi (Agnideśa, Karasahr) had also come within the pale of Buddhist civilisation. About A.D. 399 when Fa-hien passed through Wu-yi on his way to India he found there more

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than 4000 monks, all students of Hīnayāna. In the time of Fa-hien, the common people of all the kingdoms in Eastern Turkestan as well as the monks 'all practised the rules of India, only the latter did so more exactly, and the former more loosely . . . (The monks) however, who had (given up worldly life and) quitted their families, were all students of Indian books and the Indian language.'

We have already seen that the beginnings of the relations between China and India are still shrouded in mist. It is, however, likely that contact between the two countries had been established before the middle of the second century B.C., though it did not become regular before the first century A.D. During the first few centuries of the Christian era it centred chiefly round the Buddhist religion and literature. Buddhism was given an official recognition by the Emperor Ming of the Han dynasty about A.D. 68 when the first Buddhist monastery of *Po-ma-sse* was built in Lo-yang for the Indian missionaries Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and Dharmaratna.

Translations of five Buddhist texts are attributed to Kāśyapa Mātaṅga and his companion. Of these five works only one 'The Sūtra of 42 sections' has come down to us. It does not belong to the canonical literature but appears to be a sort of Buddhist catechism for the use of missionaries. No information on Buddhist activities is available till the middle of the next century. It was in A.D. 144 that a Parthian Buddhist monk named Ngan She-kao reached Lo-yang. The Chinese accounts say that he was an Arsacidan prince who had abdicated his throne and become a Buddhist monk. He travelled in various countries and had most probably been to India before going to China. He revived the tradition of the *Po-ma-sse* monastery and founded a strong school of translators. He worked for more than forty years in China and nearly two hundred translations are attributed to him. Of these only about 55 have come down to us.

Among the collaborators of Ngan She-kao there were Lokakshema, an Indo-Scythian monk, Ngan Hiuan, another Parthian monk, two Sogdian monks—K'ang Kiu and K'ang Mong-siang, and three Indian monks—Fo-sho (Buddhāraṁbha?), Ta-li (Mahābala) and T'an Ko (Dharmaphala?). There were also Chinese collaborators. The total number of the translations of Buddhist texts made in this period was considerable.

After the fall of the Han dynasty in 220, China was divided among three powers. The Wei dynasty had their capital in Lo-yang, the legitimate successors of the Han were driven to Sse-chuan, whereas the Wu dynasty became rulers of the south. Under the Wei (220-265) the Buddhist church of Lo-yang continued its work in spite of the indifference of the new rulers. A number of works were translated in this period at the request of the Chinese Buddhist monks. Among the translators, Dharmakāla, an Indian Buddhist monk, translated the *Prātimoksha* for the first time. Saṅghavarman translated the *Karmavācha* of the Dharmaguptaka school, and 'Dharma-satya (?),' the *Prātimoksha* of the same school. Besides these three Indian monks, there were in Lo-yang a Kuchean monk named Po Yen and a Parthian Ngan Fa-hien who also collaborated in the work of translation.

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In the south Buddhism seems to have spread and developed in an independent way. Che K'ien, the earliest translator in the south, first belonged to the Lo-yang school. But Buddhism had reached the south by the Yunnan road and the sea route before Che K'ien's arrival. During the period when Ngan She-kao was working in Lo-yang, Buddhism had made headway in Kiang-su and Shan-tung. The biographer of Ngan She-kao tells us that during the political troubles towards the end of the reign of Emperor Ling-ti (168-189), Ngan She-kao left Lo-yang and went to Kiang-su where there were Buddhist communities. There were also Buddhist communities in Kiao-che (Tonkin) in this period. It was there that the Chinese scholar, Mou-tseu was converted to Buddhism soon after 189 and wrote a famous dissertation in the defence of Buddhism.

The Wu dynasty ruled at Kien-ye (Nanking) from 222 to 280. There was considerable Buddhist activity in Nanking during this period. Che K'ien himself was a voluminous translator. He was not a monk but a Buddhist layman and as tutor of the prince-royal received much patronage from the throne for his work. About 127 translations are attributed to him and of them 49 still exist. Che K'ien was followed by a number of Buddhist scholars, the most notable among whom was a monk named K'ang Seng-hui. He was born of Indian parentage in Kiao-che, became a monk at an early age and came to Nanking in A.D. 247. He founded the first Buddhist temple there, the *Kien-chu-sse*. His activities continued till his death in A.D. 280.

The Wu and Wei dynasties were followed by the Tsin (280-317) who succeeded in uniting the three kingdoms for a short period. They were great patrons of Buddhism and of Buddhist monks who translated the holy texts. The official history tells us that the Emperor Wu, the first of the dynasty, built numerous *saṅghārāmas*. The Emperor Min (313-316) built two monasteries in Ch'ang-ngan : *T'ong-hiu-sse* and *Po-ma-sse*. During the reign of the last two rulers of the dynasty 180 Buddhist monasteries were built both in Nanking and Ch'ang-ngan. The number of monks was 3700. The number of translators who worked at Ch'ang-ngan was 14 and among them the most important was Dharmaraksha who was born of an Indo-Scythian family but had been educated in Kashmir and had visited almost all the kingdoms in Eastern Turkestan. He translated more than 200 works between A.D. 284 and 313. The Chinese sources say that his superior knowledge of the Indian language enabled him to translate the texts more faithfully than his predecessors. His translations are still considered good literature for the simplicity and beauty of his style and the clarity of his language. He was more successful than his predecessors in popularising Buddhism through translations.

Dharmaraksha was followed by a number of translators amongst whom there were at least three Indians—Kālaruchi, Mokshala and Nārāyaṇa. But it was due mostly to Dharmaraksha and his Chinese disciples that Buddhism was firmly established in China by the beginning of the fourth century.[1]

[1] The relations between China and India from the Han period up to about A.D. 300 have been fully discussed in *India and China, a thousand years of*

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The expansion of Indian civilisation to Indo-China and Indonesia took place by the sea route. At what date this sea route to the East was opened for the first time is not precisely known. In view of the close ethnic relations between the prehistoric races of Further India and India, it has been presumed that the sea route was taken by the Austro-Asiatic races in very early times. The Aryan invaders after their conquest of the coastal regions of India simply utilized the technical knowledge of sailing which these people possessed.[1]

The Buddhist jātakas, which draw upon a very ancient storehouse of folklore, tell many a story of merchants sailing over the high seas to the Land of Gold (Suvarṇabhūmi) for trade. Sea-voyages are also narrated in books like the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, *Bṛihatkathāślokasaṅgraha*—all of which include stories from a lost work of much earlier date, the *Bṛihat-Kathā* of Guṇāḍhya. We have seen that Buddhist accounts would have us believe that Emperor Aśoka sent two missionaries, Śoṇa and Uttara, to Suvarṇabhūmi with the message of Buddhism. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, a work of the first century A.D., locates a Peninsula of Gold in the trans-Gangetic region. It is, however, impossible to locate this Land of Gold in any definite geographical region as with the progress of navigation towards the east the name was gradually shifted to other regions. It was not so much a gold-yielding region as an Eldorado for merchants from which they returned with fabulous riches.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* which may be placed definitely in the second century B.C. reveals a vague knowledge of the eastern region beyond the seas and definitely mentions Yavadvīpa, a name usually associated with the island of Java. It is likely that the sea route to the east had grown familiar to Indian merchants if not in the time of Aśoka at least soon after him. A detailed itinerary of a sea voyage is found in books of the second century A.D. like the *Mahāniddesa* and the *Geography* of Ptolemy. This itinerary starts from the coast of China and terminates with the Indian coast. The principal ports, beginning from the China coast, are mentioned thus : Gumba, Takkola, Takkasila, Kālamukha, Maraṇapāra, Vesuṅga, Verāpatha, Java, Tamāli, Vaṅga, Elavaḍḍhana, Suvaṇṇakuṭa, Suvaṇṇabhūmi, Taṁbapaṇṇi, Suppara, Bharukaccha. Ptolemy knows many of these ports—Temala, Besynga, Takola, Iabadiu, etc. Prof. Lévi,[2] who was the first to discuss these itineraries, was of opinion that they reveal an intimate knowledge of the sea route which could not have been acquired before the second century A.D. In fact neither Pliny nor the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* shows this familarity with the eastern region in the first century A.D.

Prof. Lévi, however, did not utilise the oldest Chinese[3] evidence which

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[1] S. Lévi, 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India', translated by me in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 125

[2] S. Lévi, 'Ptolemée, Le Niddesa et la Bṛihatkathā,' *Études Asiatiques*, II Eng. trans. in *Sino-Indian Studies*, II 2

[3] Pelliot, Review of the translation of *Chau Ju-kua* by Hirth and Rockhill, *T'oung-Pao*, XIII p 457

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seems to throw much light on this itinerary. It is contained in the *Annals of the Former Han Dynasty* and gives an itinerary of the second and first centuries B.C. starting from the coast of Tonkin and ending with the Indian coast. 'From the frontiers of Je-nan (Tonkin), from Siu-wen and Ho-p'u sailing for five months one reaches the kingdom of *Tu-yuan*. Sailing again for four months one reaches the kingdom of *Yi-lu-mu*. Sailing again for more than 20 days one reaches the kingdom of *Chen-li*. Then going by the land route for more than 10 days one reaches the kingdom of *Fu-kan-tu-lu*. From Fu-kan-tu-lu sailing for more than two months one reaches the kingdom of *Huang-che*.' This itinerary relates to the reign of Emperor Wu (140-80 B.C.). A reverse itinerary relating to the reign of Wang Mang (A.D. 1-6) is given in the same text. 'From the kingdom of Huang-che sailing for 8 months one reaches *Pi-tsong*. Then again sailing for two months one reaches the frontier of Siang-lin (southern part of Tonkin).'

The Chinese account therefore describes a connected itinerary: Ho-p'u, Pi-tsong, Tu-yuan, Yi-lu-mu, Chen-li, Fu-kan-tu-lu and Huang-che. These names were in the old pronunciations : ɣap-bu, Pi-tsuong, Tue-ngiwan, Iu-luo-mu ðt, Diðm-li, B'iu-kam-tuo-luo and ɣwang-tsie (g'jie), and seem to have stood for Gambu, Visuṅga, Taṅgana, Ilavar (dhana), Tamāla, Pugam-(?) and Gaṅga. We therefore find here most of the principal names of the two itineraries discussed above. This is positive evidence that regular sailing from the Gangetic valley up to Tonkin was already known in the second and first centuries B.C.

It is therefore likely, as the jātaka stories would have us credit, that Indian merchants knew and settled down in various places in the trans-Gangetic regions, both peninsular and insular, as far as North Annam along the coast, much earlier than was hitherto believed. Evidence of regular colonisation and of the foundation of kingdoms under Indian rulers is not, however, available before the first century A.D. when the Kushāṇa conquest of India seems to have compelled the earlier rulers, the Śakas, to migrate to other regions. We know that the Śakas being ousted from North-West India moved to Western and Southern India where they founded new kingdoms. Another branch of the Śakas, the Muruṇḍas must have migrated in this period to Eastern India and founded a kingdom in the region of Magadha. These Śaka adventurers, great protagonists of the Hindu culture at home, seem to have been responsible for the first Hindu kingdoms in the Far East. In fact the old Javanese legends say that the first Hindu king of Java was Aji Saka. He and his descendants came from Gujarat.[1] Most of the local traditions agree in attributing to him the first introduction of letters, government, and religion. The local legends quoted by the Chinese historians place this event in A.D. 56. Apart from the name of the ruler which recalls a genuine Śaka name (Aji-Azes), the traditional date points to a period when the disintegration of the Śaka empire in North-West India had already begun under the impulse of the Kushāṇa conquest.

[1] R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I pp. 94 ff.

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The oldest centres of Hindu kingdoms in the Far East are found both in Indo-China and Indonesia.

The most important of the Indian settlements[1] in Indo-China is mentioned by the Chinese under the name Fu-nan (B'iu-nam) which is generally considered to be the transcription of an old Khmer word *Bnam* (modern Phnom) which means 'mountain'.

This kingdom was in the lower valley and the delta region of the Mekong but in the most glorious period it included South Annam, the middle valley of Mekong, a large part of the valley of Menam and the Malay Peninsula. Its capital was at one time Vyādhapura. This name is connected with Chinese To-mu which probably stands for Khmer *dmak*, *dalmak* having the same meaning as the Sanskrit word. It was situated about the rock of Ba Phnom and the village of Banam in the Cambodian province of Prei Veng.

The earliest information on Fu-nan[2] is supplied by the two Chinese envoys, K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying, who visited the country in the middle of the third century. According to them the first king of Fu-nan was one Huen-t'ien (Kauṇḍinya) who came either from India or the Malay Peninsula or from any of the southern islands. The story says that in a dream he received a divine mandate to embark on a merchant vessel armed with a divine bow. He found the divine bow next morning in a temple and started on his voyage. His boat gradually reached Fu-nan. The queen of the country, Lieu-ye, attacked the boat but was soon subdued by the force of the divine bow. She submitted to Huen-t'ien and became his wife. The queen and her people formerly used to go naked. Kauṇḍinya taught her to cover herself with a cloth. He governed the realm according to the laws of his own country and transmitted the sceptre to his descendants. In this story has been recognised an Indian legend which is narrated more faithfully in a Sanskrit inscription of Champā. According to the inscription, the Brahmin Kauṇḍinya got a javelin from Aśvatthāman, the son of Droṇa, and threw it in order to mark the site of his future capital. He then married a daughter of the king of the Nāgas, named Somā, who gave birth to a line of kings. A mystic rite symbolising this event was still found in the Cambodian court in the thirteenth century by the Chinese traveller Cheou Ta-kuan. It is also mentioned in the Cambodian Chronicle.

The legend, however, contains a kernel of history which is not later than the first century A.D. From the next century we come across historical personalities in Fu-nan of whom the presence is attested by inscriptions as well as by Chinese accounts which are our principal source. One of the descendants of Kauṇḍinya, Huen P'an-huang died when he was past ninety years of age. The successor of the latter was 'his second son P'an P'an who entrusted the affairs of state to his great general Fan

[1] G. Coedès, *Histoire ancienne des états hindouisés d'Extrême-Orient*

[2] Pelliot, 'Le Fou-nan,' *BEFEO*, III pp. 248-303. All the standard Chinese historical texts relating to Fu-nan have been translated and discussed there.

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Man.' The complete name of the general is stated as Fan She-man. After reigning for three years P'an P'an died. The people of the country elected Fan She-man to be king. He was a brave and capable ruler. He attacked and subjugated the neighbouring kingdoms. All became his vassals. He assumed the title of the 'Great king of Fu-nan'. He built great ships, traversed the seas, and attacked more than '10 countries including K'iu-tu-k'uen, Kieu-che, Tien-suen.'

Fan She-man has been identified with good reason with King Śri Māra mentioned in the Sanskrit inscription of Vo-canh. This was for a long time taken to be an inscription of the rulers of Champā. It is likely that this part of Champā belonged to the territory conquered by Fan She-man, and was subject to Fu-nan. If this identification is exact, then the descendant of Śri Māra, who was responsible for the inscription (which is placed in the third century on palaeographical grounds), must be held to belong to the line of Fu-nan kings founded by Fan She-man.

The Chinese texts already quoted show that Fan She-man died in the course of an expedition against the Kin-lin or 'the Frontier of Gold' which seems to correspond to Suvarṇabhūmi of the Pāli texts or rather to Suvarṇakuḍya of the Sanskrit texts (Lower Burma or Malay Peninsula). A nephew of Fan She-man, Fan Chan put to death the legitimate successor, Kin-sheng and usurped the power. About twenty years later Fan Chan was assassinated by Ch'ang, a son of Fan She-man. This was followed by the assassination of Ch'ang by his general Fan Siun who declared himself king. These events happened roughly between 225 and 250 and it was in this period, during the reign of Fan Chan, that an exchange of envoys between Fu-nan and the Muruṇḍa kings of India took place. It was again in this period that the first Chinese ambassadors K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying came to Fu-nan.

The Chinese account tells us that a certain Kia-siang-li, a native of the kingdom of T'an-yang which is located to the west of India, came to India and from there to Fu-nan. It was he who told the king Fan Chan about the wonders of that distant country. The journey, he said, was long and to go there and to come back might take three years or even four years. Probably it was on the advice of Kia-siang-li that the king sent as ambassador to India a relative named Su-wu. Su-wu embarked at the port of T'eu-kiu-li (identified with Takkola), after a long voyage reached the mouths of a large river (probably the Ganges) and went up the river to the capital of the king who belonged to the Meu-luen (Muruṇḍa) dynasty. The Indian king gave the party facilities to travel in his kingdom and then sent them back with a present of four horses of the Indo-Scythian country. He also sent with them an Indian named Ch'en-song. Su-wu returned to Fu-nan after four years of absence. Fan-Chan also sent an embassy to China in 243 to present musicians and products of the country.

About 245-250 Fan Siun who usurped the throne of Fan Chan after putting the son of Fan She-man to death received the Chinese envoys K'ang T'ai and Chu Ying. They met the Muruṇḍa envoy at the Fu-nan

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court. This Chinese mission induced Fan Siun to send a number of envoys to the Chinese court between 268 and 287.

Another kingdom, Lin-yi, according to Chinese sources, was situated to the south of the kingdom of Fu-nan in the third century A.D. It was peopled by numerous tribes who aided each other and refused to submit to China.

The most important of these tribes was probably the Cham. Lin-yi appears in history towards the end of the second century. The Chinese sources place its foundation in 192. They say that a person named K'iu-lien taking advantage of the weakness of the Chinese emperors founded a kingdom in the province of Je-nan (Tonkin). He proclaimed himself king in the southernmost district of Siang-lin which roughly corresponds to the modern province of Thua-thien. The name Lin-yi is explained in Chinese as an abbreviation of Siang-lin-yi 'capital of Siang-lin'. The creation of this kingdom in 192 was preceded in 137 by the first attempt at an invasion of Siang-lin by a band of barbarians from the south from the other side of the frontiers of Je-nan. Their name was K'iu-lien. The founder of Lin-yi, K'iu-lien, seems to have belonged to this tribe. They came probably from modern Quang-nam and may already have been hinduised. It is almost certain, nevertheless, that they were the Chams. Modern Quang-nam possesses a number of archaeological sites : Tra-kieu, Mi-son, Dong-duong etc. which represent the most important part of the kingdom later called Champā.

The Cham country along the coast was divided into a certain number of natural provinces. To the south of Amarāvatī, the main centres mentioned in the inscriptions were : Vijaya (Binh-dinh), Kauṭhāra (Nhatrang) and Pāṇḍuraṅga (Phan-rang). The inscriptions show that the Cham language was spoken in the seventh century in the southern province. In earlier times they belonged to Fu-nan as is proved by the inscription of Vo-canh. It is only an inscription of the ninth century which mentions Maharshi Bhṛigu, the eponymous ancestor of the Bhārgava dynasty, from which the kings of Champā claimed descent. The name of Champā does not occur in the inscriptions before the beginning of the seventh century, but there is reason to think that it is older.

The descendants of K'iu-lien may be considered the most ancient kings of Champā. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Chinese, they extended their territory northwards. Between 220 and 230 a king of Lin-yi sent an ambassador to Lu Tai, the governor of Kuang-tong and Kiao-che. It is in this connection that the names of Lin-yi and Fu-nan occur for the first time. The *Annals of the Three Kingdoms* say that Lu Tai 'sent Ts'ong-she to spread the civilisation of the kingdom and the kings of Fu-nan, Lin-yi, T'ang-ming (?) each sent ambassadors to offer tributes.' But this is not exactly true as in 248 the army of Lin-yi attacked the Chinese territory in the north. Then king Fan Hiong, the grandson of K'iu-lien on the daughter's side, renewed these attacks in 270 aided by the king of Fu-nan. T'ao Huang, the governor of Tonkin, took ten years to drive them out.

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In 284 Fan Yi, the king of Lin-yi, sent an embassy to China for the first time; during the second half of his long reign of 50 years he had for his counsellor Wen, a man of Chinese origin who settled in Lin-yi shortly after 315. He ultimately became the general and then usurped the throne after the death of Fan Yi in 336.

Although the Chinese evidences of this period are very clear about the first Hindu kingdoms in Indo-China they are not so explicit in regard to the Malay Peninsula and Java. A considerable part of the peninsula in this period belonged to the kingdom of Fu-nan as is proved by the mention of Takkola as a port of that kingdom. At least three small kingdoms had been founded in the Malay Peninsula in this period. The Chinese records mention Tien-suen, Lang-ya-sieu and Tan-mei-lieu. Tien-suen of which the exact location is not known seems to be the same as Tuen-suen which was annexed to the kingdom of Fu-nan by Fan She-man. Lang-ya-sieu, mentioned in later Chinese records as Lang-kia-shu i.e. Laṅkāśuka, is located in the upper valley of Perak. According to the evidence of the *Annals of the Leang Dynasty* this kingdom was founded 'more than 400 years ago,' i.e. in the beginning of the second century A.D. Tan-mei-lieu was the country around modern Ligor. It is also mentioned in the list of countries mentioned in the *Mahāniddesa* already referred to. Probably none of these kingdoms played any independent role in this period or were more than vassal states of the powerful empire of Fu-nan.

The early history of the Hindu kingdom of Java is shrouded in mist. Most scholars agree in identifying Yavadvīpa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* with Java. They consider it identical with Iabadiu of Ptolemy. These two references suggest that the kingdom had arisen by the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. The local legends which we have already discussed also confirm it. The *Annals of the Han Dynasty* speak of an embassy in A.D. 132 from king Tiao Pien (Devavarman ?) of Ye-tiao. There is no doubt that this Ye-tiao is the same as Yavadvīpa or Iabadiu. K'ang Tai in his account of Fu-nan however refers to this kingdom under a slightly different name. He mentions an island called Chu-po situated in the sea to the east of Fu-nan and also the island of Ma-wu (corrected to Ma-li) to the east of Chu-po. These two islands are identified with Java and Bali. Another Chinese text of the same period refers to Chu-po and says that the women of that country knew the art of embroidering cotton cloth with floral designs. Despite the difficulty of accepting the identifications, it may be assumed for the time being that the Chinese knew the earliest Hindu kingdom of Java under two different names Ye-tiao (Yavadvīpa) and Chu-po (Javadvīpa). It is the latter name which was preferred by the later Chinese writers. Fa-hien, in the beginning of the fifth century calls it Chu-po. Our historical information concerning this kingdom as far as the third century is extremely meagre.

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Chapter XXV

COINAGE

The political as well as the economic condition of India at the beginning of our period was conducive to the growth of metallic currency. Contemporary archaeological and literary sources fully prove that various types of coins were current in different parts of the country even before Alexander's entry into India. Quintus Curtius tells us that the king of Takshaśilā presented to the Macedonian invader eighty talents of 'coined silver' pieces as a token of his homage and friendship.[1] These have usually been regarded as the silver punch-marked coins many varieties of which have been found throughout India. They are indigenous in origin according to the opinion of many numismatists. Coins were made not only of silver, but of metals of lesser value, e.g. copper. Cast copper coins of various shapes and sizes have also been discovered, some of which belong to the early part of our period. The oldest of the punch-marked silver and copper types, as well as the cast copper varieties appear to have been made long before the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.[2] Representations in plastic form of coins of various shapes (mainly square) in such early monuments of the pre-Christian age as Bhārhut, Bodhgayā and Besnagar prove that the local people were quite familiar with their use. The words 'punch-marked' and 'cast' used in describing these coins give us an idea about the modes of manufacturing them. Flattened sheets of metal (in the case of silver they were comparatively thin) were cut into regular or irregular bits of different sizes, adjusted to required weights by clipping, and then punched with various symbols on their obverse and reverse sides. These were the 'punch-marked' variety. There is little doubt that the marks were those of a central authority that guaranteed the genuineness of the metal and the correctness of the weight. A careful study of the many hoards of punch-marked coins, the provenance of which is known, has enabled scholars to substantiate this view. The earlier view that they were private money, the marks being those of individual moneyers stamped for their quick recognition on different occasions, is not accepted now.[3] It is very difficult to suggest an authoritative

[1] The term used by Curtius is *signati argenti*, Cunningham's interpretation of which is correct ; *CAI.* p. 52

[2] Cunningham dates the earliest of them in 1000 B.C., op. cit., p. 43. J. Allan would not place them earlier than the Maurya period, the single-type silver coins alone being given an earlier date, *BMCCAI.* pp. xvi-xvii, lvi

[3] V. A. Smith observes, 'the punch-marked coinage was a private coinage issued by guilds and silversmiths with the permission of the ruling powers', *CCIM.* I p. 133. But systematic studies of the coin-hoards, the provenances of which are definitely known, have led scholars to suggest that they were struck by a central authority; cf. *ASIAR.* 1905-06, p. 153 (D. B. Spooner's view) ; *MASI.* No. 59 (*The Punch marked Coins from Taxila*, E. J. Walsh's view), etc.

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explanation of the coin symbols, though it is probable that some at least were religious. But it would be going too far in the present state of our knowledge to attempt to associate them definitely with one or other of the various creeds of India.[1]

The cast coins were manufactured by pouring molten metal (mainly copper) into hollow earthen moulds bearing devices within that were to be impressed on the two sides of the coins. Sometimes a single mould containing sections (on which devices were marked) was used for casting more than one coin at the same time.[2] Another characteristic of the early Indian punch-marked and cast coins was that they usually bore no legends from which to infer the name and character of their issuers. The Indian methods of manufacturing coins in the beginning appear to have had nothing in common with the Lydian, Persian or Greek monetary technique. This fact alone lends the greatest weight to the view that this very useful invention was thought of in this country quite independently of any foreign influence. When the Achaemenid Persian, the Greek, the Scythian and other early alien rulers of India issued their own money in India, the indigenous pieces, especially the silver ones, came to be designated by old Indian writers as *purāṇas* ('eldlings') in order to distinguish them from the new coins, the money of the foreign masters. The Smṛiti works like Manu and Yājñavalkya lay down the weight of these silver *purāṇas* (also called *dharaṇas*) at 32 *ratis* (about 58 grains troy), and it is of interest to note that some of the extant specimens approximate to this standard; but it is also true that there are many others which do not, and it may be presumed that other weight standards were also current in India. A peculiar type of heavy silver coins usually described as 'bent-bar' pieces, found mainly in Taxila and its environs, weighs as much as 176 grains or so. This type appears to have had its lower denominations, for lighter classes of such pieces are also found. Some numismatists think that they are no other than the ancient *śatamānas* and their fractions mentioned in some Indian texts. The unit of measure (*māna*) being a *rati*, the weight of one hundred such units would be about 175-180 grains (one *rati* or *kṛishṇala* seed, according to the computation of Cunningham, being equivalent to 1.75 or 1.83 grains troy). Quite a different explanation of these coins has been suggested by Allan; he says that they are double 'siglos' pieces and their lower denominations. The term 'siglos' denotes a Persian silver coin the academic weight of which is about 86.45 grains troy.[3] Two objections, however, may be raised against this view. The heaviest of the bent-bar pieces usually weigh several grains more than the full weight

[1] Foucher described many of the symbols as Buddhist in character; cf. *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 14, 21, pl. i. Durga Prasad recognised in them Tāntric symbols, *Num. Sup.* XLV 317 ff.

[2] Cunningham, op. cit., pl. i, figs. 24, 25

[3] J. Allan, op. cit., p. xvi, pl. i, figs. 1-3. See a somewhat similar view propounded earlier by M.J.A. Decourdemanche in *JA.* 1912, pp. 117 ff., refuted by D. R. Bhandarkar in *CL.* 1921, pp. 118-22. E. J. Walsh suggested that the heavy bent-bar silver pieces from Taxila and its environs might be the *śatamānas* referred to in the *Sat. Br. MASI.* No. 59, p. 3

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of a double 'siglos', and no 'single siglos' type Indian coin has so far been found. Again, genuine 'siglos' coins of the Achaemenid Persians which have been discovered in northern India weigh less than their academic weight, the deficiency being due to natural wear and tear. The silver bent-bar coins appear to have been among the earliest coins of India, and along with a few other types of silver money, were current in parts of northern and north-western India for a time long before Alexander's invasion. They have justifiably been described by Allan as 'various early single-type silver' for their mode of manufacture seems to have been somewhat different from that of the usual punch-marked coins. G. M. Young rightly suggests the manner in which the bent-bar coins were made.[1]

Allan believes that the Nandas were the first Indian rulers to introduce currency into the country, the idea of a coinage originating here 'in the late fifth or early fourth century B. C. from Achaemenid territory, being suggested by the "siglos", although its character is entirely Indian.'[2] It is hard, however, to believe that the earliest coinage to evolve in India as a result of Persian contact would not follow the Persian technique, and it is far more probable that such and somewhat similar methods were in use in India long before the Achaemenid conquest of her northern and north-western parts.

The wide distribution of the indigenous coins, especially of the punch-marked variety and the apparent sameness of their general features have led some scholars to suggest that they were issued when the greater part of India was unified under one administration. This first happened, in the historical period, during the rule of the imperial Mauryas and most of these coins, both silver and copper, have been ascribed to that dynasty.[3] There is much to be said in support of this view, but it is possible that the part played by the Maurya emperors was to disseminate through the length and breadth of their empire, the coinage already current in a restricted form. The pre-Maurya date of the Bhir Mound (Taxila) find of the early indigenous coins has been accepted by all; this hoard not only contained the silver bent-bar types, but also real punch-marked coins of various shapes and sizes, some of them being very tiny pieces. There is every reason to believe that they were current in the Taxila region from a date much earlier than Alexander's invasion, and it is highly probable, if not certain, that the great Maurya emperors continued to issue coins on the pre-existing model in their vast empire.

Copper punch-marked coins are comparatively rare. They are thicker and also heavier in weight than their silver counterparts. The heaviest of them weigh more than 350 grs. and their weight generally ranges between 360 and 160 grains. It is very difficult to fix their denominations

[1] *Ancient India*, No. 1., pp. 27 ff. Young remarks, 'Experiment has shown that the curvature is due to their having been struck while hot on a wooden anvil . . . The faces of the dies were circular and convex, thus producing a concave incuse and accentuating the curvature at the ends of the coins'. (p. 29).

[2] J. Allan, op. cit., p. lxxi

[3] J. Allan, op. cit., p. lvi

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correctly. It is possible that the term *kārshāpaṇa* denoted them in a general way, for Manu and Yājñavalkya lay down that it signified only copper coins of the weight of one *kārshā* (*Kārshāpaṇastu vijñeyas-tāmrikaḥ kārshikaḥ paṇaḥ*), though it has been shown by some that the term also designated coins of other metals e.g. silver or gold.[1] The seeds of the *kārshāphala* ('phaseolus rhadeolus') like those of the guñja-berry (*raktikā* or *kṛishṇala* referred to above) are usually of uniform weight, and the standard laid down by the old *smṛiti* writers for a *kārshāpaṇa* is that of 80 *ratis*.[2] The weight of a single copper *kārshāpaṇa* thus would be about 146.4 grains (one *rati* being the same as 1.83 grains troy), and the recorded weights of the extant copper punch-marked coins would show that their denominations ranged between $2\frac{1}{2}$ and $1\frac{1}{4}$ *kārshāpaṇas*. Their standard of weight, however, is, like that of their silver counterparts, so variable that probably more standards than one were current in different regions. The other class of copper coins usually described as 'uninscribed cast' was also in use in some parts of Northern India from a very early date. They were much lighter in weight, over a wide range between 144.5 and 10 grains; coins above 100 and below 20 grains are very few, the majority ranging between 40 and 60, but an appreciable number of light coins ranged between 20 and 40 grains. We cannot from these weights fix their denominations with certainty; some of them were probably *kārshāpaṇas* and their lower forms. The area of their circulation was much more restricted than that of the usual silver punch-marked coins, but it was certainly wider than the 'United Provinces, Rajputana and the Central Provinces' suggested by Allan. There are recorded finds of these coins from parts of eastern India like Bihar and Bengal.

These several types of indigenous currency were in vogue in various parts of the country until the beginning of the Christian era, and perhaps a little later. Coins issued by the alien rulers of India were first current in the extreme north and north-west, and it is there that we see rapid changes in the indigenous methods of coin-making. In the far interior regions of Central and Southern India, immune from foreign rule till a comparatively late period, the old technique survived for a long time, and new experiments were being made there fairly early on the mode of punch-marking, which led to the local development of the peculiar die-striking method. James Prinsep was the first advocate of the view that the Indians were indebted to the foreigners for the art of coinage. When Cunningham confronted him with the completely individualistic traits of the earliest indigenous money, he modified his view and maintained that the Indians learnt the method of die-striking from the Bactrian Greeks. We shall see, however, that several types of Central Indian money show that the evolution of the latter technique was already well under way in

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar, op. cit., pp. 80 ff.

[2] 5 *ratis*- 1 *māsha*, 16 *māshas* or 80 *ratis* -1 *kārshāpaṇa*. In the case of a silver *dharaṇa* or a *purāṇa* already mentioned, the measure was: 2 *ratis* - 1 *māsha*, 16 *māshas* or 32 *ratis* - 1 *dharaṇa* or a *purāṇa*.

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these localities. The copper coins which were localised by Cunningham at Eran (Saugor district, Madhya Pradesh), but which are also found in such places as Besnagar (ancient Vidiśā) in Central India show a distinct advance in Indian monetary technique. Several symbols that were according to previous practice punched on the coin-blancs separately were now collected together in a big 'punch' (one may call it a 'die' at a stretch) and *struck at a time* on the square copper bits. This is just a little short of the method of die-striking which we have to recognise in the coins manufactured in other parts of Central India—Ujjain, Avanti and Malwa. The coins issued by the Uddehikas, who appear to have been a Central Indian tribe, also evince this peculiar trait.[1] The same coins again show, probably, some of the earliest examples of the use of legends: for we read on one Eran coin *Dhamapālasa* (evidently the name of its issuer); on a few more coins from the same place *Erakanya*; on an Ujjain coin, *Ujeniya* (money issued in the name of the locality), and *Udehaki—Suyamitasa* (a coin issued by a tribal chief). The earliest of these pieces are dated in the third century B.C., if not earlier, and none of them can be held to be later than the second century B.C. We shall see later that the earliest native currency of South India seems also to have developed along the same lines.

The coins issued by the first foreign rulers of India in the north and north-west seem to have influenced the earlier coinage of these regions. But in some varieties of copper coins attributed by Cunningham to Taxila and its environs are found peculiar traits not all of which were foreign in origin. They are of the die-struck variety, and can be divided into two main classes, inscribed and uninscribed. Of the former the 'Negama' (*naigama*) coins are very interesting, for these oblong pieces bear the legends inside a prominent 'incuse' on one side, and probably the name of the particular *naigama* (mercantile guild) on the other. The only device usually found on their reverse is the 'steelyard balance', which probably betrays their real character as 'mercantile guild money'.[2] Other coins of the same class bearing the Kharoshṭhī legend *pamchanekame* ('the five guilds') with several symbols on one side and a wheel and one other symbol on the other, might have been the joint issues of the 'five naigamas, a kind of Pentapolis' (Allan). The legend on the third variety of the inscribed coins, though variously read, is probably *hirañaśrame*, perhaps the name of the locality in or near Taxila from which they were issued. Some copper coins of the Indo-Greek king Agathocles are very similar to these, and had his name not been there they could easily have passed as so many specimens of this variety. A close affinity between some of the copper money of this early Indo-Greek king and another named Pantaleon, and several uninscribed double-die coins as well as these inscribed coins from Taxila has already been pointed out in a preceding chapter (p. 158). It has been

[1] E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 11; V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 145

[2] The interpretation of the *Negama* coins as 'mercantile money tokens issued by traders', 'trade tokens', 'coins of commerce', etc., by Cunningham and Bühler is usually accepted. D. R. Bhandarkar explained them as the money of the respective city-states of the Taxila region; op. cit., pp. 154-5

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assumed that in these cases the alien kings borrowed the technique already prevalent in Taxila. Allan is not convincing when he says[1] that Pantaleon's and Agathocles's coins of similar types are earlier than these Taxilan issues which he at the same time places in the first quarter of the second century B.C. The Indian rule of these two kings cannot possibly be dated earlier than the last part of the same quarter, and it is unintelligible how these local traits could have been due to the influence of the Taxila coinage issued by these kings. Moreover, single and double-die uninscribed oblong copper pieces appear to have been current in the locality from an earlier period. They are invariably characterised by the 'incuse' on one side with various animal figures and symbols within; and when the coin is of double-die variety the other side has devices in relief. There is little doubt that the metal blanks were made hot before they were 'struck' in the 'hammer and anvil' process, and the devices engraved on the die which was placed on top sank into the obverse side, while the reverse received the impression in relief of those engraved on the anvil. The same peculiarities are prominent in the Taxila copper pieces of the two Indo-Greek rulers, and probably in some of their Indian issues the monetary technique with which their Indian subjects were familiar was being adopted. Some other coins of Taxila with or without legends should now be mentioned. Among them the inscribed single-die pieces bear the legend *vaṭasvaka* by the side of the devices sunk into the stamped side ('mountain symbol', 'pile of bails', and standing human figure with a raised hand). Bühler finds in the legend a reference to the Assakas, the Assakenoi tribe living in the extreme north-west of India during the time of Alexander's invasion. The double-die and some single-die coins without legend but having the identical devices have also been ascribed to them by some scholars.[2] Allan on the other hand suggests that the term *vaṭasvaka* has nothing to do with the Assaka-Assakenoi tribe, but really signifies the name of a locality from which these coins were issued.[3]

It will be necessary now to say something more about the currency of the foreign rulers of India during our period, before the consideration of the other local and tribal coins of northern India is taken up. The question whether Alexander struck any money in India, and the interpretation of the silver coins bearing the legend *Sōphitou* and other allied topics have been discussed at length in chapter VI of this volume. It was the Bactrian Greeks who during this period remained the first real masters in parts of northern and north-western India; and for about a couple of centuries they struck money in their dominions. It has been shown in the same chapter how the coins of these very interesting people can be utilised, with proper caution, for the reconstruction of their history; but some general observations about their metals, types, metrology etc. might still be profitable. The principal metals used by the Bactrian and Indo-Greek

[1] J. Allan, op. cit., pp. cxxvii-cxxviii
[2] S. K. Chakravarti, *A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 157
[3] J. Allan, op. cit., pp. cxlvi-cxlvii; for Bühler's view, see *Ind. Stud.*, III p. 46

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kings were silver and copper, though a few gold pieces of Diodotus (II), Euthydemus I, Eucratides and possibly of Menander are known. These gold coins, however, were not meant for circulation in India, for not one is bilingual. Several nickel coins were issued by Euthydemus II, Pantaleon and Agathocles, but these, too, were meant only for Bactrian use. Bimetallism may have been the practice in their Indian dominions, for identical devices often appear on the silver and copper coins of the same king, but to determine the exact relationship between the two series is hardly possible in the present state of our knowledge. The reverse devices used on the numerous coins are varied in character, and some of them were undoubtedly taken from the Seleucid money of Syria. Gardner has rightly emphasised 'the decidedly Praxitelean character of the full length figures of deities' appearing on the reverse sides of the coins. Heracles on the coins of Demetrius and Euthydemus II, Zeus on those of Agathocles, Eucratides and Heliocles, Poseidon on the money of Antimachus, Apollo on the coins of Eucratides and Apollodotus are 'all in their attitudes characteristic of the school of Praxiteles'. But even then we find some distinctive features in them which are hardly to be found in their Hellenistic counterparts : such strange forms as 'radiate Artemis', 'Zeus carrying the three-headed Hecate in his out-stretched right hand', 'Heracles crowning himself with a wreath', 'Pallas in short skirts' which at the same time display some originality in their representation. The influence of the local Indian and other beliefs may reasonably be traced in some of these changes, and is clearly discernible in the money of the later Indo-Greek rulers. We have already met the so-called 'dancing-girl' wearing long ear-rings (probably Lakshmī) on the Indian money of Pantaleon and Agathocles, and the indigenous symbols on the Taxilan issues of the latter (p. 158). We find on coins of Philoxenus and Telephus 'a radiate figure of a sun god standing and holding a long sceptre, on those of Amyntas and Hermaeus the head of a deity (?) wearing a Phrygian cap whence issue rays,' 'an Indian fakir squatting' on some copper coins of Telephus, and many other oddities clearly indicative of cultural intermixture. What strikes us most in the obverse devices of the Bactrian and Indo-Greek money, especially of the early period, is the remarkable character of the royal heads. There is little doubt that the services of the very best artists of Bactria were requisitioned in the drawing of the many individualistic portraits of the earlier monarchs, Euthydemus (I and II), Demetrius, Antimachus (Theos), Eucratides and others, and the skill of the finished work still ranks these heads with the finest ever made. Gardner rightly observes: 'The portraits of Demetrius, of Antimachus, and of Eucratides, are among the most remarkable which have come down to us from antiquity, and the effect of them is heightened in each case by the introduction of a peculiar and strongly characteristic head-dress which is rendered with scrupulous exactness of detail.'[1] This remarkable realism

[1] P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, Intro. p. lvi

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largely disappears in the heads of the later rulers, but attempts to distinguish the bust of one king from that of another continued to be made to the last. We miss this peculiarity in the coins of the many successors of the Indo-Greeks belonging to other foreign tribes, except when for a brief period obvious attempts at portraiture are discernible in the remarkable issues of Wima Kadphises and Huvishka.

Demetrius was the earliest ruler to introduce bilingual coins; and Eucratides, his rival and supplanter in Bactria and India, with a host of other rulers stuck to the practice in their Indian money. This feature not only became the norm in their coins, but also in the coins of successive foreign rulers up to the time of the Kanishka group of the Kushāṇa kings. The non-Greek language on their coins was naturally the Prākṛit used in these parts of India, which was almost invariably written in the Kharoshṭhī script; the Brāhmī script was only used in a few of the Taxilan issues of Pantaleon and Agathocles. The variety of titles or attributive epithets other than the usual *Basileōs* adopted by the rulers is of great interest, and such normal ones as *Sōtēros*, *Megalou*, *Dikaiou*, *Nikēphoros*, are supplemented by other unusual ones e.g. *Anikētou* (invincible), *Epiphanous* (*prachakshasa*, or god manifest), *Euergetou* (*kalyāṇakarmasa*, doer of beneficial deeds), *Theotropou* (true to god or godlike), *Philopatoros* (*priyapitasa*, beloved of his father, or loving his father), and others. Two of these epithets are sometimes joined to the royal title, and all are almost invariably rendered in Prākṛit on the reverse side. Another peculiar trait of these Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, especially of the latter, is the occurrence of a large number of monograms on them, at first a combination of Greek letters, and then single Kharoshṭhī letters or ligatures. The real significance of these marks has greatly exercised the minds of numismatists and scholars, and Cunningham was at great pains to elucidate their mystery. His last word was that not all of these monograms named the city in which the coin was minted. Tarn is definitely of opinion that the Bactrian and Indian monograms contained as a general rule the names of the mint-masters and city-magistrates, the Kharoshṭhī letters on the later Indo-Greek coins referring to persons of Indian nationality exercising these functions. The shape of the coins of the early Bactrian and Indo-Greek rulers was usually round, the square shape being introduced in copper money by Demetrius, who was the earliest to make Indian conquests. The normal shape of the later Indo-Greek silver coins is round, though square silver pieces are not unknown (cf. such pieces of Apollodotus and Philoxenus); but the square shape, an Indian trait, was very common in their Indian copper money. The style and execution of all varieties of coins deteriorated with the passage of time, perhaps because they were minted, in many cases, in places far removed from Gandhāra, which was famed for the skill of its artists and technicians. The evidence of the Qunduz treasure to be noted now acquaints us with some unusual pieces of a few of the Indo-Greek rulers, as well as with some new coins of the little-known Bactrian king Plato.

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The importance of the recent discovery (1948) of a hoard of tetradrachms of Attic weight conforming to the Bactrian style made somewhere between Qunduz and Khanabad in Northern Afghanistan is very great. A large percentage of this hoard (as many as 605 coins) were secured for the Kabul Museum, a few coins finding their way to private collections. The great interest attaching to this find lies in the fact that in it are represented not only such Indo-Greek rulers as Lysius, Theophilus, Antialcidas, Archebius, Philoxenus and Hermaeus, but some new types of the ephemeral ruler Plato and five heavy-weight big 'victory medals' of Amyntas (hitherto recognised as a comparatively late member in the Indo-Greek series) are also included in it. The new tetradrachms of Plato show two novel modes of representing the sungod on the reverse, to be designated here as Mithra; one shows the radiate Mithra riding a quadriga to front with the long sceptre in his right hand, while in the other he is shown standing to front holding the sceptre. The Greek legend is the same as in the single coin of this ruler already known, but no trace of date is to be found anywhere here. Plato ruled only in Bactria, and the use of Greek alone in these coins is intelligible. But the six other rulers appear to have ruled only in India or Indian border, and all their previous coins are bilingual (one Bactrian style drachm and one similar tetradrachm only of Antialcidas being known); thus, their newly discovered Bactrian style Attic tetradrachms are very puzzling. The devices and monograms on them are not different from those on their previously known coins, the Greek legends only being transferred to the reverse side, the place of the legend on the obverse being occupied invariably by 'the astragalus border'. One only among these six kings, the comparatively little-known Theophilus, bears here the title *Autocratoros* in place of his usual *Dikaios*. Bivar, who noticed this hoard for the first time, thinks that in Northern Afghanistan (Bactria of olden times) 'an enclave survived under Greek rule for many years after the capture of Bactra and the western steppe by the Scythians'. He is further of opinion that these Indo-Greek kings ruling at Alexandria ad Caucasum or Pushkalāvatī probably minted these coins there for the use of their subjects in the Bactrian enclave, and the hoard probably comprised the treasure of 'some Greek official or notable fleeing in the face of the final nomadic invasion which brought about the fall of the Greek enclave at Qunduz'.

The five 'victory medals' of Amyntas in this hoard are also of great interest from another point. Their obverse bears the royal head diademed and helmeted (as on Eucratides's coins), and the reverse of some specimens shows enthroned Zeus holding Pallas-Athene in his extended right hand, while that of others contains the enthroned Demeter; the Greek legend only on the reverse of both the varieties reads—*Basileos Nikatoros Amyntou* ('of king Amyntas, the Victor'). But what is of outstanding interest here is their size as well as weight which approximate to the size and weight of the Twenty-stater gold piece of Eucratides. The difference is only in respect of the metal, and thus they can be denominated as Twenty Attic

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drachm (really didrachm) pieces. It should be noted in this connection that the commemorative medallions of Agathocles and Antimachus conform to the Attic standard, but they are never more than tetradrachms in size and weight. These exceptional medallic issues presuppose that Amyntas's short rule was inaugurated by a notable victory over some of his rivals at present unknown. The Qunduz treasure is thus of exceptional importance for the study of the Indo-Greek coins, and it is likely to throw fresh light on the history of these foreign rulers of India when a first-hand[1] detailed and critical study of it has been made.

The Scythians, the immediate successors of the Bactrian Greeks in India, and the Parthians after them mainly adopted the characteristic traits of their predecessors' money in their own issues. 'Elephant's head: Caduceus' type round copper coins of Maues were close adaptations of similar prototypes issued by Demetrius, and the usual obverse device of 'king on horseback' on the Śaka and some Pahlava money appears to have been inspired by the 'king on prancing horse' reverse devices of such Indo-Greek rulers as Antimachus Nikephorus, Philoxenus, Hippostratus and others. This device, which became almost constant on the obverse of the Śaka money from the time of Azes I, is not so common on the coins of his predecessor Maues, the obverse of many of whose coins bears Greek or other divinities. Many of their reverse types showing Zeus, Heracles, Pallas Athene, Poseidon and similar Greek deities, or such animal figures as elephant, bull, etc. (these latter seem to be Indian gods in their theriomorphic forms) were also mainly based on their prototypes in the Indo-Greek series. Nevertheless many devices on these coins also were characteristic innovations, and the change in the types of the earlier money from the Hellenistic style, though noticeable before, is far more marked now. Some of the new devices appearing on these later coins are very composite in character, while others are palpably of Indian origin. Gardner described the former as 'most remarkable and original barbaro-Hellenic figures'. Under this category he would place 'a figure resembling Tyche holding in one hand a patera, in the other a wheel; a goddess holding in her right hand an object resembling a brazier and in left a palm bound with fillet; a radiate Artemis with veil flying round her head; a draped goddess bearing a crescent on her head, and standing between two stars; and several others'.[2] Other peculiar devices such as 'an enthroned Zeus with his right hand placed on the impersonated thunderbolt (Vajrapurusha)', 'a female figure standing grasping two stems of vine', etc., also appear on them. As regards the clearly recognisable Indian divinities, these are the Śiva figures on some copper coins of Maues, 'Gaja-Lakshmī' on those of Azilises, or 'Durgā-Pārvatī' ('Ekānaṁśā') on some money of Azes II.[3] In other devices at present unrecognisable may also lie a few unfamiliar characterisations of Indian

[1] Amyntas's 'victory medals' were noticed by A. D. H. Bivar in *Numismatic Circular*, 1953, col. 201-2. The 'Treasure' itself has been described by him in the same *Journal*, 1954, col. 187-91

[2] P. Gardner, op. cit., p. lviii

[3] J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*[2], ch. iv, pp. 120-1, 111, 135

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gods and goddesses. There is little doubt that this coinage presents to us 'the sole remaining relics of an interesting school of art, . . . which has passed away almost without leaving any memorial; the kings who were the patrons of art . . . must have been considerably softened and refined by contact with civilized neighbours'.[1] The coins of the Indo-Parthian rulers do not show much diversity, and therefore offer little scope for originality. The money of Gondophares and his associates and his successors, besides bearing some of the Śaka or even Greek obverse and reverse devices, shows some clear Arsacid features. The Arsacid type of the bearded royal bust, the device representing a city crowning the king—which frequently occurs on the money of Phraates IV, the great preference for Nike, a favourite device of the Parthian money, and other peculiarities not only separate these coins partially from the other groups just considered, but also suggest the racial affiliation of their issuers. In a contrary way the absence of these traits from the coins of the Azes group of kings and those of the Vonones group might well be evidence that these alien rulers were not of the Parthian stock. The only Indian deity recognisable on the Indo-Parthian money is Śiva, found on some coins of Gondophares; the Prākṛit legend *devavrata* or *sudevavrata* on his coins may indicate that Gondophares was a Śaiva (p. 214). Another characteristic trait of some Arsacid type money of Gondophares is the use of the unusual Greek legend *Autocrator* (autocrator—an autocrat). The metal mostly used by the same king is billon (a compound of 4/5ths of copper and 1/5th of silver), while the other coins of the dynasty were of copper; their usual shape is round, square being very rare. The style and execution of these coins are indifferent in comparison with the money of their predecessors. It is also interesting to compare them with the money issued by some of the northern Kshatrapas who ruled in the Mathurā region a little earlier, or with that of the Taxila Kshatrapa Zeionises and Kharaostes. Though Rajuvula issued some silver hemidrachms after those of Strato and other Indo-Greek rulers of his line, a good many of his and his son Śoḍāsa's coins were struck in a baser metal, billon (Whitehead) or lead (Allan). The devices on the latter were, however, purely Indian, such as Lakshmī and Abhisheka-Lakshmī, of a kind only rarely used earlier by foreigners whether Indo-Greek or Śaka. On some indifferently executed coins of the former crude figures of Heracles and a lion are also discernible. The legends on them deserve attention; Rajuvula's silver coins alone are bilingual, Greek and Kharoshṭhī scripts being used after their prototypes, while the rest of this satrapal group contain legends in Brāhmī script alone, as was the norm with the native currency of these regions. The coins of Kharaostes, the son of Arta and probably an earlier contemporary of Rajuvula, ruling in a region far to the north of Mathurā, are all square copper pieces bearing the usual Śaka device 'king on horseback' on the obverse and a lion or a standing figure on the reverse; the

[1] P. Gardner, op. cit., Intro. p. lviii

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Greek and Kharoshṭhī legends are illegible or partially legible on many of them. In marked contrast to these pieces are the comparatively well-executed silver coins of the Chukhsa satrap Jihoṇika, the son of the satrap Maṇigula (Chukhsa is named after the great plain of Chach in a part of which Taxila was situated). These coins have the same 'equestrian figure' device on the obverse, and the somewhat strikingly original reverse device of the 'king (satrap) being either crowned by a single female figure (a city deity as indicated by her mural crown), or by two figures—one male and the other female'. The Greek legends are only partially legible on some of these coins; the Kharoshṭhī ones are clearer. The preservation of Jihoṇika copper coins with such devices as 'bull : lion' or 'elephant : bull' is not bad. Whoever he was, he could command the services of the more skilful diecutters and technicians to strike his money.

The coinage of the Kushāṇas has been fully considered in connection with their history in chapter viii; only some general observations need be made here. The coins are divisible into several main groups: the coins of Kujula (Kara Kapa, Kau) Kadphises—Kadaphes (Kaphsa, Kadapha), those of Wima Kadphises, the striking pieces of the Kanishka group of kings (Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva), and, lastly, the money of the later Kushāṇas. They have all their distinctive traits, and a simultaneous study of these groups indicates that one merges into the other. Though the money of Kujula Kadphises—Kadaphes is typologically dissimilar to that of his successor Wima, the one bond that unites the two types is found in the bilinguality absent from the immediately succeeding group. The Greek legend on the first group is generally blundering and illegible, and is far clearer and better formed on the second; the same is true of the Prākṛit legend written in Kharoshṭhī script on the reverse sides of both groups. It appears also from the style of execution and the use of types that the former was the money of a less cultured, in fact comparatively barbaric, king. The crude form of a Heracles obviously imitated together with some very indifferent busts of Hermaeus copied from the barbarous imitations of Hermaeus's money, and the ill-executed head of a nondescript Roman emperor, betray the early attempts of a rather barbaric ruler to introduce his own currency. The use of the two-humped Bactrian camel on one of his types may further suggest the partially nomadic habits of his tribe, as also the region from which they poured into India. The coins of Wima on the other hand are clearly the product of a far more settled state of affairs, for the issuer had evidently had time to assimilate much from his Indian environment, and to identify himself exclusively with one of the dominant creeds of India. His predecessor may also have been a sectary, judging from one of the epithets, *satyadharmasthita*, in his coin-legends; but his successor's use of the title *mahiśvara* (*Māheśvara*—i.e. Pāśupata) and the constant appearance of the god of his choice and his emblems (Śiva, bull, trident-battle-axe; sometimes the god is unaccompanied by his mount, very rarely the place of the god and his vehicle is occupied by a trident battle-axe) emphatically attest his conversion to the

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Śaiva cult. Again, the first introduction of a gold currency after a long time (one may say for the first time in India for all practical purposes, for there is no clear numismatic evidence that gold coins, either indigenous or foreign, were in actual circulation before), the use of high-sounding titles like *Basileus Basileōn Sotēr Megas* and *maharaja rajatiraja sarvaloka-iśvara tratara*, the portrait-like figure of the august emperor shown in different attitudes as' seated on a low couch in barbarian splendour', 'standing facing sacrificing at altar', 'driving in state in a biga drawn either by horses or elephants', 'his bust or full squatting figure floating through the clouds', etc., and some undoubted signs of divinity attached to his figure—all these facts, taken together, forcibly suggest a confirmed and stable administration. These numismatic traits also exhibit in an interesting way some stages in the gradual indianisation of the ruling dynasty.

The most important mark of the money of Kanishka and Huvishka, one that needs to be emphasised, is the varied reverse. It is a remarkable thing especially in contrast with the single device feature of the coins of their predecessor Wima Kadphises. The large number of their gold and copper issues—they do not appear to have coined in silver—bear on the reverse the figures of divinities belonging to various creeds, Zoroastrian (of a sort), Indian (Brahmanical and Buddhist), and Greek. The most and least represented creeds were the first and the last respectively. Even when the deities are described by such Greek names as Helios and Salene (for Selene), they really belong to the Zoroastrian category. The die-cutter was careful enough to engrave the name of each deity by its side. Gardner rightly observes that 'had these coins been anepigraphous, their interpretation would have baffled all ingenuity; but fortunately the names of the various deities represented are written beside them in Greek characters, only somewhat disguised by being crushed into Scythian forms' (lx). The only two Indian deities appearing on Kanishka's money are Śiva (Oēśo) and Sākyamuni Buddha written *Sakaymo Boddo*, while no real member of the Greek pantheon is clearly ever to be found. Such Greek names as Helios and Salēnē no doubt occur, but the corresponding figures are not at all Greek in their iconography. The sungod Helios is usually represented in Hellenistic art of the period as driving in a chariot drawn by four horses (cf. the striking figure of the god on the tetradrachms of the Graeco-Bactrian king Plato), but here, as well as in Huvishka's money, he is the same as Mihira, his Zoroastrian counterpart. The newly discovered coins of Plato near Qunduz in Northern Afghanistan show that the sungod figuring in them was of the nature of the Iranian Mithra (cf. *supra*, p. 785). Selene, according to Greek mythology, is the moon goddess, while the corresponding figure here is that of a male deity in many respects identical with the Persian moon god Mao so often represented in the coins of the two Kushāṇa kings. Another Greek name, Hephaistos, found by the side of some figures on Kanishka's coins only, is also a misnomer. In fact these three 'are not Greek divinities at all, but popular indigenous

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divinities under Greek names and a Greek disguise; in other words, these Greek gods are coefficients of the indigenous ones, as is the common belief of the vulgar,'[1] indigenous not with reference to India, but to countries far outside her western and north-western borders.

Huvishka's coins show at the same time an advance as well as retrogression in respect of the variety of their reverse devices. The number of the deities is no doubt larger, as new ones are introduced for the first time, but carelessness in the representation and description of some of them is discernible. Added to such Persian deities as Mihira, Mao, Vata (*Oado*), Luhrasp (*Lurasp*), Veretraghna (*Orlagno*), Atash (*Athso*), Pharro (*Pharro*, not really a firegod like Atash, but the presiding deity of imperial greatness), Bahumana (*Manao Bago*), and to such nondescript figures as Nana or Nanashao (written *Nana*, *Nanaia*, *Nanashao*, probably the Syrian goddess based on the far earlier Anahit of Asia Minor), Ardochso (*Ardochsho*, apparently identical with the Roman goddess of abundance), we now find several new names e.g. Shariar (*Sharēoro*), Ouranos (*Uron*), the Greek Heracles (*Herakilo*), the Alexandrian Serapis (*Sarapo*), goddess depicting personified Rome (*Rom*, *Riom*). The list of Indian divinities is also fuller, for to Śiva is added the figure of his consort Umā (*Ommo*) and their son or sons, Skanda, Kumāra, Viśākha, and Mahāsena (*Skando Komaro Vizago Maaseno*).[2] Sometimes a god and his consort are shown side by side, as in the case of Śiva and Umā, or Śiva and Nana —this peculiar conjunction of an Indian god with a non-Indian goddess should be noted. Sometimes, though rarely, curious single, but at the same time composite, deities (most likely belonging to Brahmanic pantheon) make an appearance. It is sufficient to mention the ithyphallic three-headed four-armed figure holding a goat (antelope ?), a wheel, a trident and a thunderbolt.[3] The iconography of Śiva and Umā becomes varied, the former sometimes appearing as three-headed and bearing different combinations of such attributes as 'vase', 'thunderbolt', 'trident', 'goat' or 'antelope', 'club', 'wreath', etc., while his consort is shown either with a lotus or a cornucopia in her hand. The Indian features of Huvishka's money indicate greater acquaintance with the beliefs of the Indian people. At the same time curious blunders such as a sun god being described as *Onia*, or a Nanaia as *Onio*, are found. The change, however, is much more perceptible in the money of his successor Vāsudeva. The number and variety of the reverse devices are suddenly restricted and three deities only appear—Śiva, Ardochso, and Nana, the

[1] *JRAS.* 1912, p. 1005

[2] P. Gardner, op. cit., pls. xxvii, xxviii, figs. 16, 22, 24. Two or possibly three allied gods are clearly meant by these terms; they are Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha, and Mahāsena. D. R. Bhandarkar's view that there are four deities is wrong; cf. J. N. Banerjea, op. cit., p. 145. For Umā on Huvishka's coins, cf. Banerjea, op. cit., pp. 136-7, pl. xi fig. 7

[3] P. Gardner, op. cit., p. 148, pl. xxviii fig. 16. Gardner describes it as Śiva on account of its affinity to the god, but a wheel in Śiva's hand is unusual and the faces do not appear to be all, human; for another possible explanation, cf. J. N. Banerjea, op. cit., pp. 123-4

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first two being more frequent. These two devices, Śiva and Ardochso, came to play a very important part in the numismatic history of northern and north-western India and its border, for they continued to be used in their original or in modified forms on the money of the local dynasts and monarchs for more than half a millennium. The Greek legend on these coins gradually deteriorated.

Various explanations have been offered for this marked peculiarity of Kanishka and Huvishka's currency. One is that it emphasises in a characteristic manner the spirit of eclecticism with which these two Kushāṇa emperors were imbued. Rapson who at first accepted this view was subsequently of opinion that it did nothing of the kind, but was simply a sign of the vast extent of the contemporary Kushāṇa empire. The coins were minted in different parts of it, and the deities shown on their reverse were no other than the tutelary gods of the numerous mint-cities. Rapson was the greatest advocate of the local character of the Indian coins, and this view harmonises with the theory expressed above. J. Kennedy accepted none of these suggestions; according to him the pantheon represented had no connection with the religion of the Kushāṇas or of their emperors who in all probability were animists. Its marked Zoroastrian character, so ably demonstrated by Stein,[1] was at once popular and old-fashioned, and was derived from Babylonia, probably from its lower part—Characene and Messene. The syncretism of the motley pantheon marked by its Sabaean and astral character and the importance that was given to Nanaia or Queen Nana signify, according to him, the regions from which many of its individual members were recruited. The coinage of the two Kushāṇa emperors 'was struck not to supply local wants, but for the purposes of foreign (Chinese silk) trade, and between these Messenian merchants and the Chinese, the people of Kashmir, Kabul, and Arachosia acted as intermediaries.' It was with the religious beliefs of these Messenian traders and their intermediaries that most of the deities appearing on the coins were associated.[2] But if the coinage was only intended for these trade transactions between the extreme northern and north-western regions of India and countries far beyond her borders, what rational explanation can be offered for its unimpeded circulation in the innermost regions of the Indian dominions of the Kushāṇas? The vast number of copper coins, along with the gold ones, must have supplied local wants, and they were no less characterised by 'a varied reverse'. Thus, Kennedy's hypothesis is also not wholly satisfactory, though there may be something in his views on the localisation of the peculiar Zoroastrian deities. But these gods, along with their Indian counterparts, seem to have had a wider appeal, and it is not unlikely that an appreciable number of Kanishka's and Huvishka's alien subjects in India were devotees of these non-Indian deities. The coins of the two Kushāṇa emperors may or may not signify their eclecticism, but they undoubtedly show a liberal spirit in marked contrast

[1] *IA.* 1888, pp. 89 f.

[2] *JRAS.* 1912, p. 981 ff.

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to the aggressive sectarianism featured in the money of their predecessor Wima Kadphises.

The coins of the later Kushāṇas, the successors of Vāsudeva, have on their reverse either Śiva or Ardochso. They were soon to be characterised by only a partial bilinguality, differing from the earlier mode. The Greek script showed a progressive degradation until the legend almost ceased to be intelligible, and the second script, used to write only the king's name in 'Chinese fashion', i.e. vertically under his extended arm, was Brāhmī; the reverse device as usual had the short descriptive label in Greek. The obverse side also came to bear one, two or more stray Brāhmī letters in different parts of the field, the significance of which is not clear. R. D. Banerji thinks that the first two may stand for the name of the province, and the name of the particular mint; the third being the initial letter of the issuing chief's name. There can be no certainty about this. Nothing, however, can be plainer than the gradual debasement of the gold of these coins and the deterioration of their style and fabric. It is true that in a way they served as the prototype of the earliest Gupta gold coins, but the Gupta die-cutters and coiners were far better technicians and artists.

It is now necessary to say a few words about the metrology of the foreign coins in the India of our period. The weight of the silver coins issued by the Bactrian Greeks before they were dispossessed of their kingdom on the other side of the Hindukush by the Central Asian hordes, followed the Attic measure for gold and silver money. This measure was made universal in the regions conquered by Alexander, and the Seleucid kings maintained it. Reference to a few gold staters of Diodotus II and Euthydemus I, as well as to the unusual twenty-stater piece of Eucratides has already been made (ch. vi). Tetradrachms, drachms and hemidrachms were commonly struck, though smaller denominations, obols for instance, are also known. Heliocles, presumably the last of these rulers to strike money both in Bactria and India, appears to have adopted a different standard in most of his Indian silver coins, though a few even of these may have been struck according to the older weight; his predecessor Eucratides may also have issued a few silver pieces according to the new weight. This changed measure became the norm for the money of the host of other Indo-Greek kings, though two of them, Apollodotus and Antialcidas, still issued a few pieces in accordance with the older measure.[1] The change lay in the disuse of the heavier coins, the Attic tetradrachms, and the introduction usually of coins of two denominations, in which the normal weight of one was about 148 grains, and that of the other about 37 grains troy. This was Cunningham's estimate, but Gardner took the weights of the two groups as approximating to 160 and 40 grains respectively. Different explanations of the nature of these two denominations have been hazarded by different numismatists. Cunningham suggested long

[1] The recently found Qunduz treasure noted above shows, however, that a few other Indo-Greek kings, even Hermaeus (the last among them) struck Bactrian style Attic tetradrachms.

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ago that the change was due to an increase in the value of gold which occurred at about the same time, so that the price of gold rose from ten *rates* of silver to eleven *rates* of silver for one *rate* of gold.[1] But for all practical purposes no gold coins were issued by the Indo-Greek kings, and no question of the relative value of the two metals can really arise. Gardner would describe the new standard as identical with one previously current in all parts of the Persian empire, 'notably with that of the sigloi stamped with the figure of the Persian king freely circulating in the northern parts of India, which paid tribute to the Persians'. He would thus designate 'the heavier pieces which weigh as a maximum 160 grains, didrachms, and the smaller pieces which weigh up to 40 grains, hemidrachms' (lxviii). But no such silver coins of the Indo-Greeks weighing 160 grains are known; the heaviest weighs a little less than 152 grains, and the academic as well as actual weight of a Persian siglos was somewhat more than 80 grains. Von Sallet's explanation, already noticed, was different. He regarded the two denominations as tetradrachms and drachms of a much reduced standard. One of his chief suggestions was that the Greeks found that their Indian subjects were accustomed to the use of much lighter weight silver money, and a marked depreciation in the weight would not go against the prevailing norm. Thus, the two groups of coins which according to Gardner were 'appreciated' didrachms and hemidrachms were in the opinion of the German numismatist 'depreciated' drachms and tetradrachms. Gardner objected to this interpretation, arguing that the sudden change in the metrology 'is evidently due not to any sinking of the standard, but to the adoption for purposes of convenience of a different weight for coins'. Macdonald and Rapson accepted Gardner's view, and called it the Persian or Indo-Persian standard, while R. B. Whitehead, ably supporting Von Sallet, followed him in calling it the Indian one.[2] Whitehead observes, 'The advantageous course was to strike hybrid coins on an

[1] Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythians and Kushanas* (Reprints of his articles in *N.C.* 1889-92), pp. 18-19. Cunningham demonstrates his point in the following manner: The full weight of a gold stater in Eucratides's time and before was 134.4 grains troy, which at 10 *rates* gave its equivalent silver value at 1344 grs. troy. This divided by 20 gave the weight of the silver drachm as 67.2, that of the didrachm as 134.4, and hemidrachm as 33.6 grs. After Eucratides the average weight of 16 didrachms has become 146.3 grs, while that of 82 hemidrachmas has risen to 36.48, i.e. 37 grs., the full weight of a didrachm now being as much as 148 grs. Thus 1/10 had been added to the weight of the silver coins, and the rate had changed to 11 silver to 1 gold. This is his table:

Grains Troy	Grains Troy
134.4 (the weight of an Attic didrachm)	33.6 (the weight of an Attic hemidrachm)
+ 1/10	+ 1/10
i.e. 13.44	i.e. 3.36
147.84 or 148, the weight of a new didrachm	36.96 or 37, the weight of a new hemidrachm

[2] *CHI.* I pp. 461, 545. R. B. Whitehead followed Cunningham's views in his earlier writings, but later changed his views, for 'Cunningham's theory involved a complete break in continuity between the Bactrian and Indo-Bactrian coinages'. Von Sallet's hypothesis is worked out in his *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*, (1879).

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arbitrary standard smaller than either the Bactrian or Indian, and to make a profit by this debasement of currency. The reduced scale does not seem to be related to any known standard.'[1] It is hardly possible to confirm or refute either of these suggestions, though Sallet and Whitehead appear to have given a better explanation of this metrological change. But even their theory is marred by a slight misstatement of fact; it is not wholly true that the Indians of these regions were only accustomed to handle light weight silver coins. The single type bent-bar silver pieces already noticed as current in Taxila and its environs in the pre-Greek times show that the local people knew also the use of very heavy pieces.

The Scytho-Parthian rulers appear to have followed their immediate predecessors in India for the weight of their silver money. They did not coin gold; the one tiny gold coin in the Lahore Museum bearing the legend *aṭhamasa* placed by Whitehead along with the Śaka-Pahlava coins weighs only 3.4. grains, and gives us no idea about its standard. It might not have been a coin at all, but some sort of a token of a private individual. Similarly the unique medallic gold piece in the British museum collection associated with Pushkalāvatī and weighing 66.7 grains is of no great use in this respect; it would be a heavy-weight half stater according to the full Attic measure. But its issuer's name and nationality are unknown, though Gardner describes the piece as 'Indo-Scythic, uncertain' (162). It need not have been a coin meant for currency purposes, but a religious token of the city of Pushkalāvatī in Scythic times. It is practically impossible in the present state of our knowledge to say anything certain about the standard followed by the Indo-Scythic and Indo-Parthian kings in the large number of their copper and billon coins respectively. But as in the case of the copper money of the Indo-Greeks so here also the indigenous Kārshāpaṇa standard or its varieties current in Northern India may have been followed. The problem of the relationship between the two groups of coins—one of silver and other of baser metals—still remains unsolved.

The practice of the imperial Kushāṇas in India of striking gold coins in large numbers from Wima Kadphises onwards has added much interest to the metrological problem of the early foreign coins in this country. Cunningham showed long ago that the average weight of the full denomination gold pieces of Wima Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva was about 123 grains. It was thus far below the weight of an Attic gold stater (a little over 130 grains troy). He explained this change on the basis of the following data. First, a further rise in the value of gold and a consequent fall in the price of silver in these times when the weight of a didrachm still remained near 148 grains. The traditional relationship between the gold and silver coins of the Greeks was that twenty silver drachms or ten didrachms were equivalent in value to one gold stater. The market price of gold in the early Kushāṇa times being one of gold to twelve of silver, 1480 grains of silver (148, the weight of an Indo-Greek

[1] *NC.* 1923, p. 298

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didrachm multiplied by 10, the number of didrachms making up the full value of a stater) would be priced at 123.33 grains of gold, and that is exactly the average weight of the imperial Kushāṇa gold pieces. Cunningham would further bring them in line with the aurei of the Roman emperors, Tiberius and Nero. The large number of Roman gold coins imported into northern India, the balance of trade being in her favour in these times, were recoined by the powerful Kushāṇa monarchs, and it was natural that the weight of the early imperial aurei would have an indirect influence on that of their gold coins. J. Kennedy saw no direct connection between the two groups of gold coins, and definitely stated that 'Kanishka's coinage shows no sign of Roman influence'. He accepted the first part of Cunningham's suggestion about the relative value of the two metals gold and silver being a determining factor in the gold money of the Kushāṇas. He surmised, however, that the rise in the value of gold in the second to first century B.C. and first century A.D. was principally due to the heavy never-ceasing drain of gold from western Asia and south-eastern Europe to Rome where vast quantities were stored up in public treasuries and private coffers, and thus going out of circulation. He was further of opinion that the relation between the weight of Kanishka's staters and that of the Roman aurei was remote and indirect. The gold staters of Kanishka, the first year of whose reign he would place in 58 B.C., were according to him prior to the aurei of Julius Cæsar, and both were the remote descendants of Macedonian coinage, their weight being determined by the market value of gold.[1] Kennedy's view placing Kanishka before the Kadphises group of kings is no longer tenable, and his numismatic argument so closely bound up with it naturally falls to the ground. The second part of Cunningham's conclusion cannot be brushed aside as Kennedy does, and it certainly seems that the weight of the imperial Roman aurei from Augustus to the accession of Nero had some connection with the gold coins of Wima Kadphises and his successors. In spite of the small fluctuations in weight in the Roman aurei of the period, their measure (until formally reduced by Nero) was very near 123 grains (122.9 grs). Another fact to be borne in mind is that the Roman denarius aureus (gold *dīnāra*—simple denarii were silver coins) gave its name to one monetary designation in India of the post-Kushāṇa period. The term *dīnāra* used in the literature and inscriptions of the Gupta period to denote Gupta gold coins must have been adopted from the Roman denarii aureii. The Kushāṇa gold pieces whose later forms became the prototype of the earliest Gupta gold coins were most probably described by the same name, another less frequent designation for them being *nānaka*. *Nānaka*, as the commentator of *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* tells us, denoted coins which had Nana as their cognisance (*nānāṅka ṭaṅka*), and the Kushāṇa coins up to

[1] Cunningham's views on the weight of the Kushāṇa gold coins have been fully explained in *Coins of the Indo-Scythians and Kushāṇas*, pp. 20-1; for Kennedy's part acceptance and part rejection of them, cf. *JRAS.* 1912, pp. 999 ff.

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the time of Vāsudeva had Nana as one of their devices. The weight of the gold coins of Vāsudeva's immediate successors remained very near that of the imperial Kushāṇa gold money, but there was a gradual decline in the standard as the quality of the metal deteriorated more and more.

The large number of tribal coins of our period scattered in recognizable groups throughout the length and breadth of northern, north-western and central India are characterised by bewildering varieties and weights. Some account of them has already been given in Chapter V of this volume and the peculiar traits of a few have been noticed earlier in this chapter. Cunningham's vast experience in collecting them and studying them intensively enabled him to localize these pieces with close precision, and his opinions of their localization have been accepted almost universally by numismatists. There can be no doubt that these tribal coins were the legitimate successors of the early uninscribed punch-marked and cast coins of India. Most of them belong to the die-struck group, and have fairly legible legends, but some, to be counted among the 'cast' variety, are far less legible in their legends. There is a third variety numbering comparatively few pieces, the metal blanks of which were first cast and afterwards stamped with devices and legends by the 'hammer and anvil' process. The cast coins are almost invariably of copper or bronze, and a greater percentage of the die-struck coins are also of the same metal. The rest of the die-struck variety are of silver, but a few other metals or metal-compounds like lead and potin are used though very rarely; for example, some lead coins were issued by Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa, the Śaka satraps of Mathurā, and potin was used by the Yaudheyas in their currency. Gold was not coined at all by these tribes, and the excessive value assigned even to baser metals is emphasized by the very small size of many copper coins. Thus the Mālavas had the distinction of striking some of the tiniest coins ever seen, and one such in the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, weighing only 1.7 grains should doubtless be ranked among the lightest and smallest coins in the world.[1]

At the same time heavy-weight coins even of silver are not unknown; witness the three unassigned base silver coins of the second to first century B.C. issued by Śivadatta, Śivapālita and Haridatta found near Almora in the Himalaya mountains; their respective weights are 327, 282 and 304 grains. Of the copper heavy-weight coins, we need only mention the inscribed (legend *Dhamapālasa* in third century Brāhmī script already noticed) and uninscribed coins of Eran, the Kuṇinda coins with the legend *Bhagavato Chhatreśvara Mahātmanaḥ*, the Pañchāla coins of Phalgunimitra and others, and some of the heavy-weight Yaudheya coins. There are perplexing varieties of weight in the same groups and series of coins, and it is very difficult, almost impossible, to fix the relationship between these coin-groups of various unknown denominations. Silver coins are far less numerous and are seldom very heavy; the three coins of base

[1] V. A. Smith, *CCIM.* I p. 163

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silver noticed above are striking exceptions to the general rule. Among the indigenous tribes, the Audumbaras, the Kuṇindas, the Yaudheyas and the Vṛishṇi Rājanyagaṇa (the two last very rarely), are alone known to have issued silver money, and to judge by the recorded weight, this silver money was probably based on the changed metrological standard of the Indo-Greek coins, and not on the indigenous *dharaṇa* or *purāṇa* measure.

It is interesting to note that these groups of silver coins are among those indigenous types of money which show unmistakable traces of foreign influence. This fact was first hinted by Cunningham who described the Audumbara silver coins then known to him as 'silver hemidrachms'.[1] Of these Rapson observed that 'found in the district of Pathankot, they are in style like the hemidrachms of the Greek prince Appollodotos and are found together with them'.[2] It is highly probable that the name Audumbara covered other allied tribes, the name of one of which can be distinctly read in the coin legends. This was Vimaka, a few silver coins of whose chief Rudravarma are known; they are very similar to those of Mahādeva classed along with the Audumbaras by most numismatists. Vimakas are mentioned along with many other tribes like Kaulūta, Kuṇinda, Taṅgana, Kāśmīra, Darada, Darvābhisāra and others of the north-west in the extract from Parāśara, an authority of Varāhamihira, quoted by Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*.[3] The earlier coins (these are the silver coins, biscriptural like those of the Audumbara group) of the Kuṇindas, the present day Kunets of the Sutlej valley, 'show the module of the silver coins suggested by the hemidrachms of the later Greek kings.'[4] Allan observes of them, 'economically the silver coins of the Kuṇindas represent an attempt of an Indian ruler to issue a native silver coinage which would compete in the market with the later Indo-Greek silver.'[5] The majority of their copper coins belonging to the same age (about the end of the first century B.C. according to Allan) bear similar features and possible traces of foreign influence. This cannot be said of the Audumbara square copper coins which are earlier than their silver money. They were once very rare, but the hoard consisting of such issues of the Audumbara chiefs, Rudradāsa, Śivadāsa and Dharaghosha, found at Irippal (Kangra distirct, Panjab) in 1913 and described by R. D Banerji [6] has made them well known. They are clearly Indian in type without the least trace of foreign influence.

The same process by which the indigenous mode gradually yields place to extraneous technique under the pressure of alien contact can be distinctly traced in the coin types of the Yaudheyas, who struck money in copper, potin, and very rarely in silver, and many of these groups of coins seem to have been issued in the name of their tutelary deity, 'Bhagavān Svāmi Brahmaṇya Kumāra'.[7] Their earliest issues consist of scyphate

[1] Cunningham, *CAI.* p. 67
[2] E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 11
[3] *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Dvivedi's ed. ch. 14, p. 284
[4] J. Allan, op. cit., Intro. p. ci
[5] Ibid. p. ciii
[6] *Num. Supplement*, XXII pp. 247 ff.
[7] J. N. Banerjea, op. cit. pp., 141-2. The war-god Kārttikeya (another name of Brahmaṇya Kumāra) was fittingly

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round potin coins die-struck only on the concave side (their scyphate character seems to have been due to the thinness of the 'blank' struck with force in a heated state), some with the partially legible legend *maharajasa*. The second class of their coins, some in potin and others in copper, bearing devices on both sides with portions of partially legible obverse legends *Yodheyānāṁ* or *Bahudhāñaka* (*Bahudhānyaka*) *Yodheyānāṁ* may be of a slightly later date. These two classes, like the somewhat similar copper issues of the Ārjunāyana tribe, were struck in accordance with the developed indigenous technique, and show no trace of foreign influence. The contrary is the case with the other varieties of Yaudheya money mainly struck in copper though a unique silver piece is also known. The silver coin, and many other copper coins revealing an unmistakable affinity with Kuṇinda types show foreign features, especially in their module; the devices, however, are purely Indian, e.g. the six-headed Kārttikeya, Śiva, Kārttikeya's consort (Kumāridevī), Lakshmī, deer etc. The series of well executed round copper coins almost similar in size and weight (the latter usually ranges between 160 and 178 grains) with the figures of Kārttikeya and his consort on either side and the legend *Yaudheyagaṇasya jaya* on the obverse, the latest in the Yaudheya coinage (struck in the third-fourth century A.D.), show undoubted traces of Kushāṇa influence—especially of the technique followed in the copper money of the Imperial Kushāṇas. It should be noted that the foreign impress in the cases of the groups of indigenous coins noticed above principally consisted of the module or technique; the numerous devices were in the main adopted from the vast store of symbols known in the country from time immemorial and mythological figures like Śiva, Lakshmī, Kārttikeya. It is true that sometimes, though rarely, one or two modes of representations of the latter like 'Śiva-Viśvāmitra' on Dharaghosha's unique silver coins may have been based on the model of a Greek divinity.[1] A touch of alien influence may also be traced in the adoption of such attributive epithets as *tratara* or *rajaraja* in some of the tribal coins. The unique silver coin of the Vṛishṇi Rājanyagaṇa contains the former epithet, while some silver money of the Audumbara chief Mahādeva bears the latter. There is little doubt that both are respective adaptations of the Prākṛit equivalents of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythic royal titles, *Sōteros* and *Basileos Basileon*. One of the most characteristic and important traits of the foreign coins, however, never found favour with the indigenous issuers of the coins of our period. Whether tribal chiefs like the Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti and the Audumbara Dharaghosha, or Hindu rulers of Mathurā and Ayodhyā like 'Rājā

regarded by this Kshatriya tribe who lived on their weapons (*āyudhajīvī*) as their patron deity and their monarch as well. The Kuṇindas in some stage of their history might have dedicated their state to Lord Śiva. This seems to be the most rational interpretation of such coin-legends as *Bhagavato svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya* and *Bhagavato Chhatreśvara mahātmanaḥ* found on some groups of Yaudheya and Kuṇinda coins.

[1] Cunningham describes the obverse device as 'Śiva standing to front with right hand raised to head, and leopard's skin over left arm; similar to figure of Heracles crowning himself.' *CAI.* p. 67

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Balabhūti' and 'Rājā Kumudasena,' none of them ever introduced his personal figure on either side of his coins.

Much has been incidentally said in this chapter about the devices and legends on the coin groups of the Indian issues of our period. A few more important details about them not properly noticed so far may now be mentioned. The majority of the devices engraved on the die or the coin-mould appear to have been religious in character. The significance of some is obvious. Thus the structure reproduced on the earliest coins of the Audumbara tribe undoubtedly stands for a Śaiva shrine with double domes and multiple pillars, probably one of the earliest representations of a well-developed temple-model (it is not a two-storied and pillared *stūpa* as Allan would have us believe). The 'tree in railing' with or without the trident battle-axe standard in front, one of the commonest devices on the coins, stands in many cases for the '*sthalavṛiksha*' of the localities from which the individual groups of coins were issued. A common symbol on the Ujjain copper pieces is the phallic emblem of Śiva very realistically represented. The so-called 'three-arched' or 'six-arched' *chaitya* with or without a crescent above it is nothing but a conventional representation of a mountain, and the wavy line almost invariably shown below stands for a river. The river is most clearly and characteristically represented in some Eran, Besnagar and other coins with fish and such sacred symbols as a *swastika* or 'a taurine' within two parallel wavy lines; the sanctity of mountains and rivers in India is well known. Tanks with fish are occasionally found on some coins; they may symbolise sacred tanks. The very 'ornate wheel' on the unique silver pieces of the Vṛishṇi Rājanya *gaṇa* seems to be the 'Sudarśana chakra', the weapon *par excellence* of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa, the greatest of the Vṛishṇis. The various types of wheels on many other coins of this class are mostly solar in character. The standards (*dhvajastaṁbhas*) are sometimes represented; some of their capitals consist of a *śūla* (trident), a *mīna* (fish), a *tāla* (fan palm), and a *chakra* (wheel), a *kukkuṭa* (cock), and thus they can be described as *Śūladhvaja, Mīnadhvaja, Tāladhvaja, Chakradhvaja, Kukkuṭadhvaja* with individual sectarian affiliations. The Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas in their earliest coins seem to have adopted the *yūpa* (sacrificial pillar) as one of their devices. The animals that commonly appear on the coins are the elephant and bull, but sometimes a horse, a deer, very rarely even a frog (on some Ujjain coins) is to be found. The exact significance of many of the animals is not discernible. A few, like the bull, may represent the deity in his theriomorphic form; but sometimes the bull may stand for the sacrificial bull, as on the money of the Ārjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas. The human figure found on many coins shown usually in a standing attitude and rarely in a sitting posture with recognizable objects like a staff, vase, trident, a lotus flower, a spear, a *chakra* may usually stand for different divinities. Thus, 'the staff and vase carrying figure' with one face and rarely three faces so frequently found on Ujjain coins clearly indicates Śiva and not Kārttikeya as Allan says. Cunningham long ago suggested this on the

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basis of the legendary association of 'Śiva Mahākāla' with this region. The figure seated in Yogāsana underneath a tree on a few coins of the locality may in this light represent 'Śiva as Mahāyogī', and not 'a seated Buddha'. Kārttikeya fittingly appears on the Yaudheya coins with his special cognizances, a spear and a cock or a peacock. The goddess Lakshmī standing carrying a lotus flower, sometimes being bathed by two elephants, is a favourite device with these indigenous coiners, and the alien rulers of India sometimes adopted it from them. The unique series of Pañchāla *mitra* coins are very helpful for the study of the iconography of the devices. The names of their individual issuers, Agnimitra, Vishṇumitra, Sūryamitra, Bhānumitra, Phalgunimitra, Bhūmimitra, Indramitra perhaps give us a clue to the identity of the different reverse devices on their coins. Thus the coins of Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra invariably bear an enshrined rayed disc symbolising the sun-god; similarly the figures of a Vishṇu (? four armed), an Agni, an Indra, the goddesses Bhūmi and Phalgunī are shown on the coins of different issuers bearing their respective names.[1] The above account may give the impression that the coin-devices were seldom associated with other creeds of India like Buddhism and Jainism. But many symbols present on these coins have not been satisfactorily explained, and some of them may be associated with these and other creeds. The secular character of a few of the symbols is also demonstrable e.g. the 'steel-yard balance' found on some coins localized by Cunningham at Ayodhyā. Some of the symbols have a clear affinity or identity with those appearing on the punch-marked and cast coins of an earlier date.

A study of the legends on the indigenous coins and their scripts also furnishes us with some important and interesting data. The scripts used are only two, Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī, the latter being comparatively rare and used only on the coins of the extreme north of India. It is found on the coins of Taxila and its environs, of the Audumbaras and the allied tribes e.g. the Vimakas, the Kuṇindas, the 'Rājanya-janapada' and the 'Vṛishṇi-rājanya-gaṇa'; the simultaneous use of Brāhmī in most of these cases is noteworthy. It is true that the coins of the 'Rājanya-janapada' were localized by Cunningham at Mathurā (he could not read the name correctly), but it is highly probable that their source was further north and that Mathurā was the region which was infested by foreigners from the north, like the Śaka Kshatrapas Rajuvula, Śoḍāsa, Hagāna and Hagāmāsha. The legends, both in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī, are usually in the Prākṛit language, but attempts at Sanskritisation are clearly discernible, especially in those of comparatively late date. Thus in the earlier coins of the Yaudheyas, we find such Prākṛit forms as *Bahudhāñaka* and *Yodheyāna*, while in their later issues we find almost complete though not correct Sanskrit forms like *bhagavat(o) svāmino brahmaṇya-devasya Kumārasya*, or *Yaudheya gaṇasya jaya*. Still Prākṛitisms sometimes appear in the full

[1] For a study in detail of this topic, see the relevant portions of Chapter iv of Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*.

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fledged Sanskrit legends; thus, in the Kuṇinda issues the Prākṛit form *Amoghabhūtisya* is used in place of the Sanskrit *Amoghabhūteḥ* in the otherwise fully Sanskrit legend *mahārājasya rājñaḥ Kuṇi (in)-dasya Amoghabhūtisya*. In these bi-scriptural Kuṇinda coins, however, the same legend written in Kharoshṭhī script on the other side is entirely in Prākṛit—*maharajasa raña kuṇidasa Amoghabhutisa*. The unique copper coin of the Kaulūta chief Vīrayaśas has on its obverse in mixed Sanskrit *rājña ko(au)lutasya Vīrayaśasya*. The legends further show that the coins were issued by authorities of different categories; some of them were persons having no royal titles whatever, and these seem to have been in the majority. A few names are accompanied by the royal title, and rarely by one or two attributive epithets which appear to have been adopted from the foreign compatriots of these Indian rulers. Though most of the indigenous issuers of coins use no royal titles, the very fact that among them there are some who do may indicate that all were ruling chiefs possessing authority to issue money in their own name. This does not necessarily mean that they were great rulers; most of them were doubtless petty local chieftains.[1] Some strikers of coins are careful to show their tribal affiliation in the legends, while the legends on a few coins also reveal that they were issued by tribal organizations like *gaṇas* and *janapadas* in their corporate capacity. Very rarely legends show that the particular coins in which they occur were struck in the names of different localities. The Audumbara and allied tribal chiefs such as Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Dharaghosha, Mahādeva, the Vaimaka Rudravarma, and the Kuṇinda Amoghabhūti, the Kaulūta Vīrayaśas adopt the royal titles, but their legends also specify the different tribes whose chiefs they were. The legends on the coins of the Ārjunāyanas, the Uddehikas, the Mālavas, the Yaudheyas and others were expressly issued in the names of different *gaṇas* or republican clans. Similarly the coins of the Śivis, the Trigartas, the Vṛishṇis, and the Rājanyas bear inscriptions showing that they were issued in the names of the whole *janapadas* with the aforesaid tribal designations. A few coins bear such legends as *Erakanya*, *Tripuri*, *Ujeniya*, *Kosabi*; these emphasize in a curious manner their association with the respective localities, but none of the words indicating place names is in the genitive case. Most of the coins usually associated with the Mālavas, it is true, bear such legends as *Mālavānāṁ jaya*, *Mālavagaṇasya jaya*, *Mālavāhṇa jaya*, but some have in place of the tribal name such outlandish words as Bhapaṁyana, Majupa, Mapojaya, Magajasa, Magojaya, Mapaka, Pacha, Gajava, Maraja, Jamaku. What is their real meaning ? Smith

[1] No royal titles are used on the coins of Śivadatta, Śivapālita, Haridatta (Almora), Mūladeva, Viśākhadeva and others (Ayodhyā), Dharmapāla (Eran), Bṛihaspatimitra, Parvata, Aśvaghosha and several others (Kauśāṁbī), Gomitra and many other Hindu rulers of Mathurā, and the 'Pañchāla kings'; Kumudasena of the Ayodhyā group, Dhanadeva in the Kauśāṁbī series, Ghoshadatta, Balabhūti, Rāmadatta, and Kāmadatta of the Mathurā group adopt the royal title.

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thought that most of these names were of foreign origin. Other suggestions were offered by other scholars. Allan holds that 'they are not names, but in most cases meaningless attempts to reproduce parts of *Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ*.'[1] None of these explanations is fully satisfactory. In any case, they remind us in a curious manner of the pseudo-Roman copper coins of South India of the second-third centuries A.D., to which period also these North Indian coins apparently belong. It would be unwarranted, however, to suggest that they had any clear Roman association like the other group to which we now turn.

SOUTH INDIAN COINS

One of the most important features of the North Indian coins of our period is their bewildering variety. The case with their South Indian counterparts is quite otherwise. Besides the ubiquitous punch-marked coins, the three principal groups of coins that were current in the South at this time consist of foreign coins—Roman and pseudo-Roman, the Śātavāhana or Andhra coinage, and the money of the Kshaharātas and the Western Kshatrapas. The punch-marked coins, mainly in silver, have been found on many sites in the Godavari basin in Kolhapur, Coimbatore and Trichinopoly, in the Bimlipatam taluk of the Vizagapatam district, Siṅgavaram in the Krishna district, Madurai, and several other places. In Kolhapur (the exact find spot was the village of Shinhi in the Kurveer Petta) the find of 192 such coins contained an octagonal gold ring with the name of the owner engraved upon it in Mauryan Brāhmī characters, *Nadibhagasa* ('of Nandibhāga'). Such symbols as 'two standing figures', 'elephant', 'tree within railing', 'horse', 'fishes', 'deer', etc., which appear on its different facets are commonly found on the punch-marked coins. There is little doubt that the money represented the hoarded wealth of Nandibhāga, perhaps a South Indian subject of the Mauryas. The numismatic features of this find as well as the others from different parts of South India hardly differ in any way from those of the same class of coins from other parts of India though some of the groups exhibit new features. This was one of the principal reasons which led some scholars to suggest that the punch-marked coins in the main constituted the Indian currency in the Maurya times when almost the whole of India came under one single administrative system.

Two other groups of silver coins belonging to a very early period have been found in distant corners of South India. They have been classed by Allan as early single-type coins. The first group consists of thick slightly scyphate round pieces with plain reverse and a single symbol in the incuse on the obverse. They were found in a field near Sultanpur two miles north of Wai in Satara district. Allan's remarks are illuminating: 'Their fabric suggests an early date as it recalls that of the early copper

[1] J. Allan, op. cit., pp. cvi-cvii

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coins of India, whose seal-like appearance suggests that they were made by impressing a die on a half-molten piece of metal' (xviii). The so-called Pañchāla Mitra coins, as well as the single- and double-die coins of Taxila noticed earlier in this chapter exhibit the same peculiar trait. The weights of these single-type coins of South India show that there were three denominations, 'double, single and half-Kārshāpaṇas or whole, half and quarter *kalañjas*'. The other group of much smaller silver coins is derived from Konkan in south-west India. They are irregular in shape, but almost uniform in weight, ranging between 12 and 15 grains. Their obverse device presents a bull surrounded by such symbols as a 'triskelis' a 'crescent with a dot', and a 'small circle', all within a shallow 'incuse', while the reverse, if distinct, shows a combination of four 'taurine-like' symbols encircled by certain marks similar to those appearing on the obverse. A hoard of 1138 rectangular silver punch-marked coins weighing between 19 and 25 grains found near Madurai may represent their Pāṇḍyan variety.[1]

There is literary as well as archaeological evidence for an extensive commercial contact between South India and countries of the Middle East and central and eastern Mediterranean Europe during the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era. These countries were mostly under political subjection to the Romans, and their inhabitants, many of them Greeks, were the direct agents or intermediaries in the conduct of this trade. One of the latter, an unnamed Egyptian Greek of the first century A.D., wrote a handy guide-book, the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, for the benefit of these western traders and mariners. We find in it the names of many South Indian coastal ports and inland towns and localities, with special reference to the imports and exports of the former and the produce of the latter. The author makes frequent mention of large imports of specie in the ports, and the specie mainly consisted of Roman coins. Hoards of these of different metals have been unearthed in various localities of South India, and they undoubtedly comprised the wealth of the rich South Indian magnates, traders, and producers. There were also Roman settlements in the country, as excavations at Arikamedu near Pondicherry and other places have proved, and Roman coins were in great demand there. Sewell in his very lucid account[2] of these hoards refers to a large number of Roman copper coins, some among them being of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius, mostly collected from Madurai and its environs. They were in his opinion imported from Rome as currency for purchases of comparatively small value by 'Romans or persons using Roman coins in daily life actually resident at Madurai for a time.' Colonel Tufnell refers to another class of coins found at Madurai, 'small insignificant copper coins scarce the size of a quarter of a farthing, and closely resembling the early issues of the native mints,' but which are at the same time Roman in character. On one side they bear the imperial

[1] *JNSI.* VI pp. 1 ff.

[2] *JRAS.* 1904, pp. 610-1

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head, very much worn, sometimes with faint traces of an inscription; the other side shows the figures of three Roman soldiers standing, spear in hand. This reverse device should not be confused with that of 'the little coins found in South India, probably of Chola or of Chera origin, which have devices of Indian figures standing and holding long spears or bows in their hands' (Sewell). The little pseudo-Roman copper pieces were struck locally for the purpose of small purchases by the Roman settlers at or near the place, and they show in a characteristic manner the compromise between the Roman and indigenous methods of coinage. They can be compared with the curious bronze imitations of the late fourth century Roman coins found occasionally in Ceylon. Concerning the latter Mattingly observes : 'It seems that Roman merchants still carried on a lively trade with the distant island and that they actually found it convenient to export small change with them which was then multiplied by imitations on native soil'.[1] Another probable result of the influx of the Roman coins can be seen in the variegated busts distinguishing Nahapāna's silver money, for these appear to have been modelled on the examples of many of the Roman emperors ruling in the first century, and the technique of his coins was based on the Indo-Greek mode. This method continued to be followed in the money of Chashṭana and his successors after Nahapāna, and by a few rulers of the Śātavāhana dynasty, especially Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi, who adopted it in their few silver issues.

The kings belonging mainly to the Śātavāhana dynasty (referred to as the Andhras or Andhrabhṛityas in many of the Purāṇas), and members of some other allied dynasties of South India instituted a currency in the baser metals,—lead, potin and copper, lead being predominant in their dominions. The method of manufacture adopted presumably grew out of the earlier practice of issuing punch-struck and single-type coins. Rapson who was the first to make a systematic study of the Andhra or Śātavāhana coins grouped them under several heads on the basis of their respective provenance. Such local groups consisted of the coinages of Malwa, Andhradeśa (i.e. the land between the lower reaches of the Godāvarī and the Kṛishṇā, not the original homeland of the Andhras), the Anantapur and Cuddapah districts, the region of the Coromandel coast, the Chitaldrug and the Karwar districts, the Kolhapur district, and the Chanda district of the Madhya Pradesh; silver coins of the Andhras he would assign to Nasik district, found in the Jogalthembi hoard which constituted merely a re-issue by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of the coins originally struck by Nahapān,a and to the northern Konkan, where the coins were direct copies by Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi of the contemporary mintage of the Western Kshatrapas. Rapson's classification of the Andhra coinage on the basis of provenance has usually been accepted by other scholars, and discoveries of new hoards like the one from Tarhālā (Akola district, Berar) have

[1] J. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, p. 255

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added much to our knowledge. It was the same scholar who first pointed out in convincing terms that some of the names appearing on the coins agree with names found in the Purāṇic list of the Andhra kings, but neither his chronological arrangement of these different groups nor his attribution of them to individual rulers has always been found tenable in the light of subsequent researches. New names have been read on coins obtained from new finds, a few having affinity with some mentioned in the Purāṇic lists (cf. the names Sivasiri Āpilaka and Vijaya, found on coins from Madhya Pradesh, with 'Āpīlaka' and 'Vijaya' of the Purāṇas). Some lead and potin round and square coins of 'Malwa fabric' with a partially legible legend *Raño Siri Sātasa* or *Raño Sātakaṁṇisa* (the latter in blundering and reversed Brāhmī script) have been attributed by Rapson to Śrī Śātakarṇi, the third ruler of the line. Among his other certain attributions are the following: to Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, some lead coins found in the Andhradeśa, potin coins recovered from Chanda district (M. P.), and some lead coins with 'ship' symbol from the Coromandel coast (the last group is attributed by Smith and Mirashi to Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi); a few groups of lead coins found in the Andhradeśa to Vāsishṭhiputra Śiva-Śrī Śātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Śrī Chanda-sāti and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi; a few potin coins found in the Chanda district to Śrī Kṛishṇa Śātakarṇi; and several silver coins of the Surāshṭra fabric to Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi. A glance at the list shows that at least one of the most important members of the line, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, is unrepresented, his main numismatic credential being the silver coins, originally struck by Nahapāna, re-struck by him and found at Jogalthembi (Nasik district). But since Rapson's conclusions were propounded, several more coins have been found which have been ascribed to this Śātavāhana monarch. Two groups of large lead coins, one found in Chitaldrug district, Mysore, and the other at Karwar in North Canara were issued respectively by Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi (possibly the same as Mahāraṭhi Tranakayiro, the father-in-law of Śrī Śātakarṇi, according to Rapson) and kings Chuṭukaḷānanda and Muḷānanda; these chiefs are described by Rapson as the feudatories of the Andhras, the Andhrabhṛityas. These assignments are mainly based on the legends fairly well preserved in Brāhmī characters of the period. Rapson's attribution of the Kolhapur group of large lead coins bearing the names of kings Vasishṭhiputra Viḷivāyakura, Māṭhariputra Śivalakura and Gotamiputra Viḷivāyakura is not tenable. He tentatively identified the last with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi, the second with Māṭhariputra Svāmi Sakasena of the Kaṇheri inscriptions, and the first with 'a predecessor of Māṭhariputra in the Kolhapur district'. This order of succession of the three kings can be determined by the evidence of re-strikings, the third re-striking the coins of the first two, and the second, those of the first. Against this, D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion that they were a group of local rulers, one of whom is recognisable in 'Baleokouros' of Ptolemy, is far more acceptable. The Tarhālā hoard of about 1600 potin coins discovered as

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recently as 1940 and very carefully studied by V. V. Mirashi contains not only the names of some well-known Śātavāhana rulers, but some new names also e.g. Kuṁbha Śātakarṇi, Karṇa Śātakarṇi and Saka Śātakarṇi not known from any other source.[1] Among other hitherto unknown rulers of the same line brought to light from coin legends, the most important is one Śātavāhana whose name has been read by Mirashi in the legend in early Brāhmī script as *Raṁño siri-Sādavāha* (*nasa*) in a square copper coin. Mirashi ascribes to him a date in the third century B.C., and regards him as the founder of the dynasty named after him.[2]

The denominations and the weight-standards of the Andhra coins cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. It is likely that the general designation of all the various groups of coinage was 'Kārshāpaṇa', the name occurring in Nānāghāt, Kaṇheri and other inscriptions. Rapson is, however, of opinion that in the Nānāghāt and Kaṇheri records, the term denoted only silver coins. On the other hand the silver issues of the Śātavāhanas are comparatively few in number, and it is more likely that the term, if it alludes to Andhra money, must have denoted their usual currency. *Sīsa Kahāpaṇa*, mentioned in some comparatively late texts, may also denote a large section of it.

The commonest devices of the coinage were 'the three-arched or six-arched *chaitya* (really a mountain or hill symbol) with or without a crescent at its top', 'Ujjain symbol', 'tree within railing', 'elephant', 'horse', 'ship' etc., particular combinations of which on the obverse and reverse sides of the coins marked the distinctive features of the provincial currencies of the great Andhra empire. Among the commonest of such symbol-groupings were '*chaitya* and Ujjain symbol' (Andhradeśa), 'multi-arched *chaitya* with tree by its side, a wavy line with dots inside a rectangle and bow and arrow' (Kolhapur), 'elephant with trunk upraised and Ujjain symbol' (M. P), 'horse and Ujjain symbol' (Andhradeśa), 'bull and tree in railing with *chaitya*' (Mahāraṭhi coins of Chitaldrug district, Mysore), 'chaitya and tree in railing with additional symbols' (Karwar coins of Chuṭukaḷānanda and Muḷānanda), 'ship and Ujjain symbol' (Coromandel coast), etc. Rapson has demonstrated not only the local character of these devices, but also their dynastic and personal character.[3] It seems that 'tree in railing' in association with *chaitya* was the common favourite device of the Andhrabhṛityas. The royal bust appears only on Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi's silver coins, evidently in imitation of the Western Kshatrapas. The legends on the Andhra coinage wherever legible are invariably in Prākṛit and contain the royal title and metronymic both of the tribe (cf. *sadakana, chuṭu* etc.) and the issuer's name. The Surāshṭra fabric silver coins of Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi contain according to Rapson the two versions

[1] *JNSI.* II pp. 83 ff. *IHQ.* XVI pp. 503 ff.
[2] *JNSI.* VII pp. 1 ff. A. S. Altekar does not assign such an early date to the coin; he ascribes it to 'king Sātavāhana' mentioned as 'Kumāra Sātavāhana' in the Nānāghat inscription of Queen Nāyanikā, ibid. 3, *n.* 1.
[3] E. J. Rapson, *BMCAWK*, pp. clxv-clxviii

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of the same legend, one in 'lena Prākṛit' and the other in a sort of Prākṛit local to Andhradeśa. The latter version he would read as (. . . *ṇasa*) *Gotamaputasa Hiru-yaña-Hātakaṇisha.*

The third class of the South and Western Indian coins are those of the Kshaharātas and the Kshatrapas of the family of Chashṭana and of Rudrasiṁha II. Much has already been said of these in Chapter ix of this volume in the discussion of the political history of these satrapal rulers, and only a few additional remarks are now called for. The Kshaharāta group of coins consists of the issues of Bhūmaka (only in copper), and one or two copper and a large number of silver coins (mostly re-struck by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi) of Nahapāna. Bhūmaka issued bi-scriptural copper coins with the same partially legible legend *Kshaharatasa Kshatrapasa Bhumakasa* in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī scripts on either side, the devices used being 'Arrow, discus, thunderbolt : Lion-capital and dharmachakra'. The obverse type of Bhūmaka is used by Nahapāna as the reverse device in his silver coins, their obverse being occupied by the royal bust. They are tri-scriptural, and the legend, in blundering mixed Graeco-Roman characters on the obverse, is the exact transliteration of the Prākṛit legend *Rajño (ño) Kshaharatasa Nahapanasa* written in Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī on the reverse. There is no royal bust on his copper money, the obverse of which contains 'thunderbolt and arrow' and the reverse, 'tree with large leaves within railing'. The weight and module of his silver coins, like those of the Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas of Chashṭana's line, were based on the Indo-Greek silver money. But the various types of busts on Nahapāna's silver pieces, as has been already stated, were adaptations of the busts on the Roman imperial coinage of the first century A.D.

Chashṭana and his successors issued coins in silver, copper (very rarely), and potin, a few lead pieces being attributable to Svāmi Rudrasena III (son of Svāmi Rudradāman II) a late ruler in the family of Rūdrasiṁha II, possibly a brother of Bhartṛidāman, the last Mahākshatrapa in the direct line of Chashṭana. The silver coins of all these rulers are characterised by a uniformity not usually noticed in any other series of coins. This feature began with Chashṭana's second variety which shows the satrapal bust with traces of Graeco-Roman legend on the obverse (this legend was shortly to be transformed into a partly visible ornamental design due to the die-cutter's ignorance of the script and language), and 'a three-arched *chaitya* with crescent on its top' and 'a waved line' beneath, flanked by 'a crescent' on the left and 'a star' on the right, with partly legible Brāhmī legend (*Rājño Kshatrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa Chashṭanasa*) on the reverse. In the variety *a* of his silver coins, the '*chaitya*' is absent, and it has been presumed that the inclusion, in Chashṭana's money, of the symbol so frequently found on the early Śātavāhana coins indicated some aggrandizement of the satrapal power at the expense of its rival. This arrangement of the obverse and reverse devices became the norm for all the subsequent silver issues of the line, allowing only occasional variations and those slight. The central *chaitya* was gradually made more prominent and the

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'star and crescent' was relegated to the position of a mere adjunct. The arrangement of the three reverse devices remained almost uniform throughout, the position of the two accessory symbols being reversed only in the silver coins of the two years when Rudrasiṁha I was degraded to the position of a Kshatrapa, in the middle of his career as Māhakshatrapa. The obverse device on the potin and lead coins differs, inasmuch as the satrapal bust is replaced by 'a humped bull standing to right', but the reverse remains almost the same. The square copper coins of Jayadāman issued in his capacity of Kshatrapa show a humped bull to right facing a combined trident and battle-axe on their obverse; the *chaitya* on the reverse is six-arched. The titles he adopted were *Rājā*, *Kshatrapa* and *Svāmi*. Rapson observes. 'Although the types of the silver coinage remain the same from the beginning to the end of the dynasty—from the reign of Chashṭana to that of Svāmi Rudrasiṁha III, son of Satyasiṁha, a period of about two centuries and a half—slight variations are naturally to be observed in the art and workmanship of different periods' (clxx). He has drawn the particular attention of numismatists to 'the different methods of representing the eye and lips in the portraits on the obverse, and the various forms assumed by *chaitya*, star, and crescent on the reverse' a feature already noticed by Newton in 1862. These variations were utilised first by Rapson and subsequently by a few other scholars as aids to the chronological arrangement of the satraps. The year of issue of individual coins, written in the numerical signs of the period, came to be introduced behind the satrapal head during the time of Rudrasiṁha I, and it was present in all the subsequent silver and most of the potin and lead issues of the satraps. The year invariably refers to the Śaka era; only in the imitative silver pieces of the usurper Mahākshatrapa Iśvaradatta the year is a regnal one. The potin series of coins of the family of Chashṭana has been localized by Rapson at Malwa, its silver series being in circulation in Kāthiāwar, Gujrat (greater Surāshṭra) and the adjoining regions. It is possible that the second group superseded the first in course of time. Another important trait of the silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas, so helpful for their systematic arrangement in time and position, is the fully informative Brāhmī legend on the reverse, which not only gives us the name and the titles (*Rājño Kshatrapasa* or *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa*) of the different issuers, but also the name and titles of their immediate predecessors or contemporaries (if the particular issuer was a Kshatrapa, then his contemporary Mahākshatrapa) and their exact relationship with the latter. This trait reminds us of the Greek and Prākṛit coin legends (the Prakrit being written in Kharoshṭhī script) of some of the north-western and northern Kshatrapas, for instance Zeionises, Kharaostes and Śoḍāsa; in the case of Śoḍāsa Greek is absent, and the script is Brāhmī. The language of the legends is mostly a Sanskritised Prākṛit but occasionally it is almost unadulterated Sanskrit [cf.-*Rudradāmnaḥ putrasya* (—) *kshatrapasya Dāma* (*ghsa* —)] on variety *c* of the coins of Dāmaghsada as a Kshatrapa.

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The current denominations of the Western Kshatrapa coins are not definitely known; but it is presumed that they were generally designated as Kārshāpaṇas in Indian contexts. The silver coins may also have been known in the period as *drammas*, for, as has been already shown, their metrology was mainly based on that of the Indo-Greek silver money. D. R. Bhandarkar supposed that the term *kushaṇa* in the word *kushaṇamūla* in Ushavadāta's Nāsik inscription denoted Nahapāna's silver currency.[1] Interesting references to a part of this coinage can be gleaned from such comparatively late Buddhist texts as *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghosha, *Sāratthadīpanī* of Sariputta Thera and *Vinayatthamañjūshā* of Buddhanāga Thera. The term *Rudradāmaka* undoubtedly denoted the silver coins of Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman I in particular; the other satrapal issues in silver after those of the great Mahākshatrapa were denoted by the term *Rudradāmakādi*. Another term, *nīlakahāpana* probably denotes a weight standard (of about 56 grains), the *Rudradāmakādi* being lighter. The *pādas* and *māsakas* of *nīlakahāpana* are mentioned, and they denoted the fourth and twentieth parts respectively.[2]

PLATES I TO IX HAVE REFERENCE TO THIS CHAPTER.

[1] *CL.* 1921, p. 200

[2] *JUPHS.* VI pp. 157 ff.

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APPENDIX

SOME SYMBOLS AND GREEK LETTERS
ON THE COINS OF EARLY FOREIGN RULERS IN INDIA
(Chapters VI to VIII and XXV)

FIRST GROUP

1 
2 
3 

These forms are called respectively (1) the 'lunate sigma'; (2) the large omega; (3) the square omicron. 1 and 2 are first found on a unique square copper coin of Eucratides in the British Museum collection. 2 also appears on some coins of Zoilus Soter. 1, 2 and 3, and also 4 of the second group, are found on some coins of Nicias and Hippostratus. 3 appears on Parthian imitations of the coins of Hermaeus in the epithet *sterossu.* Collectively, these forms indicate a late date (cf. *ante* pp. 177-9).

SECOND GROUP

4 
5 
6 
7 

4 and 5 are two varieties of sigma. 4 may be called the 'box-bracket' and 5 the Doric sigma. 4 first occurs on some coins of Nicias, and, later, on those of Azilises, Spalirises, Spalahores with Spalagadames, and of Aṭhama. With the lunate sigma, square omicron and large omega it is often found on coins of the Indo-Parthian rulers and the Northern Satraps. The Doric sigma is first found on the joint issues of Spalirises and Azes and occurs along with the lunate sigma on the imperial Kushāṇa coins, where the Doric sigma=sh. 6 is called the 'Gondopharian symbol' because it appears on nearly all the coins of Gondophares and on some of his nephew Abdagases. 7 is peculiar to the 'Soter Megas' coins; a variant, with four vertical projections, occurs on some of the coins of Wema Kadphises (see *ante* pp. 202-3, 214-6, 232-3 etc.)

THIRD GROUP

8 
9 
10 
11 
12 

8-12 are used as symbols on imperial Kushāṇa coins. 8 is invariably found on the coins of Wema Kadphises, who was a devotee of Śiva. It is usually called the Nandipāda Triśūl, being, it is supposed, compounded of the footprint of Śiva's mount, the bull Nandī (Nandipāda), and Śiva's trident (Triśūl). It occurs, though rarely, on some coins of Kujula Kara Kadphises and of Zeionises. 9, 10, 11 and 12 (four forms of one genetic symbol) occur on the coins of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva, with many variants. They may have inspired some Gupta coin symbols (cf. *ante* pp. 232-3, 241-2, 245, 246-8, 265, 267).

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VIII. The Rise and Fall of the Kushāṇa Power.
IX. The Satraps of Northern and Western India.

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CHRONOLOGY

B.C.

327 Alexander's invasion of India.

325 Alexander's return from India.

325-23 Chandragupta's War of Independence; conquest of Magadha; accession to sovereignty. Death of Alexander.

321 Death of Perdiccas; second partition of Alexander's empire at Triparadisus.

312 Seleucus Nicator well established in power; foundation of the Seleucidan Era.

304 Seleucus' invasion of India; his defeat; conclusion of treaty with Chandragupta Maurya; the arrival of Megasthenes at Chandragupta's court.

299 Chandragupta's migration to Mysore, and the end of his reign.

299-74 or 72 Bindusāra.

293 Antiochus I became joint ruler with his father Seleucus.

274 or 272 Aśoka's accession and Coronation.

266 Antiochus II became joint ruler with his father Antiochus I.

264-63 Kaliṅga War.

259-58 Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism.

252 (at the latest)
Rock Edict xiii; contemporary Greek kings—Antiochus II of Syria 261-246 B. C., Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (287-247), Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon (278-239), Magas of Cyrene (300-*c.*250), and Alexander of Corinth (252-244).

251 Buddhist Council at Pāṭaliputra.

250 Diodotus of Bactria assumed independent sovereignty.

246 Seleucus II succeeded to the throne.

240 (or earlier)
Diodotus II became the ruler of Bactria, battle of Ancyra.

236-30 Death of Aśoka.
Foundation of the Śātavāhana empire; accession of Simuka (Śrīmukha).

234-184 Successors of Aśoka.

212 (or earlier)
Death of Diodotus II; Euthydemus seized the throne of Bactria.

212-195 Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) Śātavāhana.

206 Antiochus III's Indian expedition.

196-180 Khāravela of Kaliṅga.

194-185 Śrī Śātakarṇi.

193-92 Khāravela's expedition to the West disregarding Śātakarṇi and against the Bhojakas.

190 Nile-Red Sea canal opened. Death of Euthydemus. Demetrius I became king of Bactria.

190-180 Demetrius's invasion of India; foundation of Euthydemia; conquest of portions of the Panjab and Sind.

188 Khāravela's first expedition to the North.

186 Khāravela's expedition to the Gangetic valley

185 Khāravela's expedition to the South.

184 Khāravela's second expedition to the North, Bṛihadratha Maurya assassinated by Pushyamitra Śuṅga; Pushyamitra's usurpation of the throne of Magadha.

184-148 Pushyamitra Śuṅga.

184-167 Satisiri (Śaktikumāra) Śātavāhana.

176 Yüe-chi defeated by Hiung-nu; migration to Ta-hia.

175 Eucratides seized Bactria.

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B.C.

175-164 Antiochus IV of Syria.
166-111 Śātakarṇi II.
160 Apollodotus.
160-156 War between Demetrius and Eucratides.
155 Menander's invasion of India; assassination of Eucratides; and accession of Heliocles.
150 Śaka migration to the south.
148-140 Agnimitra.
145 Menander's death.
140-133 Sujyeshṭha.
135 Barbarian conquest of Bactria.
133-129 Part of Yüe-chi subjugated by Wu-Sun.
133-123 Sumitra.
126 Yüe-chi ruling in the north of Oxus with their capital at Kian-she; Ta-hia subject to their authority; Chang-Kien's embassy to the West.
125-100 Antialcidas
123-114 Vajramitra.
122 Āndhra occupation of Magadha.
114-82 Bhāgavata
100-50 Scythian conquest of Kāthiāwār and Malwa
82-72 Devabhūti
75-50 Maues (Moga)
72-63 Vāsudeva (Kāṇva)
69-60 Vonones
63-49 Bhūmitra
63-25 Liaka Kusulaka, Satrap of Chhatra and Chukhsa under Moga.
50-40 Spalihores and Spalgadames
50 Azes I
50 Hermes
49-37 Nārāyaṇa
37-27 Suśarman
25-1 Mahākshatrapa Patika

A.D.

15 Śoḍāśa, Kshatrapa of Mathurā
19-46 Gondophares
20-24 Hāla
25 Tiravahraṇa, Kshatrapa of Pushpapura.
25-64 Kujula Kadphises
25-46 Subjugation of Ansi, i.e. the Indo-Parthians
25-71 Sundara Śātakarṇi, Chakora Śātakarṇi, Śiva Svāti
35-90 Kshatrapa invasions of the Śātavāhana country
45 Hippalus's discovery of the monsoon.
46-56 Abdagases
64-78 Wima Kadphises (Yen-Kao-Chen).
65 Conquest of Taxila and Panjab by Wima Kadphises
72-95 Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi; overthrow of Nahapāna (but see p. 278)
78 Accession of Kanishka I, and the foundation of the Śaka Era
80-88 Conquest of Sārnāth
81 Kharapallāna and Vanaspara Satraps in Benares
89 Zeda inscription; Kushān conquest of Eastern India: meeting of the Buddhist Council at Peshawar.
96 Kshatrapa Vespasi.
96-119 Pulumāyi II
101 Kanishka's northern expedition and death

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A.D.

101-106 Vasishka
106-138 Huvishka
119 Kanishka II
120-149 Śrī Śātakarṇi
130 Chashṭana; Rudradāman, a Kshatrapa under Chashṭana
130-150 Rudradāman I's reconquest of territories from the Andhras.
140-150 Rudradāman became Mahākshatrapa.
150 Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman.
150-156 Śivaśrī Pulumāyi
152-176/7 Vāsudeva I.
157-159 Sivakhaḍa Śātakarṇi
150-189 Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi
180-210 Kanishka III
183-225 Madhariputa Svāmi Śakasena, Vijaya, Śrī Chaṇḍa Śātakarṇi, Pulumāyi IV.
200 Bodhi dynasty founded
210-230 Vāsudeva II
225-250 Ikshvāku Chaṁtamula (Śāntamula I)
248-249 Foundation of the Kālachuri or the Chedi era by Iśvarasena
250 Śātavahanas and their feudatories in Kuntala; Hāritīputa Viṇhukhaḍa Satakaṁṇi
250-275 Ikshvāku Vīra Purushadatta
255-275 Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti I.
300 Bṛihatphalāyana Jayavarman; Siṁhavarman Pallava; the Pallava conquest of the Āndhrapatha; the end of Ikshvāku rule.
300-325 Pallava Śivaskandavarman.
426 Bhuluṇḍa
484 Eran inscription
486 Subandhu.

Successors of Rudradāman I

A.D.

181 End of Dāmaghsada's reign; Ābhīra Rudrabhūti
181-197 Mahākshatrapa Rudrasiṁha
183 Ābhīra power established in Nāsik
188-190 Mahākshatrapa Īśvaradatta
C. 190 Īśvarasena (Ābhīra) at Nāsik
197-199 Mahākshatrapa Jīvadāman
199-200 Rudrasena I Kshatrapa
200-222 Rudrasena I Mahākshatrapa
222 Dāmasena I
222-223 Saṅghadāman
223-238 Dāmasena II Mahākshatrapa
232-233 Dāmajada II Kshatrapa
234-238 Vīradāman Kshatrapa
238-239 Yaśodāman Kshatrapa and Mahākshatrapa
239-250 Vijayasena Mahākshatrapa
250-255 Dāmajada Śrī III
255-277 Rudrasena II.
275-278 Viśvasiṁha Kshatrapa.
278-282 Viśvasiṁha Mahākshatrapa
278-282 Bhartṛidāman Kshatrapa
282-297 Bhartṛidāman Mahākshatrapa
290 Sassanian conquest of the W. Kshatrapas
293-304 Viśvasena Kshatrapa

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A.D.	
304-316	Rudrasiṁha II Kshatrapa
316-332	Yaśodāman II
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382-384	Svāmi Siṁhasena
384-388	Svāmi Rudrasena IV
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401-02	The Gupta conquest of the W. Kshatrapa kingdom
436	Rudrasena.

KINGS OF CEYLON

Geiger B.C.	Mendis B.C.	
247-207	—	Devanampiya Tissa (a contemporary of Aśoka)
207-197	—	Uttiya
197-187	—	Mahāsiva
187-177	—	Sura Tissa.
177-155	—	Sena and Guttika
155-145	—	Asela (Brother of Dev. Tissa)
145-101	—	Elāra (Chola)
101-107	—	Duṭṭhagāmaṇi
77-59	137-119	Saddha Tissa
59-50	119-109	Lañja Tissa
44	109	Vaṭṭhagāmaṇi
50-44	—	Khallāṭanāga
44-29	—	Five Damiḷas: Puḷahattha, Bahiya, Panayamāra. Piḷayamāra, Daṭṭhika.
29-17	96-84	Vaṭṭhagāmaṇi (Second Period)
17-3	77-63	Mahāchuli Mahā Tissa
3-A.D.9	63-51	Choranāga
A.D.		
9-12	—	Anulā and Tissa
12-16	—	Anulā and her consorts: Siva, Vaṭuka, Darubhaṭika Tissa, Niliya, Anulā.
16-38	—	Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (Abaya)
38-66	22 B.C.-A.D. 7	Bhātikābhaya
66-78	7-19	Mahādhaṭṭhika Mahānāga
78-88	19-29	Āmaṇḍagāmaṇi
88-91	29-32	Kaṇirajānu Tissa
91-92	32-33	Chūlābhaya
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92-95	—	Interregnum
95-101	36-43	Iḷanāga (3 yrs. in exile).
101-110	43-52	Chaṇḍamukha Siva
110-118	52-60	Yasalālaka Tissa.
118-124	---	Subha or Subharaja
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171-193	114-136	Gajabāhukagāmaṇi
193-199	136-143	Mahallakanāga

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GEIGER A.D.	MENDIS A.D.	
199-223	143-167	Bhātika Tissa.
223-241	167-186	Kaṇiṭṭha Tissa
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243-244	188-189	Kuñchanāga
244-263	189-209	Sirināga I
263-285	209-231	Vohārika Tissa
285-293	231-240	Abhayanāga
293-295	240-242	Sirināga II
295-296	242-243	Vijaya (Kumāra).
296-300	243-247	Saṁgha Tissa.
300-302	247-249	Saṁgha (or Sirisaṁgha) bodhi
302-315	249-263	Goṭhakābhaya
315-325	263-274	Jeṭṭha Tissa
325-352	274-302	Mahāsena.

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PLATES I TO VIII

COINS

PLATE IX

MONOGRAMS

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PLATE I

1. Sophytes. Obv. Head of King to r. inside dotted border. Helmeted head adorned with a laurel wreath and a cheek plate. Rev. Cock strutting to r., caduceus behind. Legend in r. field ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 142.

2. Diodotus (II). Obv. Diademed head of King to r. inside dotted border. Rev. Naked Zeus stands to l. hurling thunderbolt, ægis on extended l. arm. Fillet below the ægis. Legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ in r. field, ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ in l. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 147.

3. Euthydemus I. Obv. Diad. bust of King to r. inside dotted border. Rev. Heracles seated on rock with club resting on rock. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and monogram in r. field. ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ in l. Dotted border. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 150.

4. Barbarous imitation of Euthydemus I's coin described above. Obv. Diad. bust of King to r. Rev. Heracles seated on rock with club resting on knee. Legend blundering and illegible. Ch. vi, p. 149.

5. Demetrius. Obv. Diad. head of King adorned with elephant's scalp to r. Rev. Heracles stands facing, crowning himself with r. hand, with club and lion's skin in his l. hand. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ r. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ l. Monogram in l. field. Æ round. Tetradrachm. Ch. vi, p. 156.

6. Antimachus. Obv. Diad. head of King with *kausia* (Macedonian head-dress) to r. Rev. Poseidon stands facing, with trident in r. hand and palm bound with fillet in l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΘΕΟΥ r. ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ l. Monogram in r. field. Æ Obol. Ch. vi, p. 160.

7. Agathocles. Obv. Maneless lion to r. in incuse. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ above, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕ[ΟΥΣ] below. Rev. Dancing girl (? goddess) with a flower in r. hand. Brāhmī legend *raja* (*ne*) in r. field, *Agathukla* (*yesha*) in l. Æ Square. Ch. vi, p. 158.

8. Eucratides. Obv. Diad. and helmeted head of King to r. inside astragalus border. Crested helmet adorned with 'ear and horn of bull'. Rev. Dioscuri to r. on prancing horses with lances at rest. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above, ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ below. Monogram in r. field. Æ tetradrachm. Ch. vi, p. 164.

9. Eucratides. Obv. Diad. and helmeted bust of King to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ on three sides. Rev. Dioscuri as above. Kharoshṭhi legend *Maharajasa* above, *Evukratidasa* below. Monogram in r. corner below. Æ square. Ch. vi, p. 164.

10. Eucratides. Obv. Diad. bust of King to r. within astragalus border. Rev. Apollo standing to l. with bow and arrow in his left and right hands. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ r., ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ l. Monogram in l. field. Æ tetradrachm. Ch. vi, pp. 163–4.

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PLATE I

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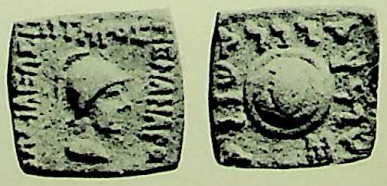
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PLATE II

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PLATE II

1. Heliocles. Obv. Diad. bust of King to r. Astragalus border. Rev. Zeus standing to l. with thunderbolt and long sceptre in his r. and l. hands. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ r., ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ below, ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ l. Monogram in l. field. Æ tetradrachm. Ch. vi, p. 167.

2. Antialcidas. Obv. Diad. bust of King with *kausia* to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ above, ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ below. Rev. Zeus seated on throne with Nike in extended r. hand and long sceptre in l. Forepart of an elephant with trunk upraised in l. field and monogram in r. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa Jayadharasa* above, *Aṁtialakitasa* below. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 180.

3. Lysias. Obv. Diad. and helmeted bust of King to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ above, ΛΥΣΙΟΥ below. Rev. Heracles with club and lion's skin crowns himself with r. hand. Partially legible Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa apaḍihatasa* above, *Lisiasa* below. Monogram in l. field. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 177.

4. Antialcidas. Obv. Diad. bust of King to r. Gr. legend as on No. 2. Rev. Enthroned Zeus with Nike and forepart of an elephant, and Kharoshṭhī legend as on No. 2. Monogram r. below throne seat. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 180.

5. Lysias. Obv. Diad. head of King adorned with elephant's scalp to r. Gr. legend as on No. 3. Rev. Device, legend, and monogram as on No. 3. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 177.

6. Apollodotus. Obv. Diad. bust of King to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ above, ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ below. Rev. Pallas with aegis on l. arm hurls thunderbolt with r. hand; incomplete Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa tratarasa* above, *Apaladatasa* below. Monogram in l. field. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 171.

7. Menander. Obv. Diad. and helmeted bust of King to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ above, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ below. Rev. Pallas as on No. 6. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa tratarasa* above, *Menadrasa* below. Monogram in r. field. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 175.

8. Apollodotus. Obv. Elephant to r. Circular legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Rev. Bull to r. Circular Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa Apaladatasa tratarasa*. No monogram. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 170.

9. Menander. Obv. Diad. bust of King to l. with javelin over shoulder; continuous circular legend ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Rev. Pallas to r. hurling thunderbolt. Continuous legend *Menadrasa maharajasa tratarasa*. Monogram in r. field. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 175.

10. Menander. Obv. Helmeted bust of Pallas to r. Circular Gr. legend as on No. 9. Rev. Owl to r. Circular Kharoshṭhī legend as on No. 9. Monogram in r. field. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 175.

11. Strato I. Obv. Diad. bust of King to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ above, ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ below. Rev. Pallas hurling thunderbolt to l. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa prachachhasa tratarasa* above, *Stratasa* below. Monogram in r. field. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 176.

12. Apollodotus. Obv. Elephant walking to r. Monogram below. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ l., ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ above, ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ r. Rev. Bull standing to r. Monogram below. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa* r., *Apaladatasa* above, *tratarasa* l. Æ square. Ch. vi, p. 170.

13. Menander. Obv. Helmeted bust of Pallas to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ l., ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ above, ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ r. Rev. Circular buckler with bull's head in centre. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa* r., *tratarasa* above, *Menadrasa* l. Monogram in r. bottom. Æ square. Ch. vi, p. 175.

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PLATE III

1. Antimachus Nicephorus. Obv. Nike standing to l. with palm in r. and fillet in l. hand. Continuous circular legend ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. Monogram in l. field. Rev. Diad. King on prancing horse to r. Continuous circular Kharoshṭhī legend *Aṁtimakhasa Maharajasa jayadharasa*. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 160.

2. Hermaeus. Obv. Diad. bust of King to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ above, ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ below. Rev. Enthroned Zeus to l. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa tratarasa* above, *Eramayasa* below. Monogram in r. field. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 183.

3. Hermaeus and Calliope. Obv. Jugate and diad. busts of King and Queen to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ above, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ below. Rev. King on prancing horse to r. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa tratarasa Heramayasa* above, *Kaliyapaya* below. Monogram in r. field. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 183.

4. Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises. Obv. Diad. bust of Hermaeus to r. Corrupt partially legible Gr. legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. Rev. Heracles with club and lion's skin stands facing. Circular Kharoshṭhī legend mostly legible *Kujula Kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa*. Æ round. Ch. vi, p. 183.

5. Hermaeus. Obv. Bearded bust of deity (or King?) wearing Phrygian cap to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ l., ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ above, ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ r. Rev. Horse trotting to r. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa* r., *tratarasa* above, *Heramayasa* l. Monogram below the horse. Æ square. Ch. vi, p. 183.

6. Maues. Rev. Caduceus. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ r., ΜΑΥΟΥ l. Monogram in l. field. Obv. Elephant's head to r. within astragalus border. Æ round. Ch. vii, p. 195.

7. Maues. Obv. Zeus stands to l. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ above, ΜΑΥΟΥ below. Rev. Nike with fillet in her extended r. hand standing to r. Kharoshṭhī legend *rajatirajasa mahatasa*, below *Moasa*. Monogram in r. field. Æ round. Ch. vii, p. 197.

8. Maues. Obv. Elephant walks to r. with trunk upraised inside square frame. Gr. legend outside the frame as on No. 7. Rev. Deity seated on a raised seat inside square frame. Kharoshṭhī legend as on No. 7 but illegible. Æ square. Ch. vii, p. 199.

9. Azes I. Obv. Zeus as on No. 7. Partially legible Gr. legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ; ΑΖΟΥ below. Rev. Nike as on No. 7. Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa*, below *Ayasa*. Monogram in r. field. Æ round. Ch. vii, p. 205.

10. Spalirises. Obv. King wearing long coat holding a weapon in his extended r. hand stands to l. inside square frame. Partly legible Gr. legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΥ. Rev. Enthroned Zeus. Kharoshṭhī legend mostly legible *Maharajasa* r., *Mahatakasa* above, *Spalirishasa* l. Æ square. Ch. vii, p. 203.

11. Azes I. Obv. King on horseback with lance at rest. Gr. legend as on No. 9. Rev. Zeus standing facing with long sceptre in l. hand and thunderbolt in r. hand. Kharoshṭhī legend as on No. 9. Kharoshṭhī *ji* on r. field, and monogram on l. Æ round. Ch. vii, p. 205.

12. Spalahora with his son Spalagadama. Obv. King on horseback inside square frame. Partly legible Gr. legend ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ l., ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ above, ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ r., ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ below. Rev. Heracles seated on rock to l. with club resting on knee inside square frame. Monogram in l. field, just like a wheel. Partially legible Kharoshṭhī legend *Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa*. Æ square. Ch. vii, p. 202.

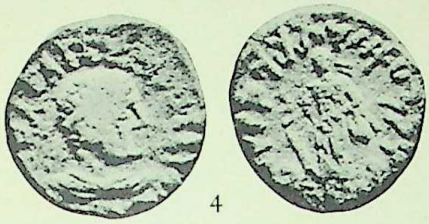
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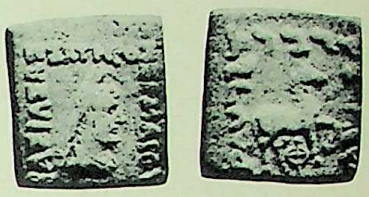
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PLATE IV

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PLATE IV

1. Azes I. Obv. Bull walking to r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ below ΑΖΟΥ. Monogram above. Rev. Lion to r. Kh. legend *Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa*, below *Ayasa*. Kharoshṭhī monogram (?) above. Æ round. Ch. vii, p. 205.

2. Azes I. Obv. Poseidon facing, trampling with r. foot on prostrate figure, trident in l. hand. Gr. legend as on No. 1. Rev. Draped goddess standing facing between vine branches. Traces of Kharoshṭhī legend as above. Monogram in l. field below. Æ square. Ch. vii, p. 205.

3. Azes II. Obv. King on horseback to r. Gr. legend as on No. 1. Rev. Rudely designed Pallas to r. with spear and shield in l. hand. Lotus, *nandipāda triśūl* symbol, &c., in the l. field, and monogram on r. field. Kharoshṭhī legend *Indravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa Strategasa*, below *jayatasa*. Æ round. Ch. vii, p. 209.

4. Azilises. Obv. King on horseback to r. with couched lance. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, &c., ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ below. Rev. Goddess standing to l. with palm branch in her l. and an indistinct object in her extended r. hand. Kharoshṭhī *mi* r. and monogram in l. field. Kh. legend *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa, Ayilishasa* below. Æ round. Ch. vii, p. 205.

5. Gondophares and Sasan. Obv. King on horseback to l. Gondopharian symbol in l. field. Partially legible Gr. legend ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΥ. Rev. Zeus standing to r. holding long sceptre. *Nandipāda triśūl* symbol in l. field, Kharoshṭhī *pra* and another monogram in r. field. Partially legible Kharoshṭhī legend *rayarayasa apratihatachakrasa devavratasa*, below *sasasa*. Billon round. Ch. vii, p. 214.

6. Gondophares. Obv. King on horseback to r., Gondopharian symbol. Blundering Gr. legend. Rev. Pallas standing to r. Monogram in r. field. Partly legible Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharaja rajatiraja tratarasa devaoratasa*, below *Gudupharasa*. Billon round. Ch. vii, p. 214.

7. Gondophares. Obv. Parthian type of King's head to r. Blundering Gr. legend illegible. Rev. Winged Nike standing r. holding wreath and palm. Traces of Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajasa Gudupharnasa tratarasa*. Billon round. Ch. vii, p. 214.

8. Kujula Kadphises. Obv. Diad. bust of Hermaeus to r. Corrupt Gr. legend for ΚΟΡΑΝΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ. Rev. Heracles standing facing with lion's skin and club. Traces of Kharoshṭhī legend *Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa dhramaṭhidasa*. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 228.

9. Zeionises, the Satrap of Chukhsa. Obv. Satrap on horseback to r. Corrupt Gr. legend all round, of which ΖΙΝΝΙΥ CΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ is discernible. Rev. Male figure (the Satrap himself) being crowned by a goddess (Demeter?). Kharoshṭhī legend *Managulasa Kshatrapasaputrasa Kshatrapasa Jihuniasa*. Monograms in r. and l. field. Æ round. Ch. ix, p. 265.

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PLATE V

1. Kujula Kadphises. Obv. Head of King to r. with a peculiar helmet with two recarved horns. Traces of Gr. legend. Rev. 'Macedonian soldier' to l. Traces of Kharoshṭhī legend *Kuyula Kaüsa Kushanasa*. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 228.

2. Kujula Kadphises. Obv. Humped bull to r. Traces of debased Gr. legend. Indistinct symbols on field above and r. field. Rev. Two-humped Bactrian camel to r. Traces of Kharoshṭhī legend *Kushana Kuyula Kara Kaphsasa*. Symbol in r. field. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 228.

3. Kujula Kadaphes (Kadphises). Obv. Diad. head of King resembling that of Augustus to r. Gr. legend not legible, but on better specimens ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ. Rev. King (or deity) seated on a curule chair with r. hand extended. Traces of Kharoshṭhī legend *Khushanasa Yavüasa* (or *Yaüasa*) *Kuyula-Kaphsasa sacha dhrama ṭhitasa*. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 228.

4. Wema Kadphises. Obv. Diad. and bearded bust of King rising from the clouds, flames issuing from the shoulders, club in r. hand. ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC. Symbol behind the head. Rev. Two-armed Śiva facing, with trident-battle-axe in r. hand and tiger skin over l. arm. Kharoshṭhī legend mostly legible *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga iśvarasa mahiśvarasa vima kaṭhphiśasa tratarasa*. *Nandipāda triśūl* symbol in r. field and another symbol in l. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 232.

5. Kanishka. Obv. King to l. sacrificing at altar, with elephant goad and long sceptre in r. and l. hands respectively. ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ round the figure of the King. Rev. Four-armed Śiva standing to l., with elephant goad and water vessel, and thunderbolt in his r. hands, and trident and antelope in his left hands. Symbol in l. and ΟΗΡΟ in r. field. Inside dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 241.

6. Kanishka. Obv. As on No. 5. Rev. Zoroastrian fire god Atash standing to l. holding fillet in extended r. hand and tongs in l. hand. Symbol as on No. 5 and ΑΘΡΟ in l. and r. fields respectively. Inside dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 241.

7. Kanishka. Obv. As above. Rev. Helmeted war god standing to r. holding long spear in r. hand. Usual symbol in r. field, ΟΡΛΑΓΝΟ in l. field. Dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 241.

8. Huvishka. Rev. Robed goddess standing to r. holding cornucopia in l. hand. Variant of the symbol in r., and ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ in l. field. Dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 245.

9. Huvishka. Obv. Diad. and helmeted bust of King to l. rising from the clouds, holding sceptre in r. hand. Circular legend ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ ΟΟΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ. Rev. Mahāsena, the Indian war god, standing facing; holding in r. hand a standard surmounted by a bird, l. hand rests on sword. Usual symbol in l. field and ΜΑΑCΗΝΟ in r. Dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 245.

10. Huvishka. Rev. Four-armed moon god seated on throne, head to r., crescent behind the shoulders, with feet resting on a footstool. ΜΑΝΑΟΒΑ in l., and ΓΟ in r. field. Symbol. Dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 245.

11. Huvishka. Obv. Half length figure of King to l. with pointed thickly jewelled helmet, holding sceptre. Traces of legend in peculiarly formed Gr. characters. Rev. Two-armed moon god standing to l. with fillet in r. hand, the l. one resting on hip. Symbol in l. field, ΜΑΟ in r. filed. Dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 245.

12. Huvishka. Obv. Bust of King and other features as on No. 9. Rev. Draped sun god nimbate and radiate standing to l., r. hand extended, l. on sword at side. Symbol l., ΜΙΙΡΟ r. Dotted border. Æ round. Quarter *dināra*. Ch. viii, p. 245.

13. Huvishka. Obv. Bust of King as on No. 9. Nimbate. Traces of usual legend. Rev. Three-faced and four-armed Śiva standing facing with water-vessel, thunderbolt, trident, and club in the hands. Usual symbol in l. field; ΟΗΡΟ in r. Dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 245.

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PLATE V

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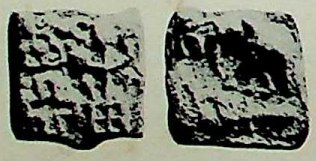
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PLATE VI

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PLATE VI

1. Huvishka. Obv. Bust of King to l. and other features as on Pl. V, fig. 11. Rev. Zoroastrian fire god (really god of royal splendour) standing to l. Nimbate, extended r. hand holds fire, l. hand resting on sword at side. Usual symbol in l. field, ΦΑΡΡΟ in r. Dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 245.

2. Vāsudeva. Obv. King standing sacrificing at altar, holding long sceptre in l. hand. Trident battle-axe and Br. *śa* in l. field. Traces of legend ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΡΑΟ ΒΑΖΟΔΗΟ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ. Rev. Two-armed Śiva with bull behind him, holding a noose and a trident in his r. and l. hands respectively. Dotted border. Symbol in top l. and ΟΗΡΟ in r. field. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 247.

3. Bhadra, late Kushan chief. Obv. Standing King sacrificing at altar, holding sceptre in l. hand. Trident battle-axe in l. field. Brāhmī legend written vertically under King's l. arm in two parallel lines, *Bhadra, Shaka.* Alloyed gold round. Ch. viii, p. 250.

4. Vasu Kushan. Obv. As on No. 3. Br. legend written vertically in the r. field *Vasu.* Rev. Ardochso seated on throne, with fillet and cornucopia in her r. and l. hands. Symbol in top r. field. Traces of the name of the goddess Ardochso in corrupt Gr. script in left margin. Alloyed gold, round. Ch. viii, p. 248.

5. Kaneshko (Kanishka II?). Obv. King l. as on Nos. 2–4. Gr. legend illegible. Stray Brāhmī letters in field. Rev. As on No. 4. Base gold, round. Ch. viii, p. 250.

6. Sayatha, late Kushan chief. Obv. As on No. 3. Vertical Brāhmī legend r. in two parallel lines, *Sayatha* and *Shaka*; l. *bha.* Rev. As on No. 3. Pale gold, round. Ch. viii, p. 250.

7. Punch-marked coin. Obv. Solar symbol, taurine, humped bull, &c. Æ oblong. Ch. xxv, pp. 778–9.

8. Punch-marked coin. Obv. Three human figures, mountain symbol, &c. Rev. Only one indistinct symbol. Æ rectangular. Ch. xxv, pp. 778–9.

9. Punch-marked coin. Obv. Solar and other symbols. Æ rectangular.

10. Punch-marked coin. Obv. Solar symbol, tree within railing, &c. Rev. 'Caduceus' and 'Ujjain' symbols. Æ round.

11. Single-die coin from Taxila. Obv. Symbols such as mountain with crescent, *swastika,* 'pile of balls', 'river'; in incuse. Æ square. Ch. xxv, p. 782.

12. Ujjain coin. Obv. Deity (?) stands facing, holding 'sun standard' in his r. hand; other symbols. Rev. Ujjain symbol. Æ round. Ch. xxv, p. 781.

13. Double-die coin from Taxila. Obv. Lion to l., swastika above, mountain with crescent in front. Rev. Tusked elephant to r., mountain with crescent above. Æ square. Ch. xxv, pp. 781–2.

14. Early rectangular cast coin. Obv. Tree within railing and other symbols. Rev. Elephant to l. and other symbols. Æ square. Ch. xxv, p. 780.

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PLATE VII

1. Kumudasena. Obv. Humped bull to l., tree within railing in front. Brāhmī legend *Rājña Kumudasenasa* below. All in incuse. Rev. *Nandipāda triśūl* symbol inside a linear enclosure. Æ round. Locality Ayodhya; date *c.* 1st cent. A.D. Ch. xxv, p. 801 (n.).

2. Anonymous from Kosam (ancient Kausāmbi). Obv. Tree in railing in centre, six-arched mountain symbol below; Ujjain symbol and another indistinct symbol in r. field; a wheel and *Nandipāda triśūl* symbol in l. Rev. Lanky bull to l., a curious standard in the l. field, and another symbol in the r. Æ circular. *c.* 1st–2nd cent. B.C.

3. 'Pañchāla Mitra' coin. Obv. Three symbols (tree in railing, 'Nāga', and a peculiar *swastika*) in a row above. Brāhmī legend below, *Agimitasa*. All in incuse. Rev. Agni with flames issuing from his head inside a shrine. Æ round. *c.* 2nd cent. B.C. or a little later. Ch. xxv, p. 800.

4. Ayumitra (Ayodhya). Obv. Humped bull to l. Brāhmī legend *Ayumitasa* below. Rev. Palm tree, cock facing it in l. field. Æ round. *c.* 1st cent. A.D., or a little later.

5. Amoghabhūti, a Kuninda chief. Obv. Goddess (Lakshmī) in front of a stag; other symbols. Traces of Br. legend *Amoghabhutisa Maharajasa rājña Kunadasa*. Rev. Mountain (6-arched) symbol with *Nandipāda triśūl* on its top. Conventional tree in railing in the r. field, swastika and other symbol in the l. Waved line (river symbol) below. Dotted border. Æ round. 2nd–1st cent. B.C., or a little later. Ch. xxv, p. 801.

6. Phagunimitra, a local chief of Pañchāla. Obv. Three symbols as on No. 3. Brāhmī legend *Phagunimitasa* below. Rev. Goddess Phalguni standing on a lotus. Æ round. *c.* 2nd cent. B.C., or a little later. Ch. xxv, p. 800.

7. Kshatrapa Sodāsa. Obv. Lakshmī standing, tree in r. field. Traces of marginal Brāhmī legend *Mahākshatapasaputasa Khatapasa Śoḍāsasa*. Rev. Lakshmī (Gajalakshmī) with elephants pouring water over her. Æ round. 1st cent. A.D. Ch. ix, p. 269.

8. Amoghabhūti, a Kuninda chief. Obv. As on No. 5. Marginal Brāhmī legend fully legible *rājñaḥ kunadasa Amoghabhutisa Maharajasa*. Rev. As on No. 5. Kharoshṭhī legend similar, almost fully legible. Fine. Æ round. Ch. xxv, p. 801.

9. Śibi janapada coin. Obv. Tree in railing and other symbols. Partially legible legend *Majhimikāye Sivijanapadasa* in Brāhmī characters of *c.* 2nd cent. B.C. Rev. Lion (griffin?) to l. Æ round. Ch. xxv, p. 801.

10. Yaudheya gaṇa. Obv. Elephant to r., *Nandipāda triśūl* above. Rev. Humped bull to r. facing a Yūpa (a sacrificial post) in railing. Traces of legend *Yodheyana* (Sans. *Yaudheyānāṁ*) in Brāhmī characters of the 2nd cent. B.C. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 255; also ch. xxv, p. 800.

11. Mālava gaṇa. Obv. Tree in railing. Brāhmī legend on its two sides *Mālava-na jayo*. Rev. Vase inside dotted border. Tiny copper coin, square. *c.* 1st cent. B.C. Ch. vii, p. 257; also ch. xxv, p. 801–2.

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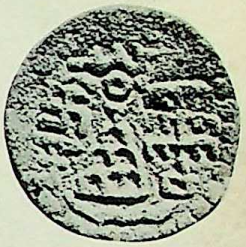


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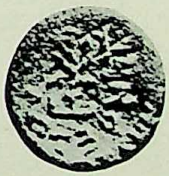


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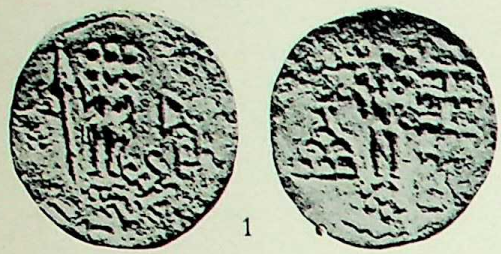


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PLATE VII

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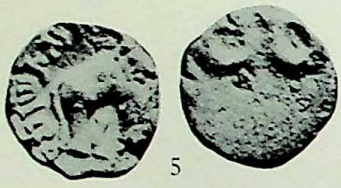
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PLATE VIII

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PLATE VIII

1. Yaudheya gaṇa. Obv. Six-headed god Kārttikeya standing on lotus facing with spear in r. hand. Traces of legend in irregularly placed Brāhmī letters of *c.* 2nd cent. A.D. *Brahmaṇyadevasya bhagavato.* Rev. Six-headed goddess standing facing on lotus. *Nandipāda triśūl* and other symbols on her r. and l. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 255; also ch. xxv, p. 800.

2. Yaudheya gaṇa. Obv. God Kārttikeya standing facing with spear in r. hand, and a cock near his l. foot. Legend in Brāhmī characters of the 3rd–4th cent. A.D. *Yodheya gaṇasya jaya.* Rev. Robed figure standing to l. inside dotted border. Æ round. Ch. viii, p. 255; also ch. xxv, p. 800.

3. Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura. Obv. Bow and arrow (Stūpa with umbrella?) Marginal Brāhmī legend *Raño Gotamiputasa Viḷivāyakurasa.* Rev. 'Mountain' symbol flanked by a tree, on base. Lead round coin. *c.* 2nd cent. A.D. Ch. xxv, p. 805.

4. Puḷumāyi. Obv. Elephant to r. Brāhmī legend *Pulumāv(isa)* above. Rev. Ujjain symbol. Potin, round. *c.* 2nd cent. A.D. Ch. xxv, p. 805.

5. Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. Obv. Elephant r. Brāhmī legend on l. margin *S(i)ri Yaña sāta* (*Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi*). Ujjain symbol defaced. Potin, round. *c.* 2nd–3rd cent. A.D. Ch. xxv, p. 805.

6. Rudrasiṁha I. Obv. King's head r. corrupt Gr. legend. Rev. Mountain and river symbols, crescent l., star r. Marginal Brāhmī legend complete *rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudras(iṁ)hasa.* Æ round. Ch. ix, p. 283.

7. Jīvadāman, son of Dāmajada. Obv. King's head r.; corrupt Gr. legend. Rev. As on No. 6. Nearly complete marginal Brāhmī legend *rājño mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadasa putrasa rājño mahākshatrapasa Jīvadāmasa.* Æ round. Ch. ix, p. 284.

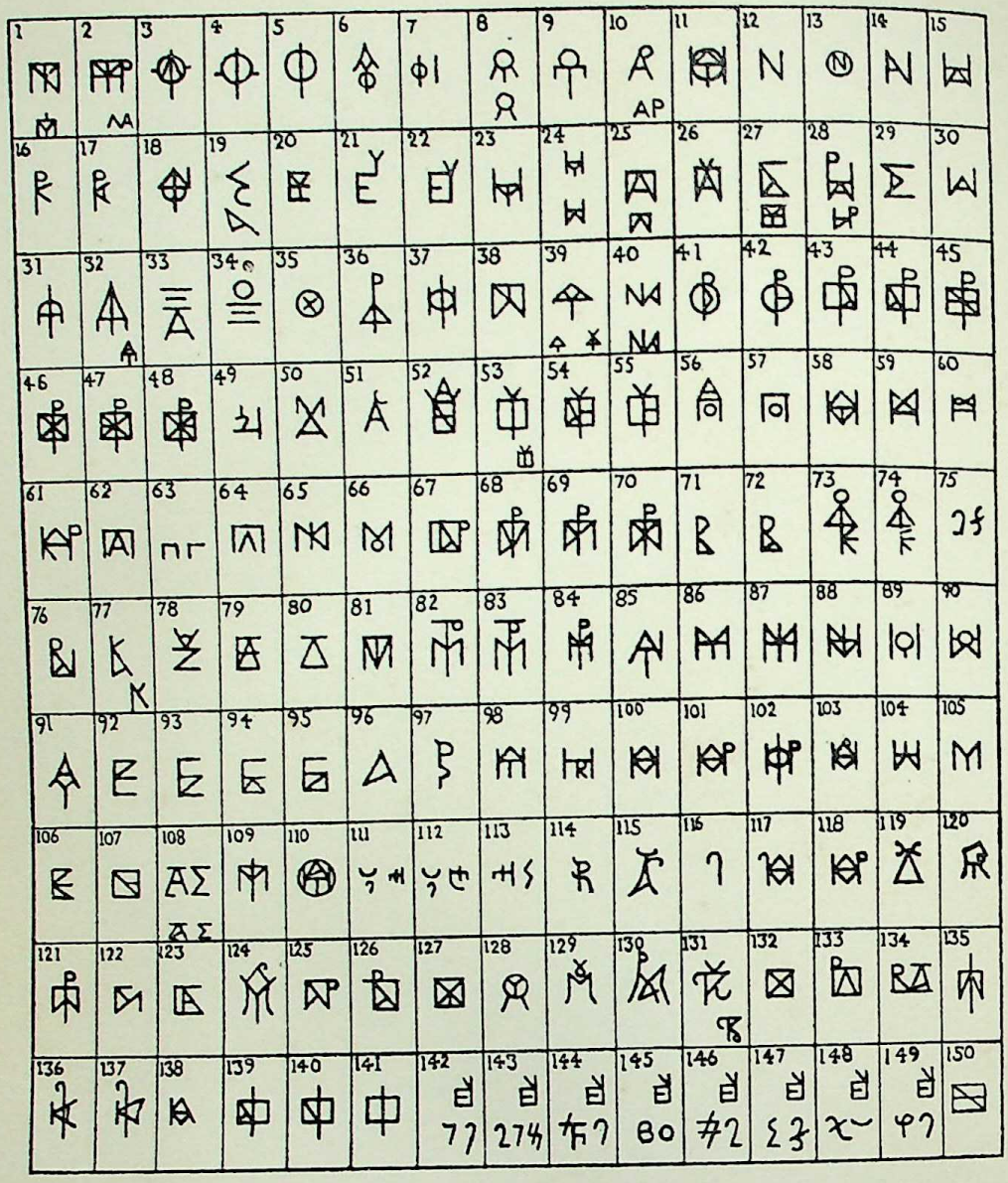
8. Vijayasena, son of Dāmasena. Obv. As on Nos. 6 and 7. Traces of date behind the King's head. Corrupt Gr. legend. Rev. As above. Fully legible marginal Brāhmī legend *rājño mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa rājño mahākshatrapasa Vijayasenasa.* Æ round. Ch. ix, p. 289.

9. Rudrasena, son of Rudrasimha I. Obv. As on Nos. 6–8. Traces of date behind head. Rev. As above. Nearly complete Brāhmī legend on the margin *rājño mahākshatrapasa Rudrasiṁhasa putrasa mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa.* Æ round. Ch. ix, p. 286.

10. Vīradāman, son of Dāmasena. Obv. As on the previous coins. Rev. As above. Nearly complete Brāhmī legend *rājño mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa rājño Kshatrapasa Vīradāmnaḥ.* Æ round. Ch. ix, p. 288.

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Monograms found on Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins. From *A Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, by V. A. Smith

PLATE IX

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PLATES X TO LXXXVIII

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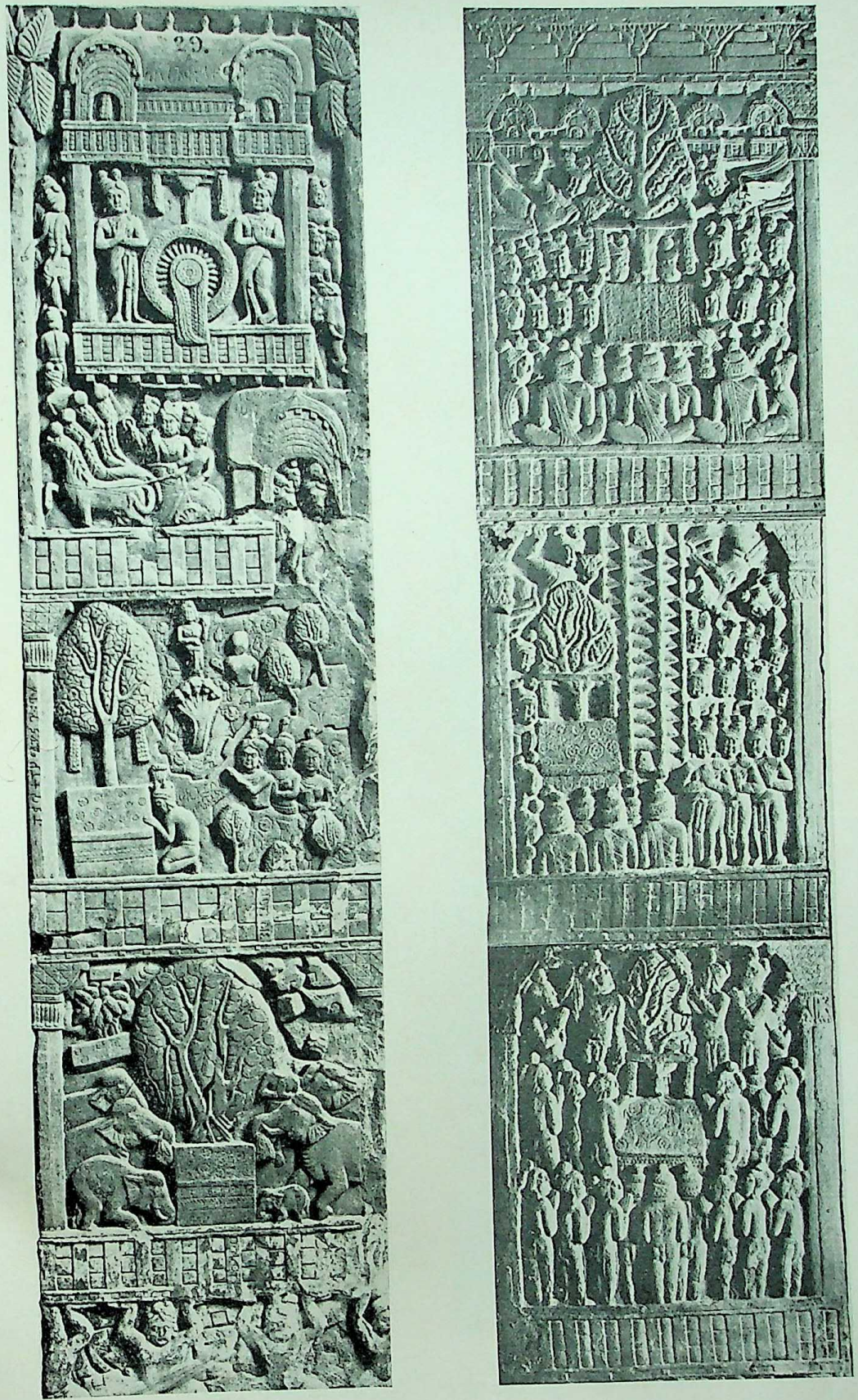
The descriptive matter relating to these illustrations follows the last of the plates

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Bhārhut. Railing sculptures

Arch. Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta

PLATE X

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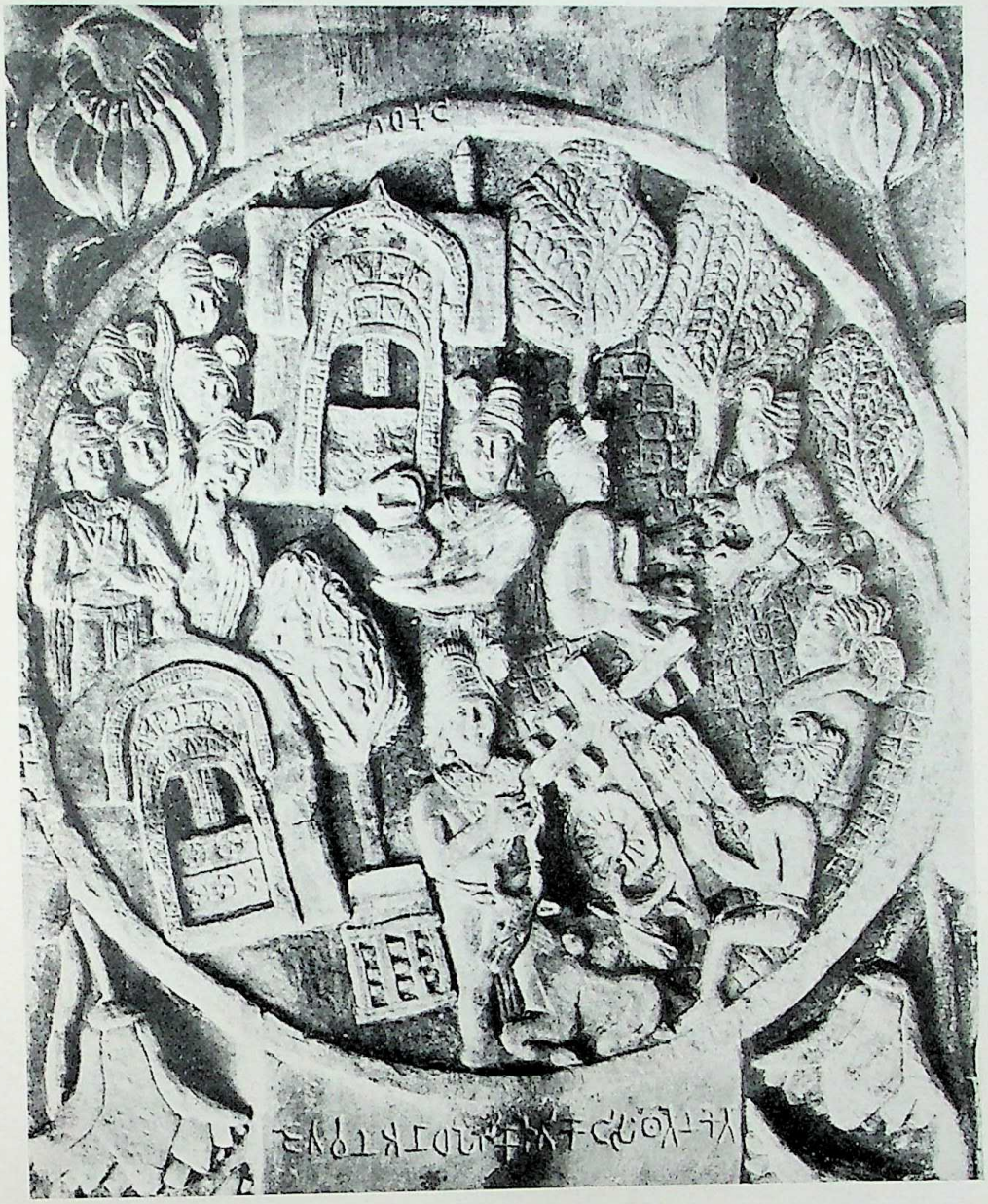


Bhārhut. 1. Sirimā Devatā 2. Sudarśanā Yakshiṇī

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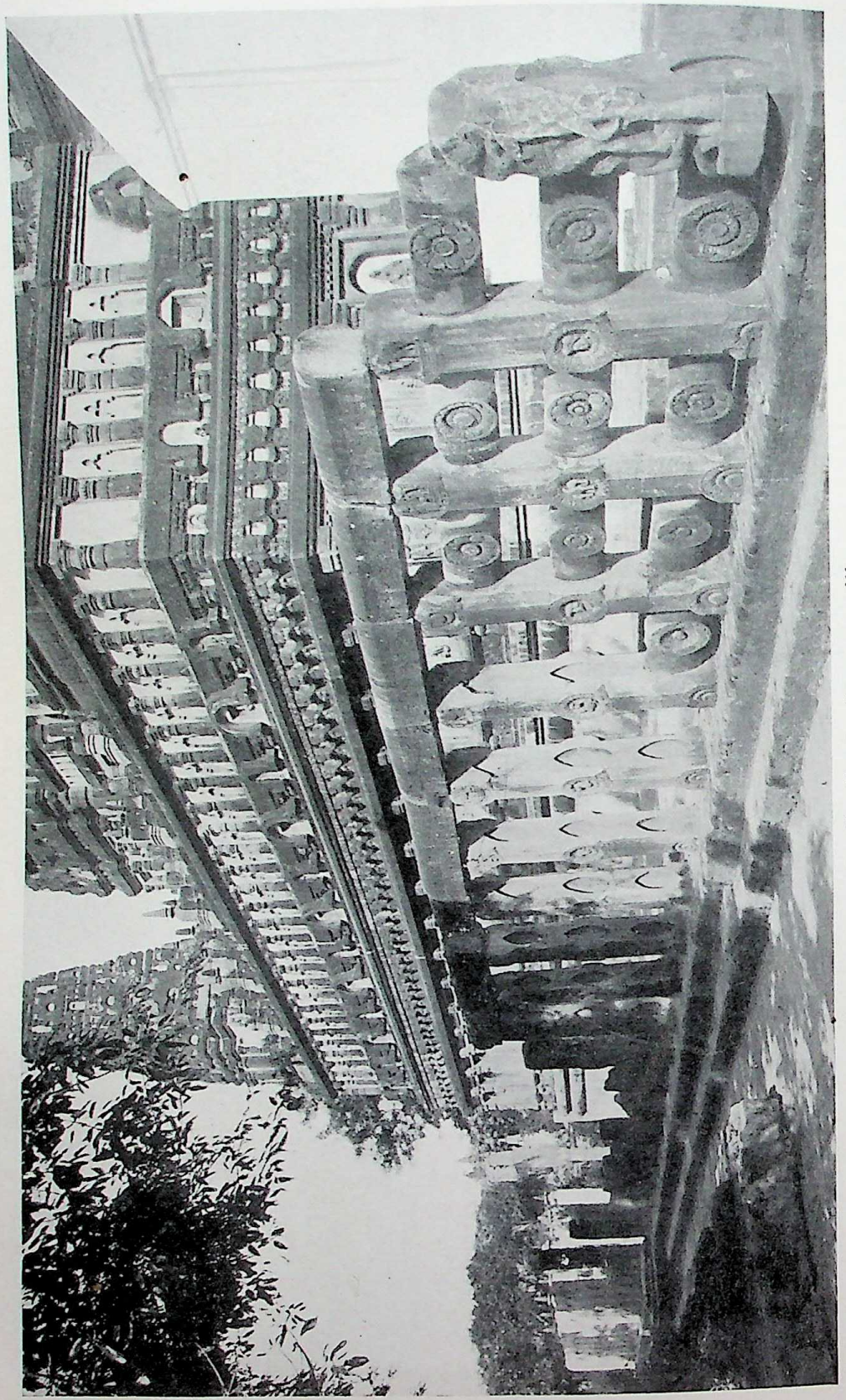


Bhārhut. Medallion

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Bodh Gayā. Square railing

Arch. Dept.

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Bodh Gayā. Railing pillars

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Mathurā. Architrave support

Lucknow Museum

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Barābar near Gayā. Façade of Lomaśa Ṛishi cave

Arch. Dept.

PLATE XVI

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1. Bulandibāgh. 2. Kumrāhār. Pillar sites of palace

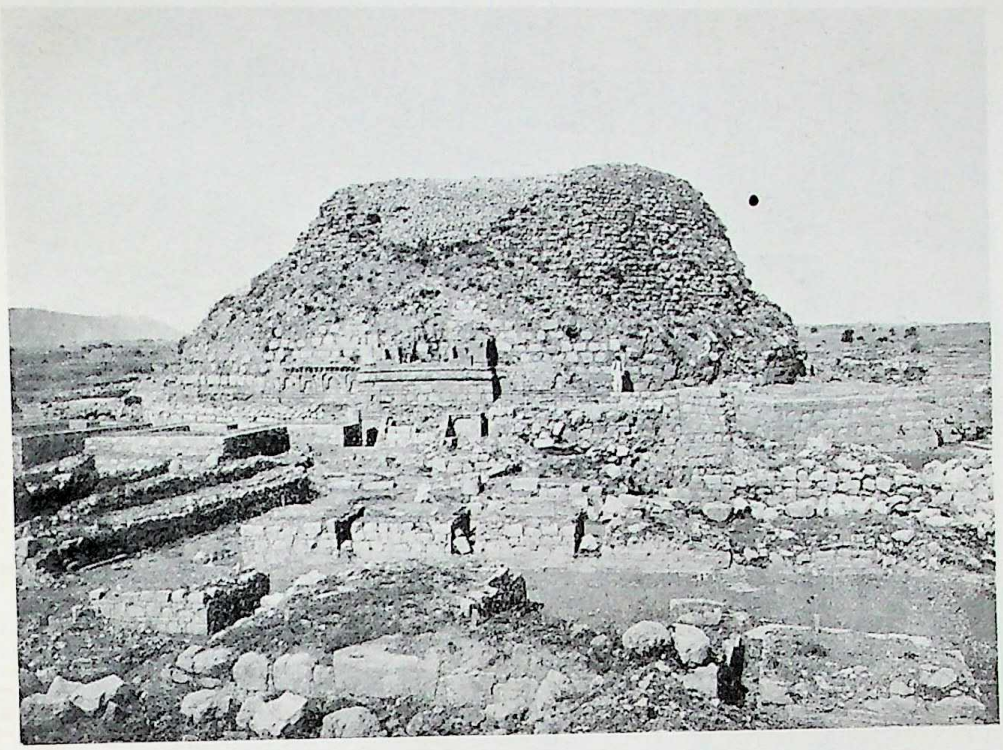
Arch. Dept.

PLATE XVII

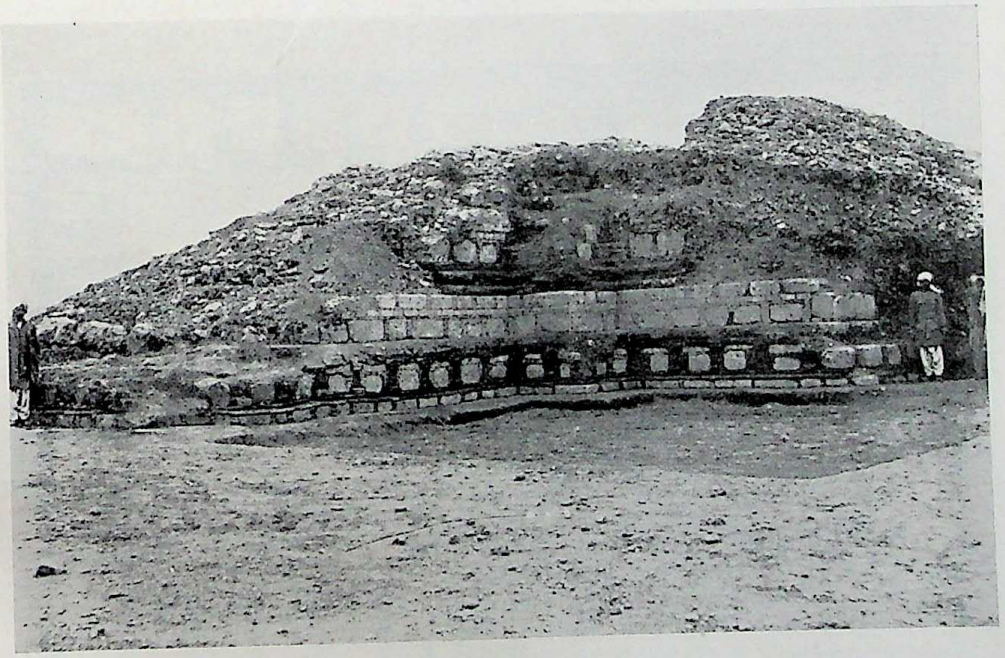
CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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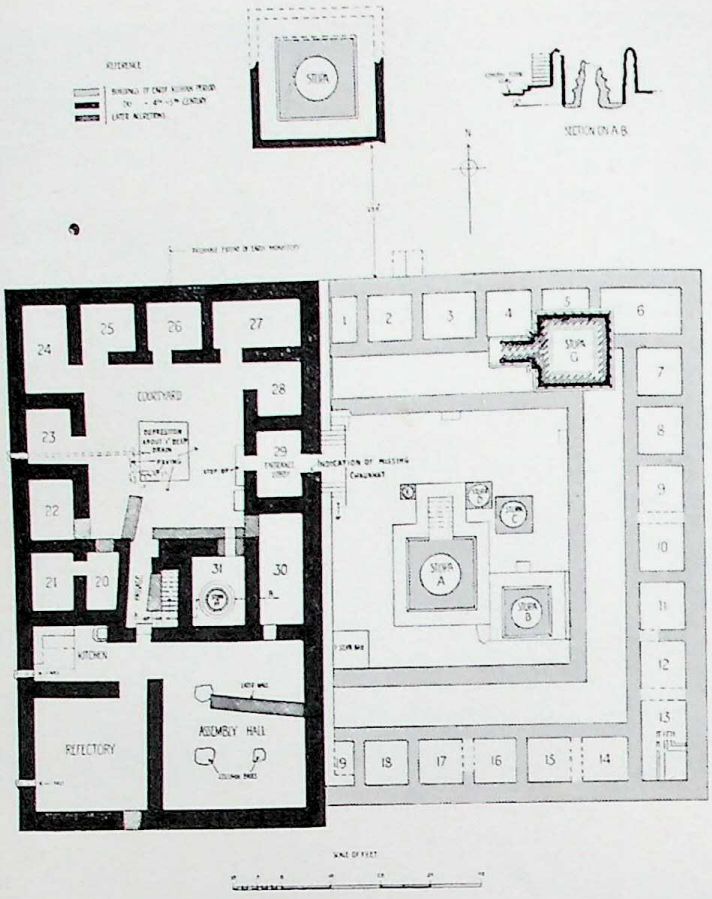


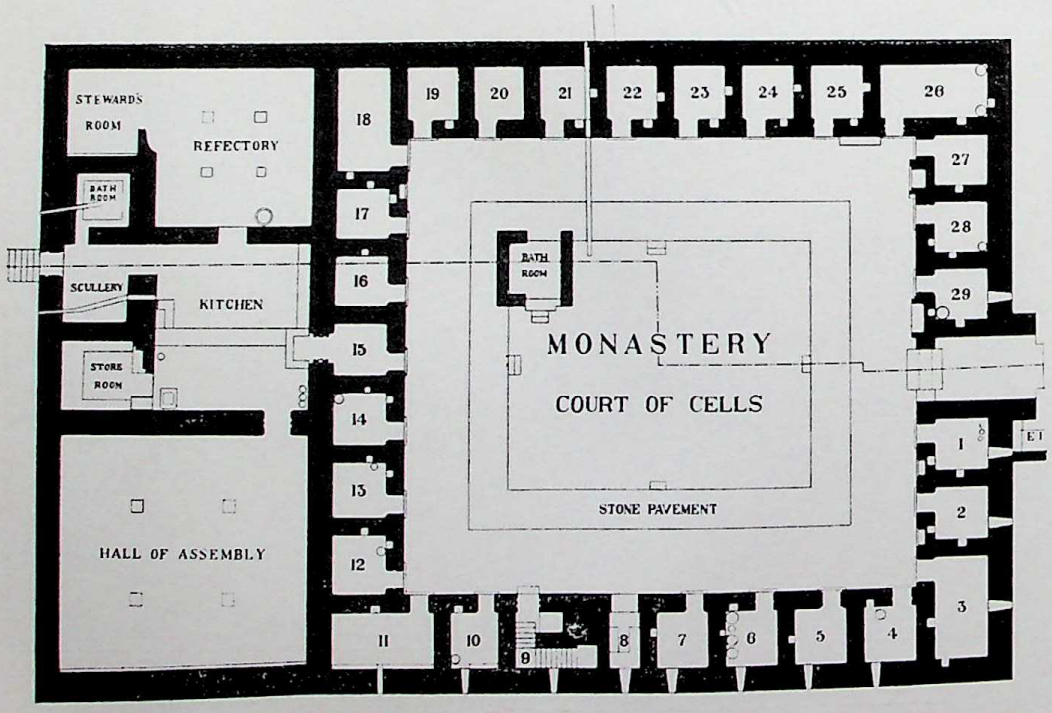
Taxila. 1. Dharmarājikā Stūpa. 2. Kunāla Monastery *Arch. Dept.*

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PLAN OF MONASTERIES



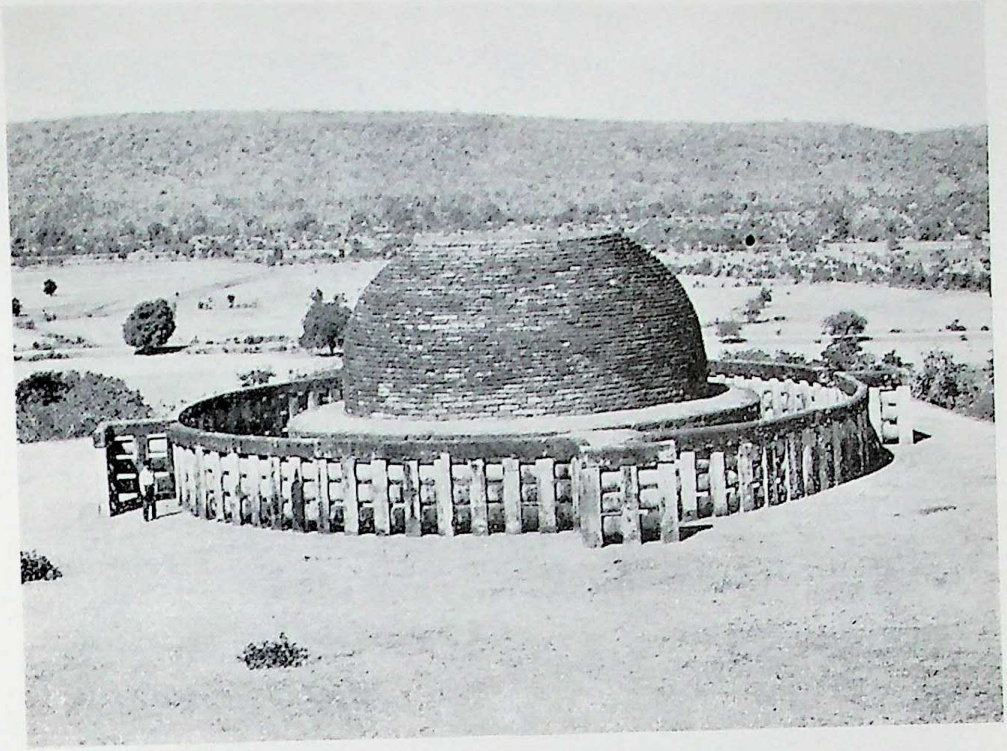


Arch. Dept.

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

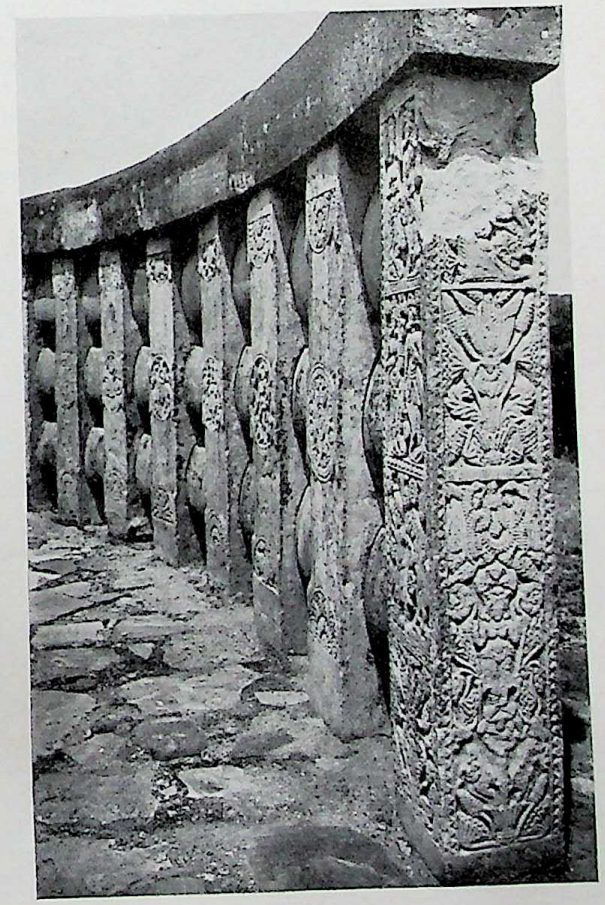
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Arch. Dept.

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Sāñchī. Stūpa II. 1. A general view

2. An inner view of the outer railing

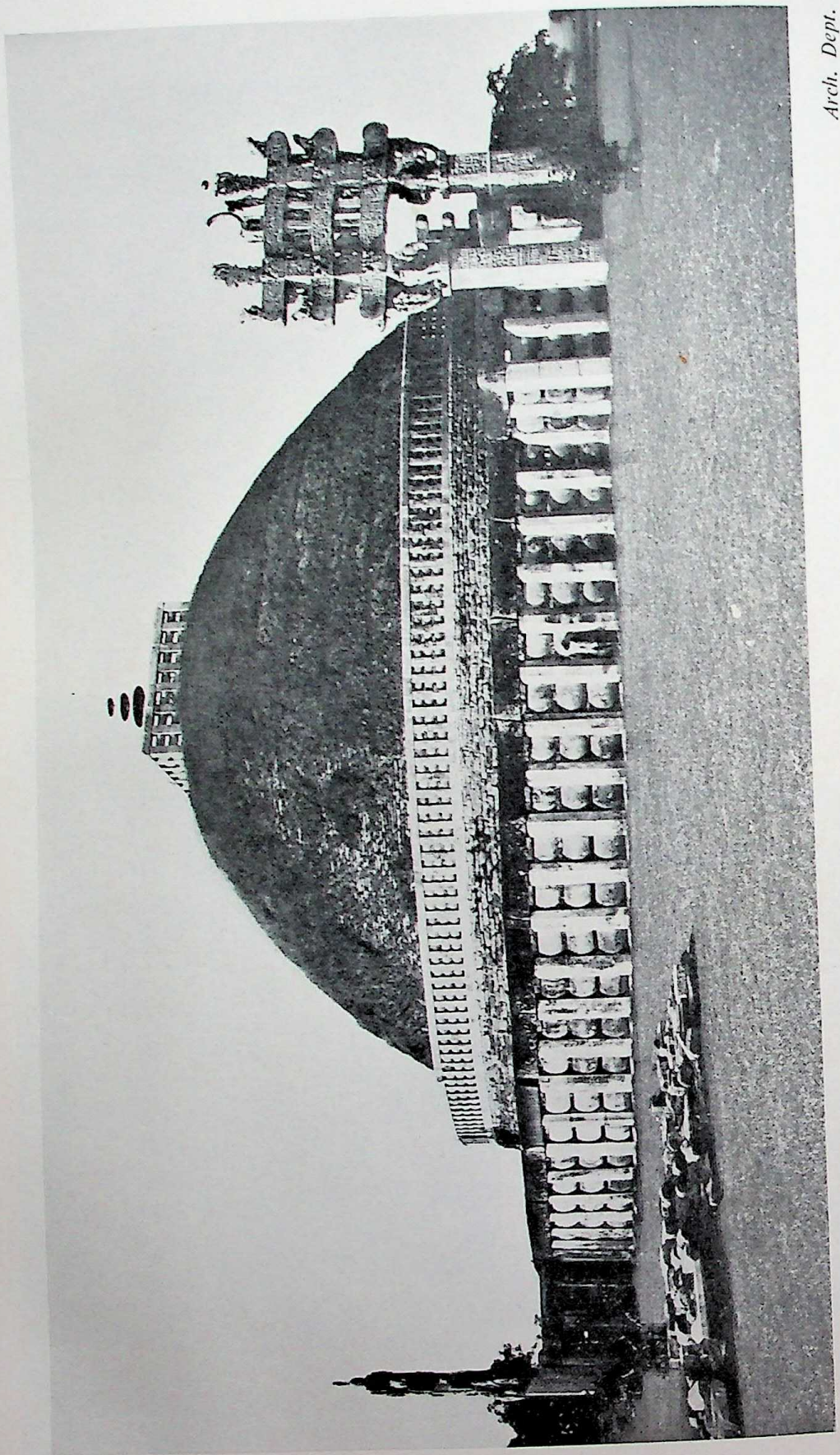
Arch. Dept.

Facing. Taxila. 1. Plan of Pippala Monastery.

2. Plan of Jaulian Monastery

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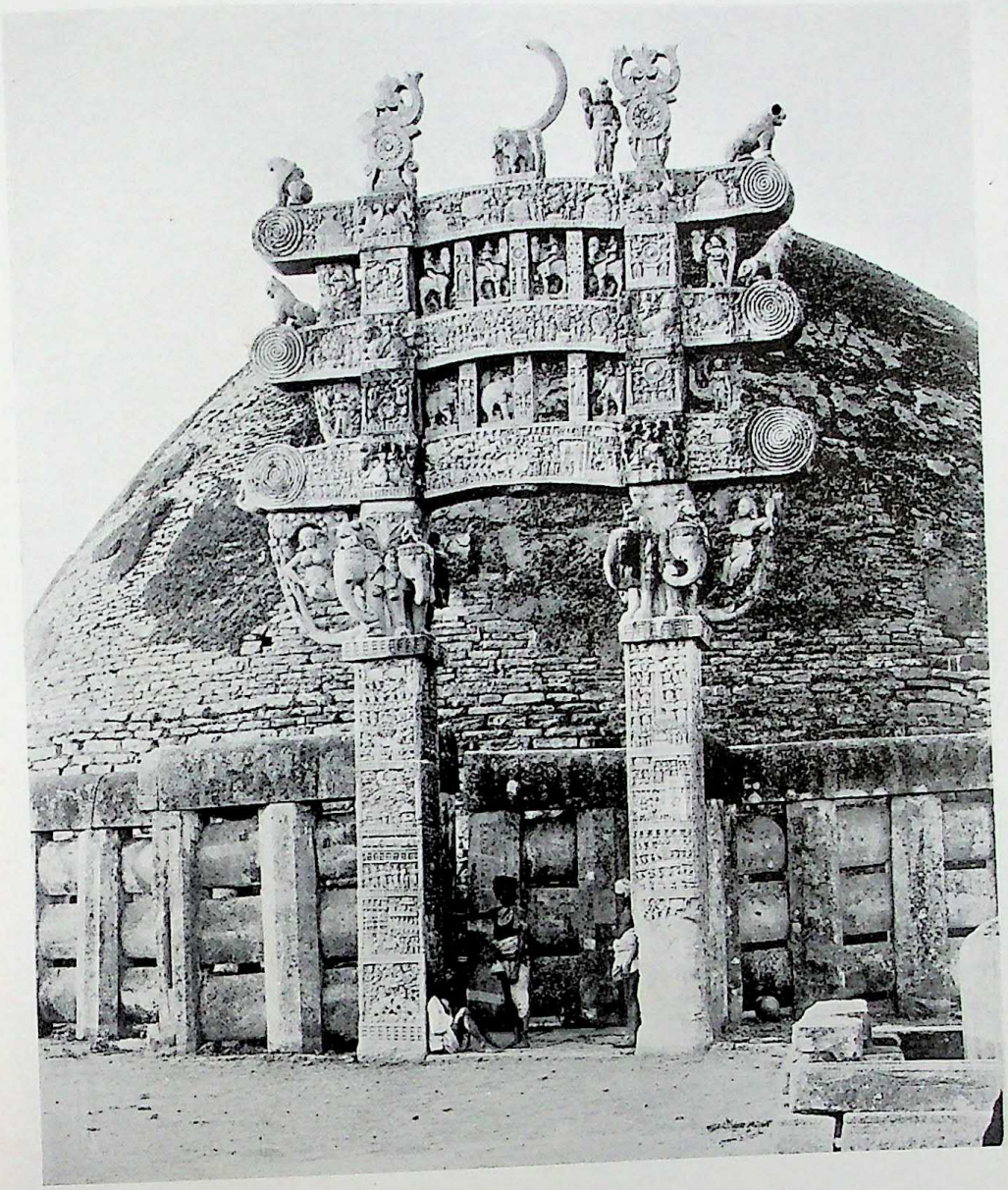
Sāñchī. Stūpa I. View from north-east

Arch. Dept.

PLATE XXI

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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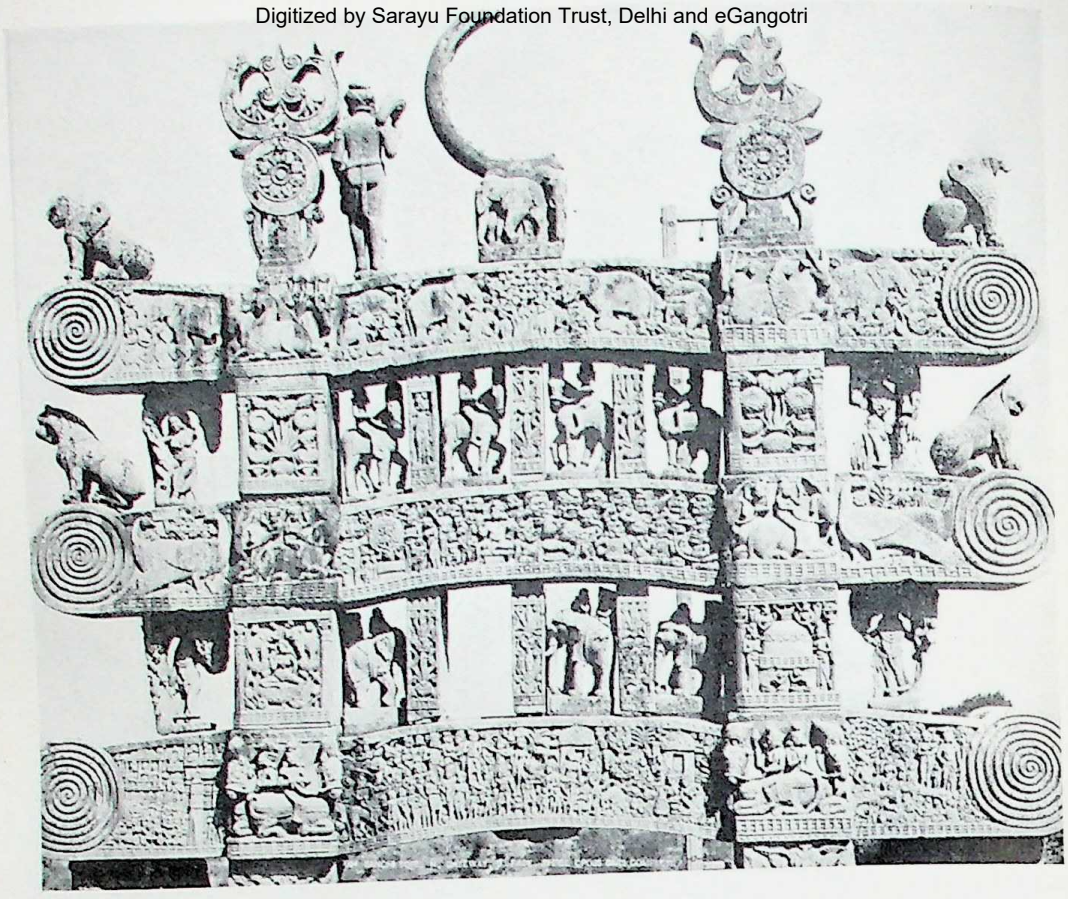


Sāñchī. Stūpa I. Northern gateway, front view *Arch. Dept.*

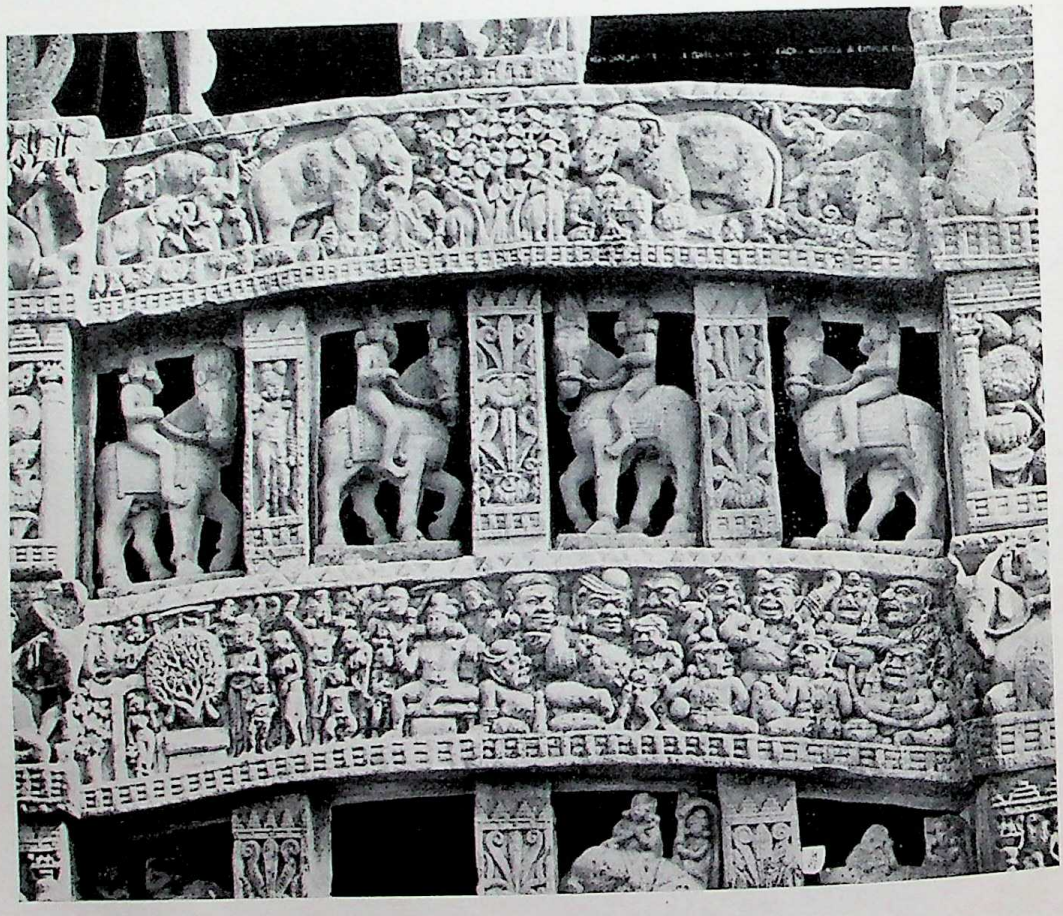
CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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Sāñchī. Stūpa I. Northern gateway. 1. Architrave. 2. Top of the same

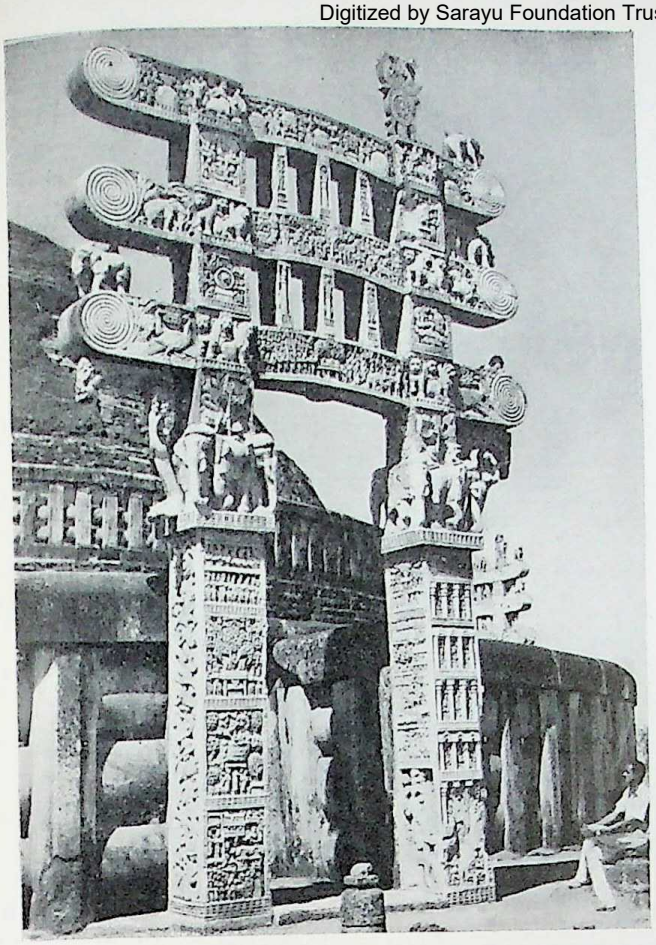
Arch. Dept.

PLATE XXIII

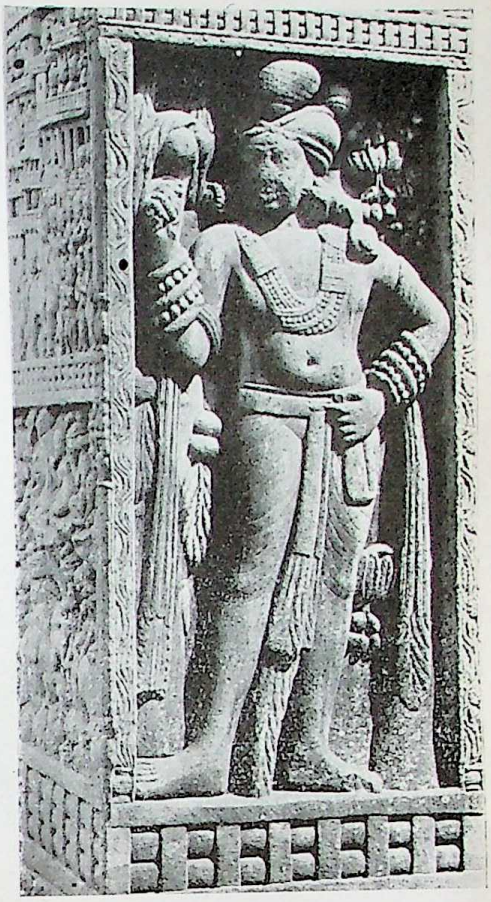
CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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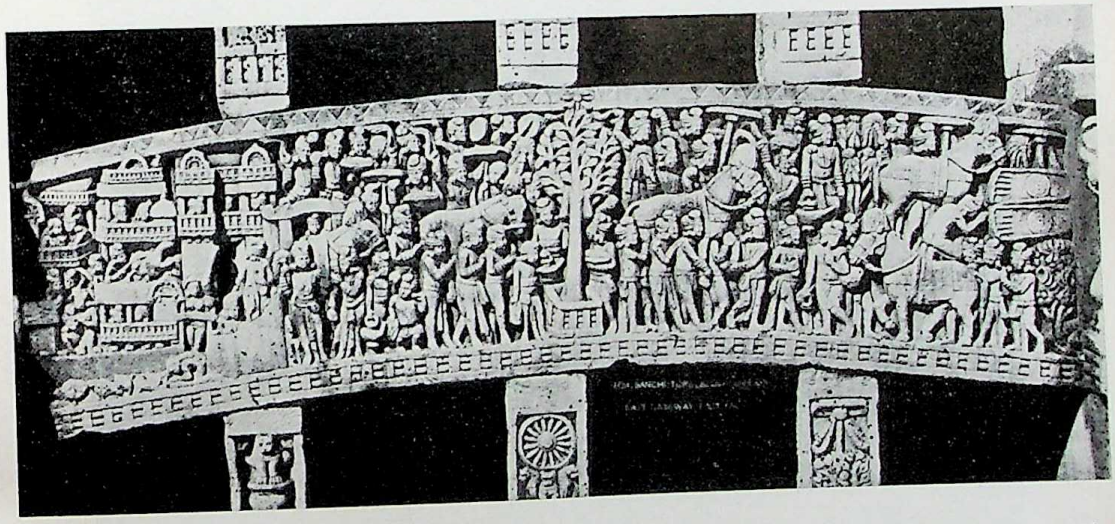
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Sāñchī. Stūpa I. 1. Eastern gateway, front. 2. Northern gateway, eastern jamb, Yaksha. 3. Eastern gateway, front middle lintel

Arch. Dept.

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Sāñchī. Stūpa I. Eastern gateway, front and back of bracket figure

Arch. Dept.

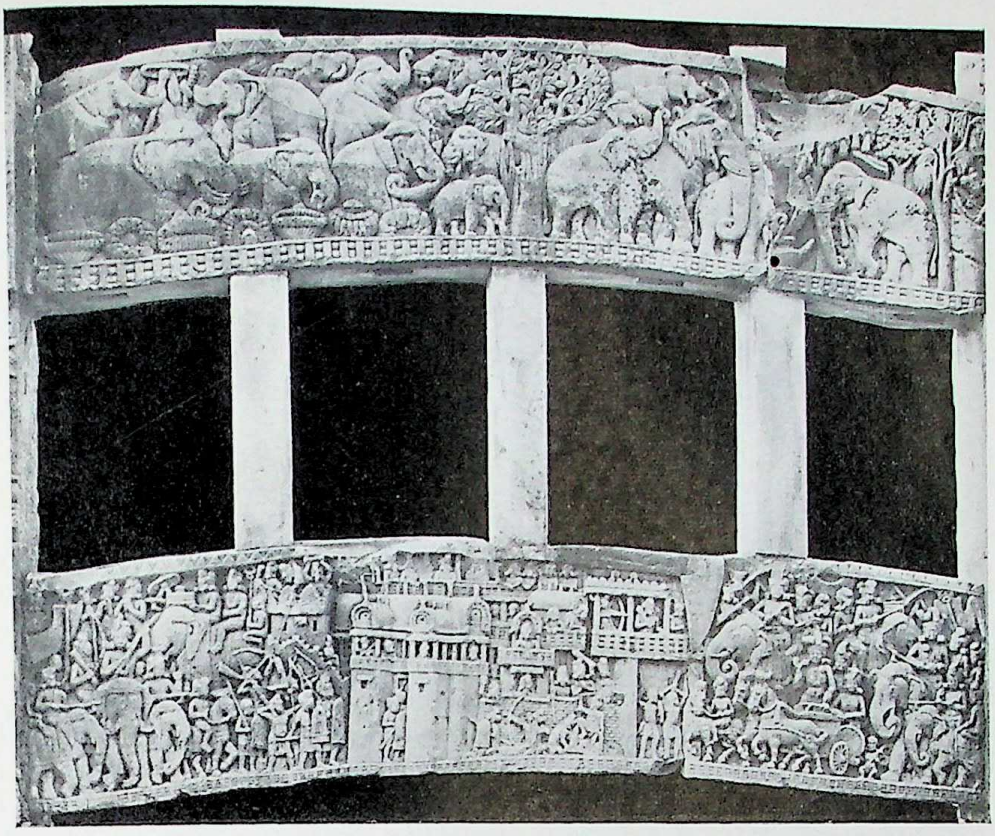
PLATE XXV

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

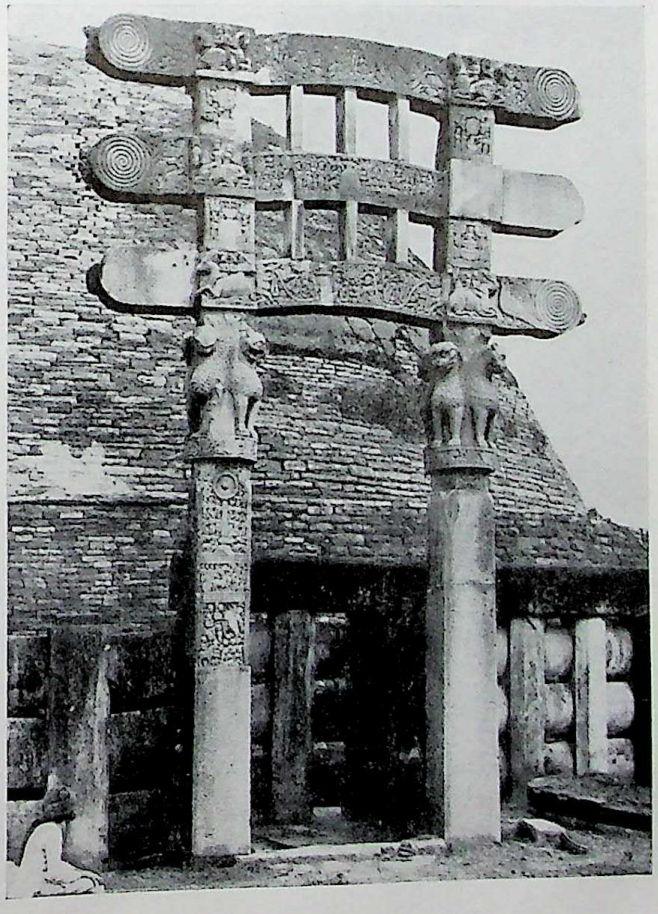
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Sāñchī. Stūpa I. 1. Middle section, architrave 2. Southern gateway

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PLATE XXVI

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Sāñchī. Stūpa I. Western gateway

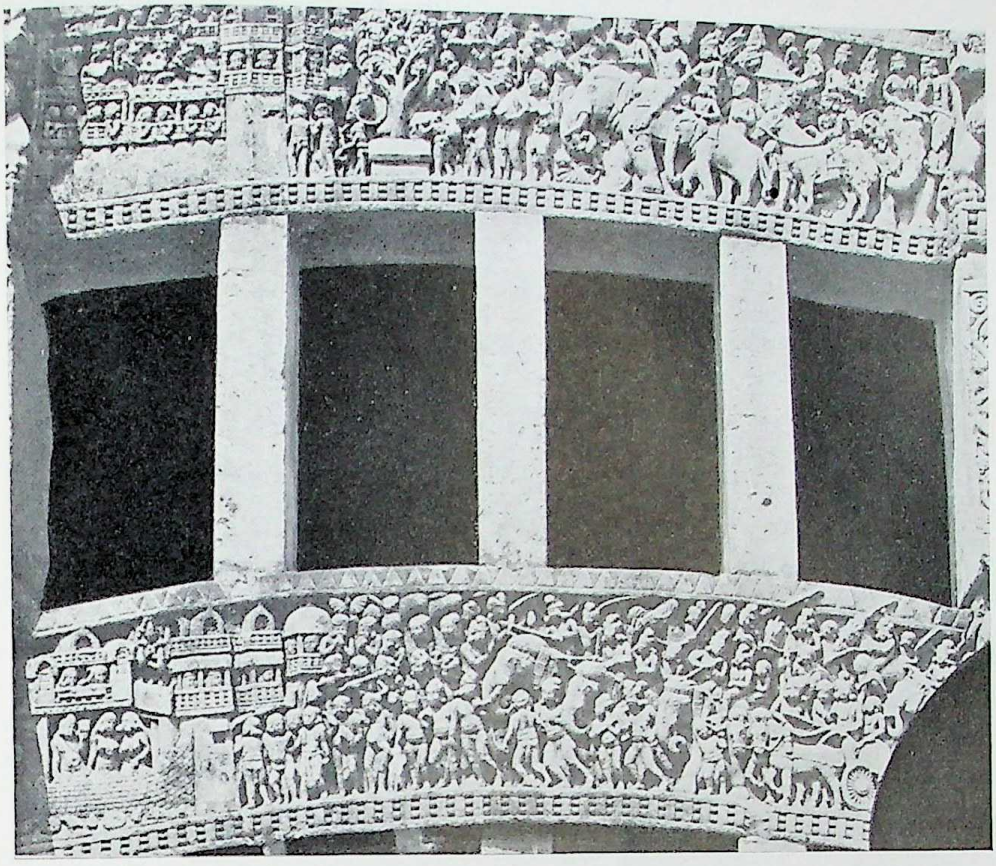
Arch. Dept.

PLATE XXVII

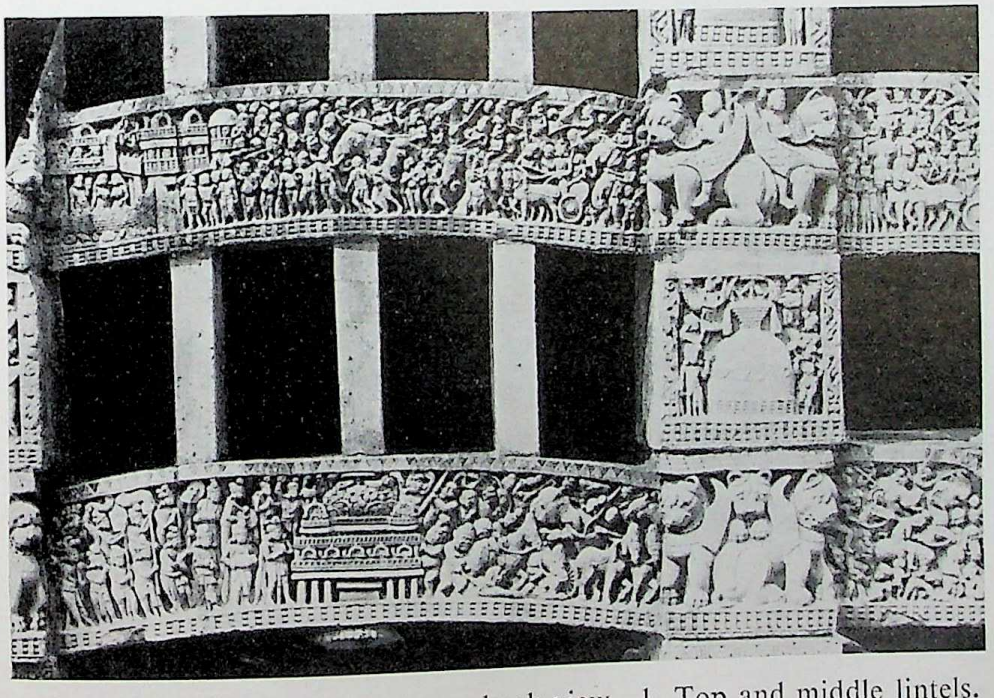
CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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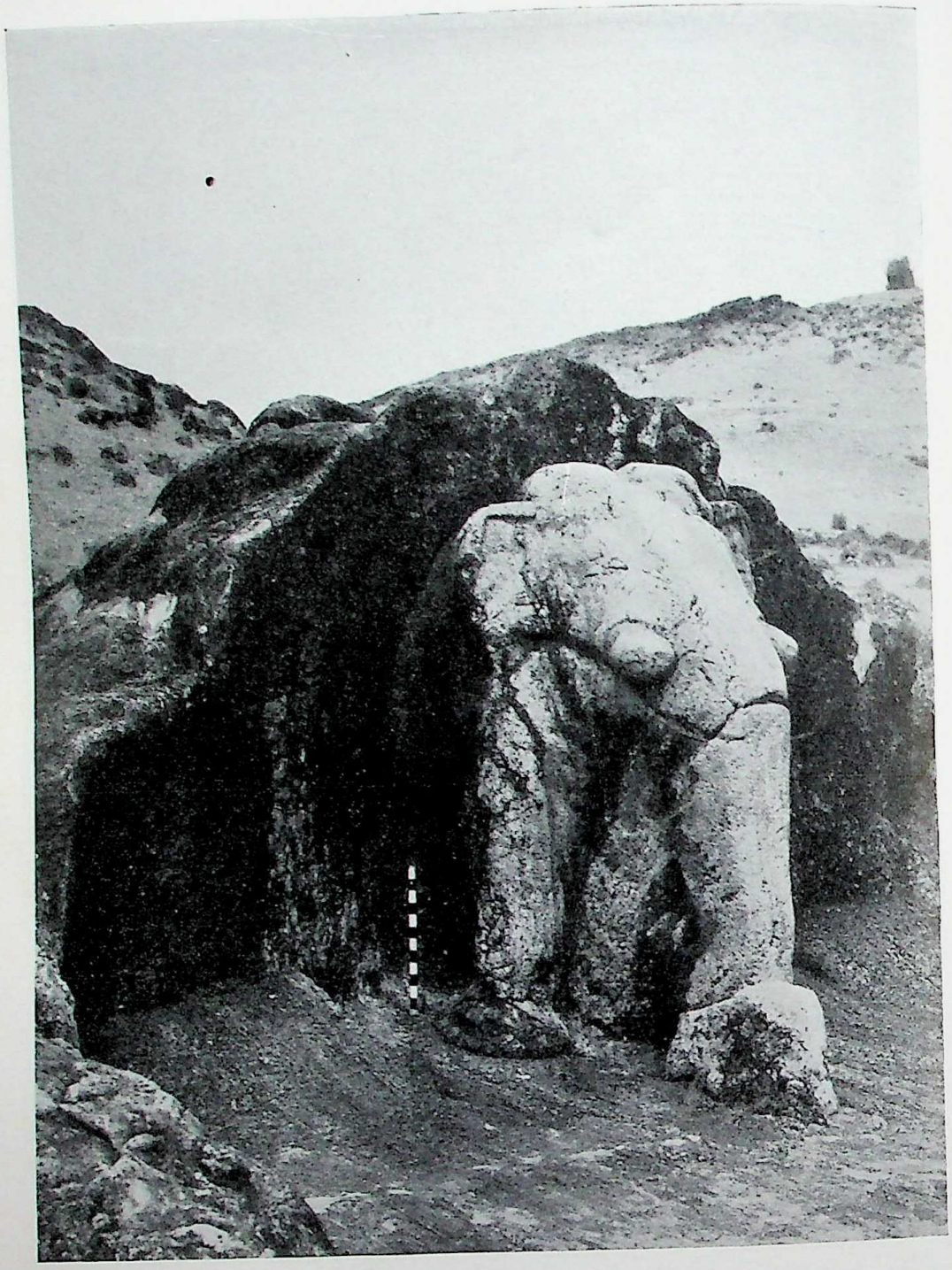
Sāñchī. Stūpa I. Western gateway, back view, 1. Top and middle lintels. 2. Middle and bottom lintels

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PLATE XXVIII

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Dhauli. Elephant

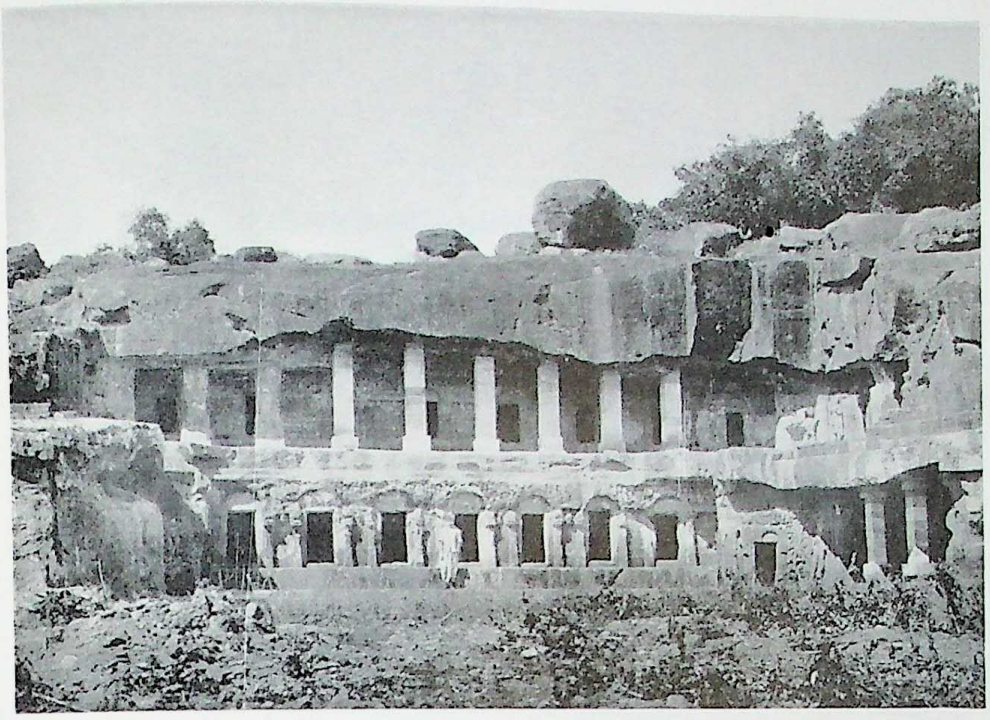
Arch. Dept.

PLATE XXIX

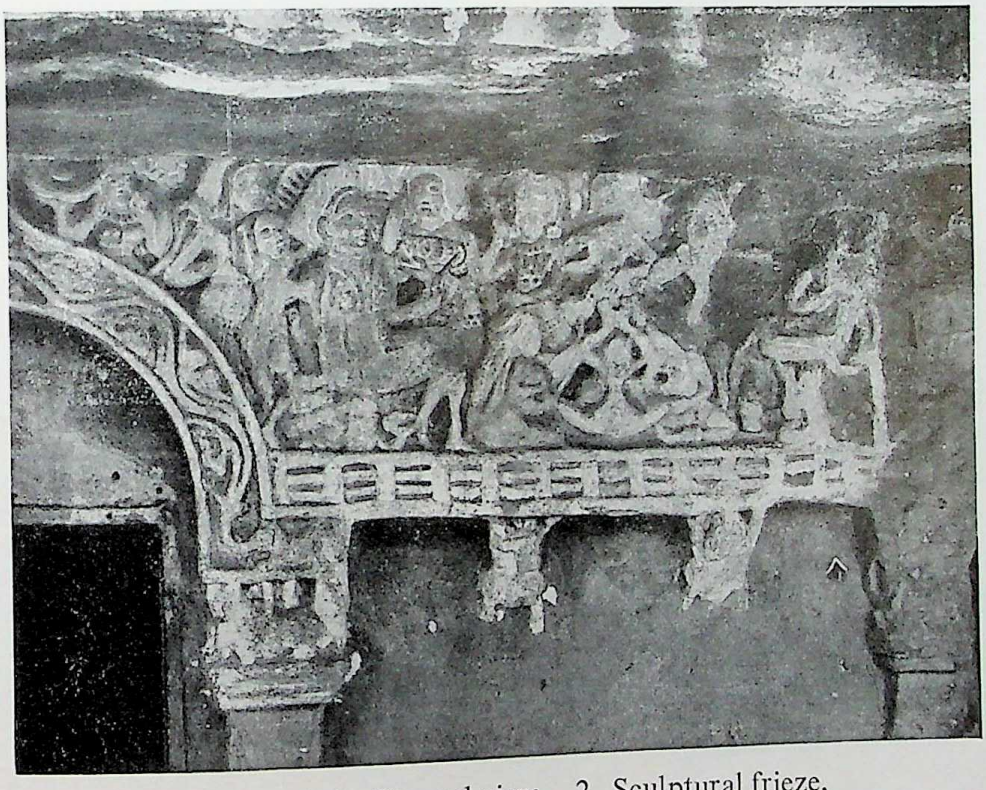
CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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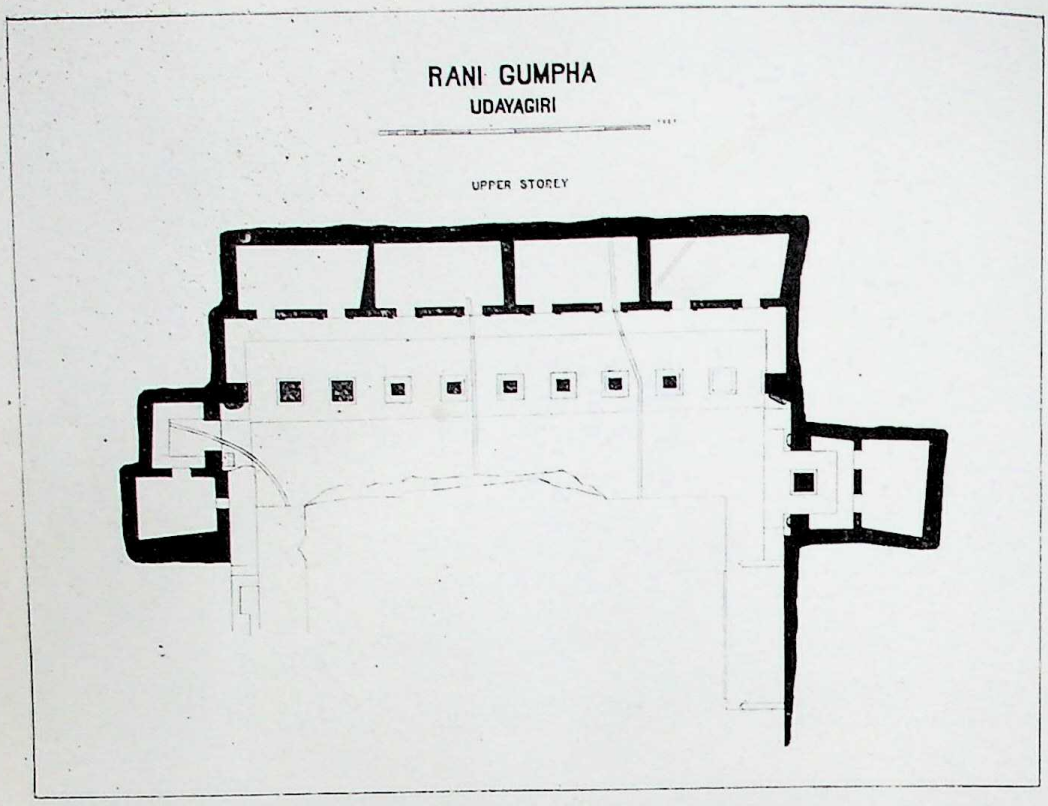
Udayagiri. 1. General view. 2. Sculptural frieze.

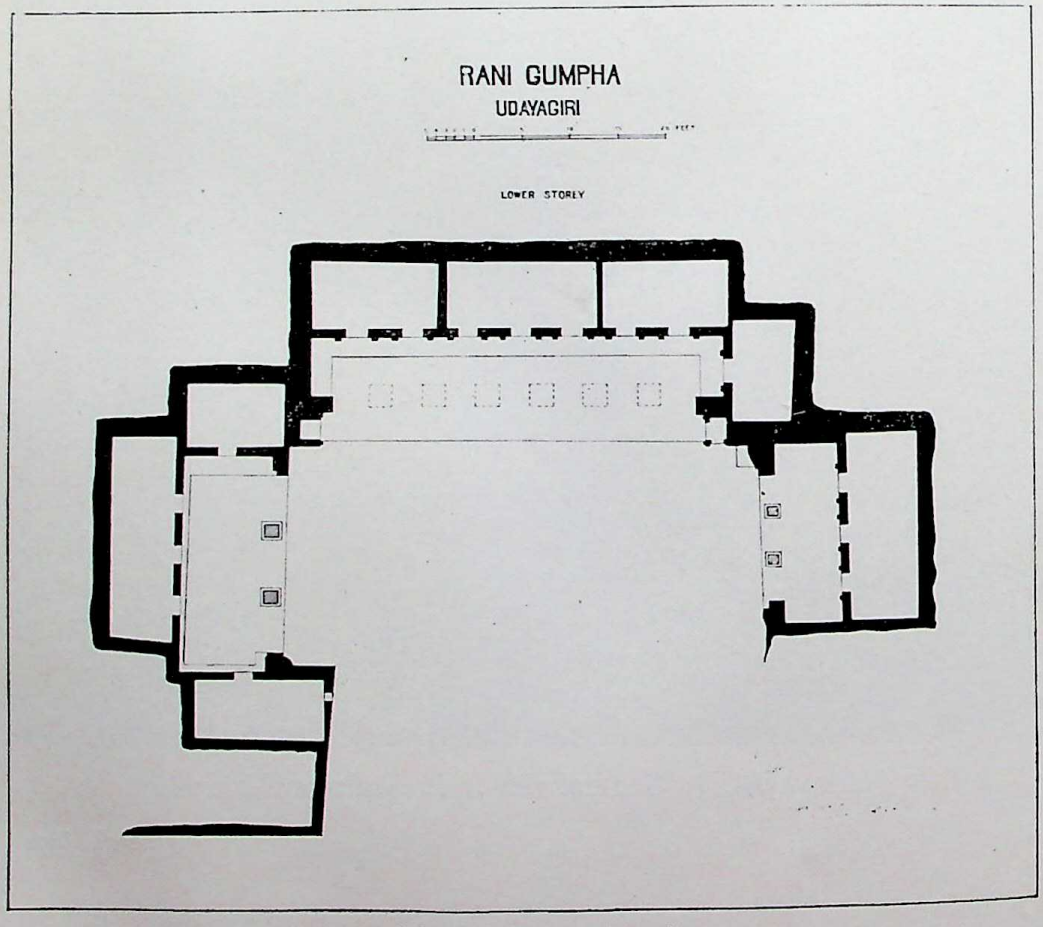
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PLATE XXX

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Udayagiri. Rāṇī-gumphā plans

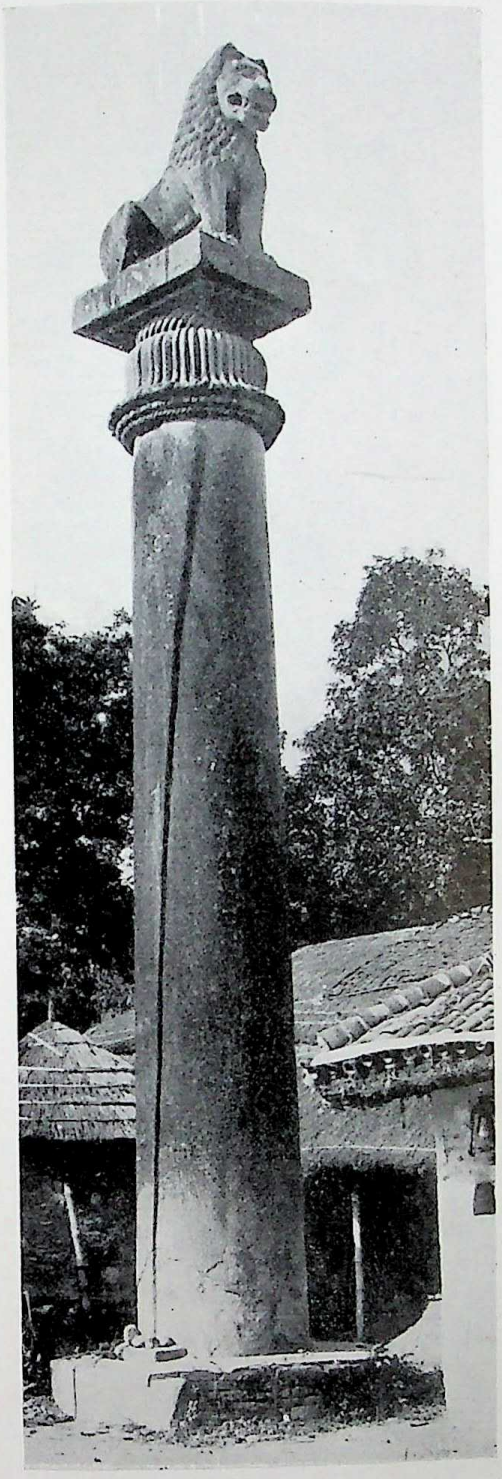
Arch. Dept.

PLATE XXXI

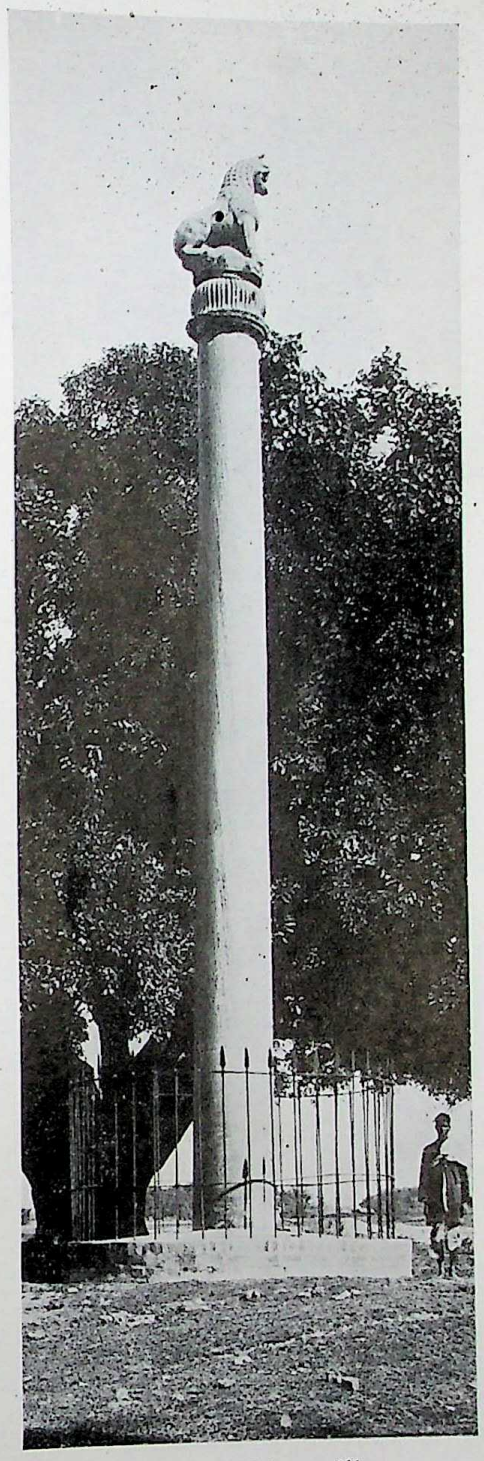
CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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2



1. Kolhua. Lion pillar. 2. Lauriya Nandangarh. Lion pillar.

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2



1. Sāñchī. Lion capital 2. Rampurva. Bull capital

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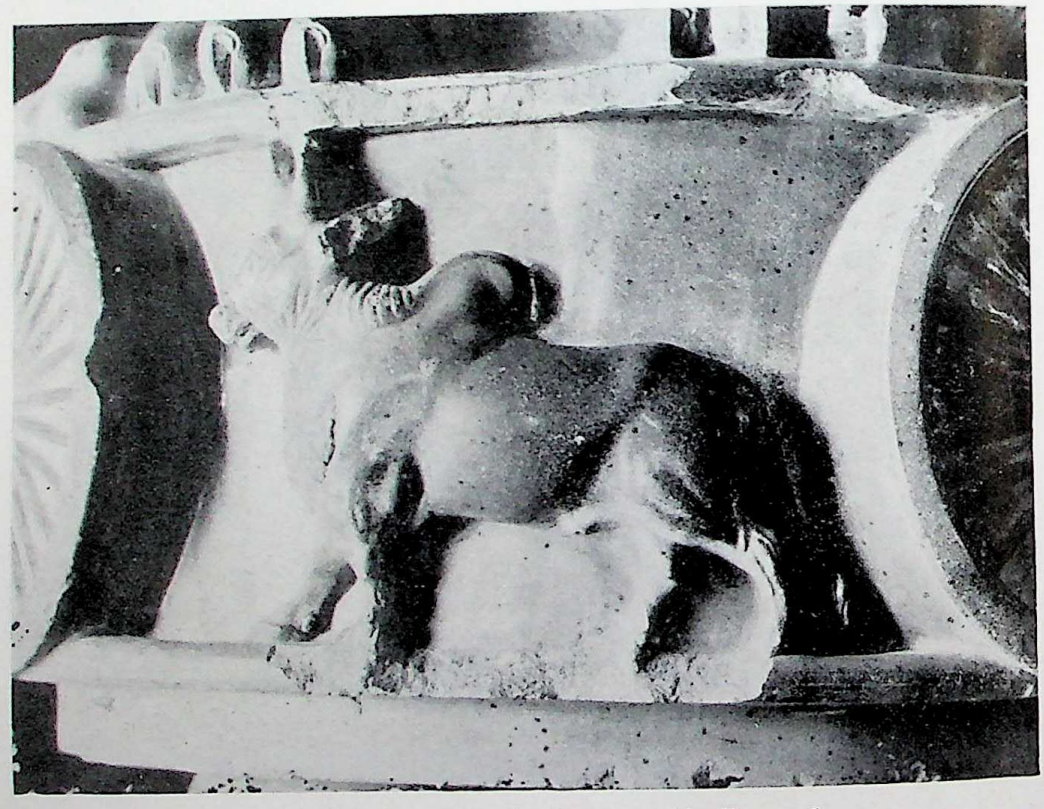
1. Rampurva. Lion Capital. 2. Sanskisa. Elephant Capital

Arch. Dept.

CC-0. UP State M

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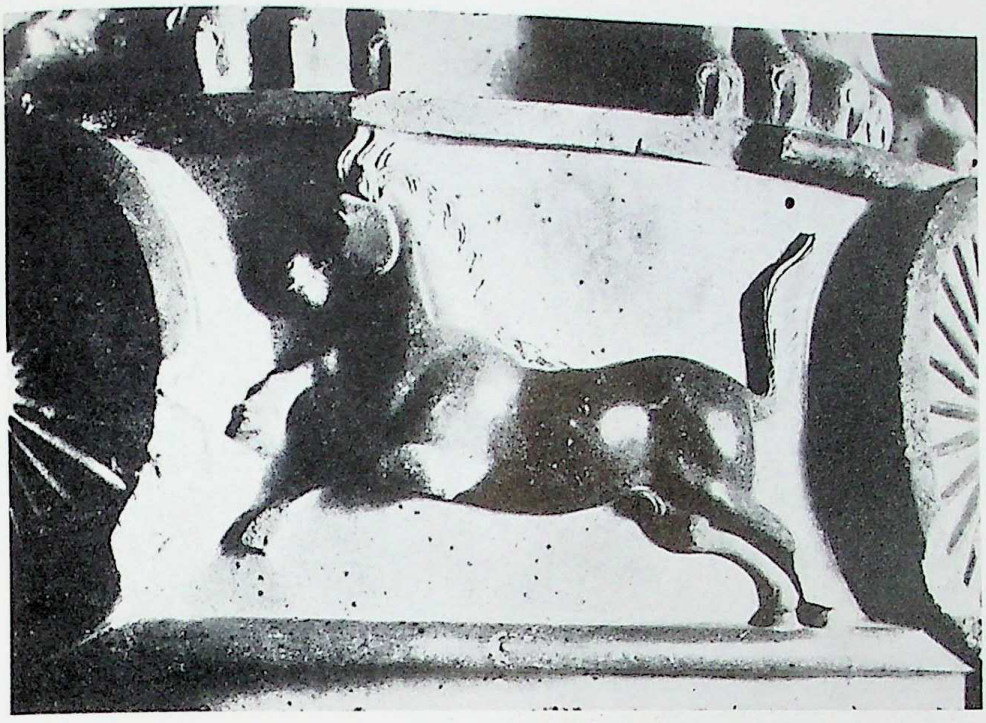


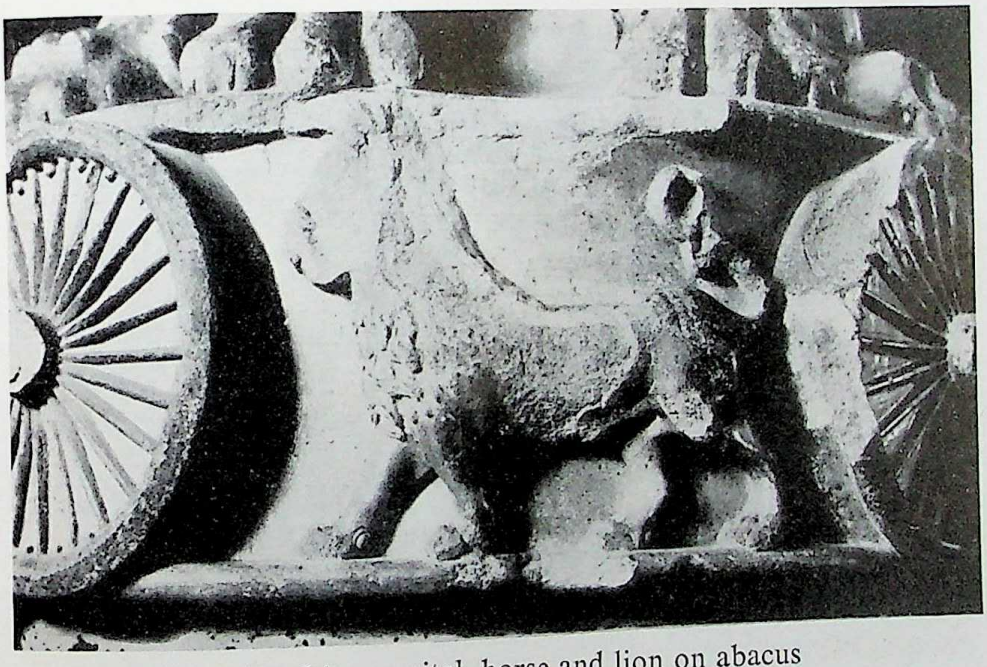
Sārnāth. Lion capital, elephant and bull on abacus

Arch. Dept.

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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Sārnāth. Lion capital, horse and lion on abacus *Arch. Dept.*

CC-0. UP State Museum, Lucknow

1



1. Parkham. Yaksha

2



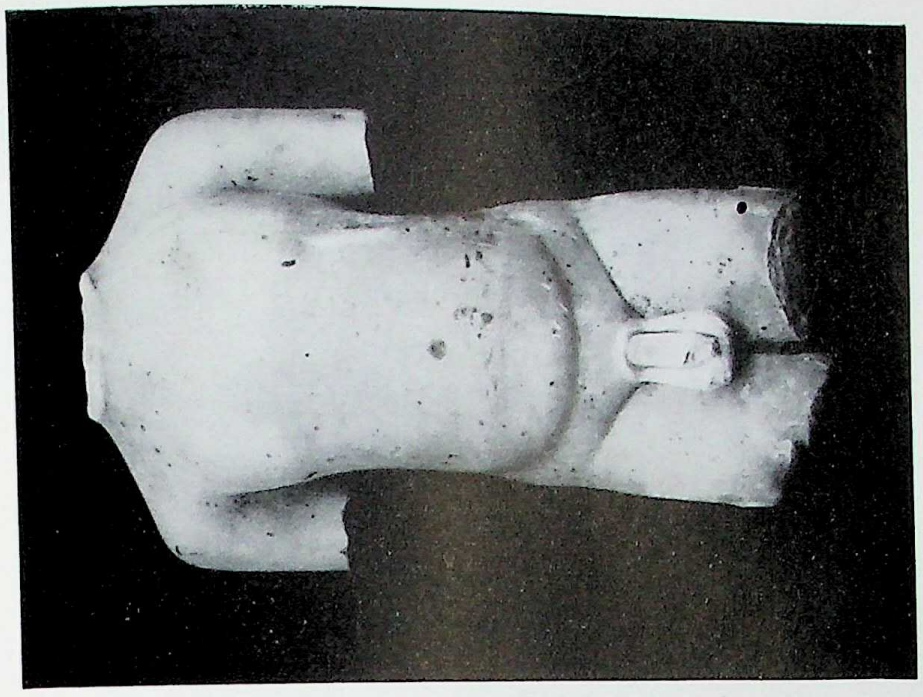
2. Patna. Yaksha
Arch. Dept. Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta

PLATE XXXVII

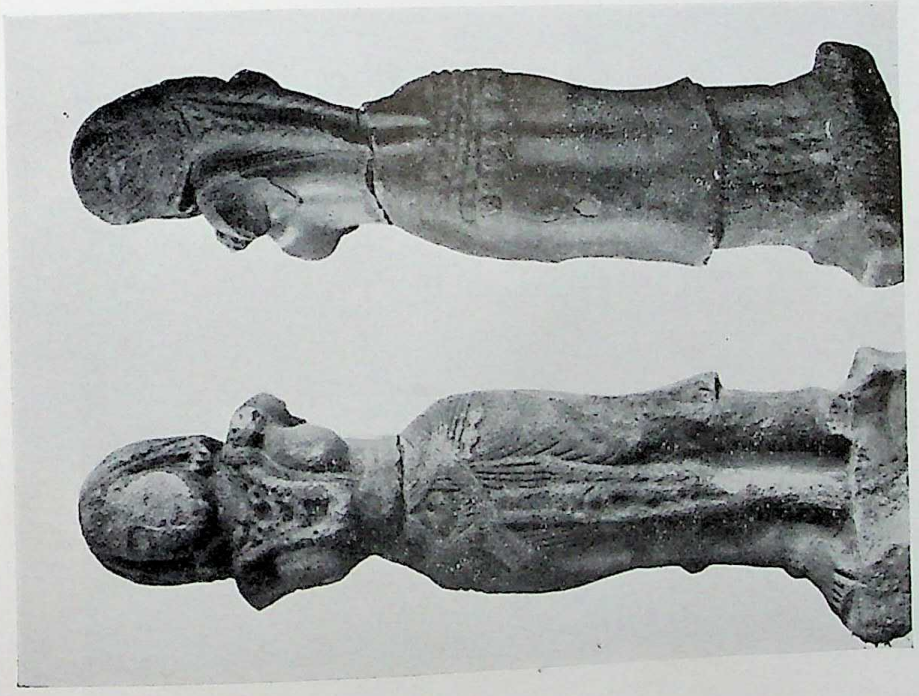
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Lohanipur. Jina *Patna Museum*



Besnagar. Yakshiṇī *Arch. Dept.*

PLATE XXXVIII

CC-0. UP State Museum, Lucknow





Besnagar. Yakshiṇī, front and back views

Arch. Dept., Madhya Bharat

PLATE XXXIX

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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Pawāya. Yaksha, front and back views *Arch. Dept., Madhya Bharat*

PLATE XL

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Didarganj. Yakshiṇī

Arch. Dept.

PLATE XLI

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Sārnāth. Bodhisattva image

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1



2



Mathurā. 1. Inscribed Buddha Statue.
2. Slab from Holi gate

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PLATE XLIII

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Mathurā. Āyāgapaṭa

Lucknow Museum

PLATE XLIV

CC-0. UP State Museum, Lucknow

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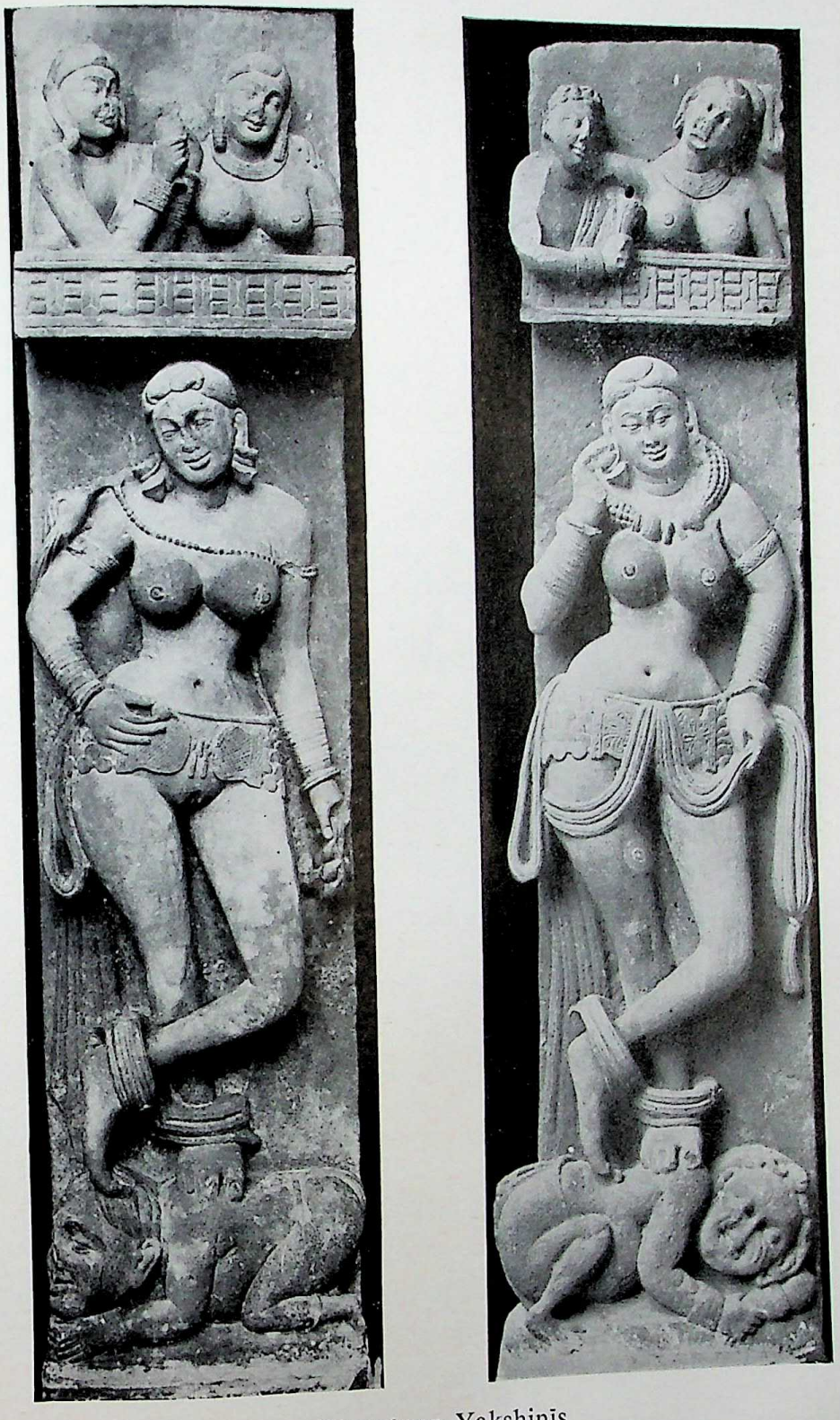


Mathurā. 1. Bacchanalian scene. 2. Yaksha

Arch. Dept.

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Bhuteśwar. Yakshiṇis
Arch. Sec. Indian Museum, Calcutta

PLATE XLVI

CC-0. UP State Museum, Lucknow

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1



1. Mathurā. Inscribed Kanishka image

Arch. Dept.

2



2. Lauriyan Tangai headless inscribed Buddha

Arch. Sec. Indian Museum, Calcutta

PLATE XLVII

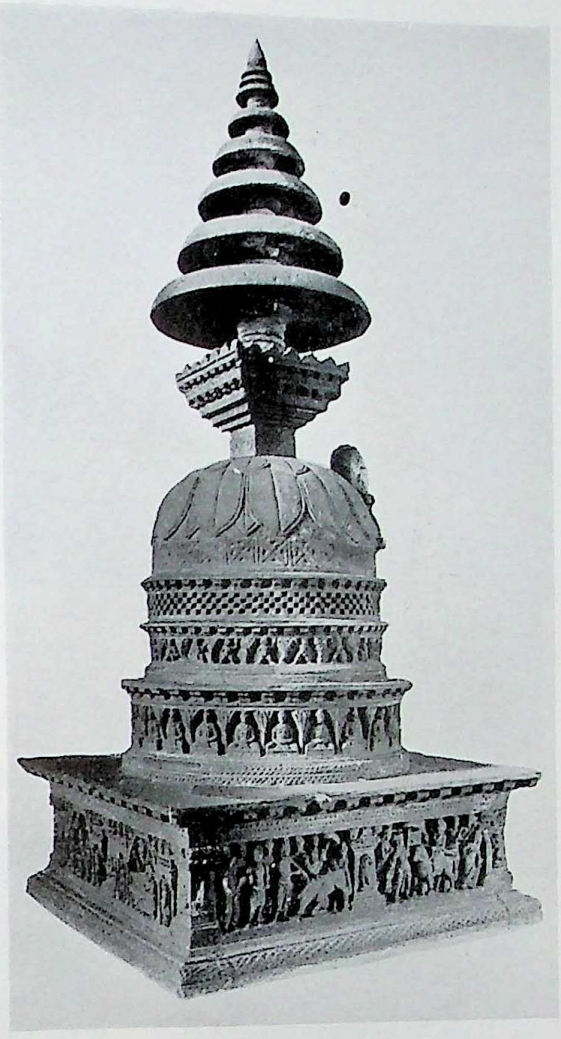
CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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2



1. Mathurā. Yakshiṇi, Curzon Museum
Arch. Survey of India

2. Gandhāra. Miniature votive Stūpa
Arch. Sec. Indian Museum, Calcutta

PLATE XLVIII

CC-0. UP State Museum, Lucknow

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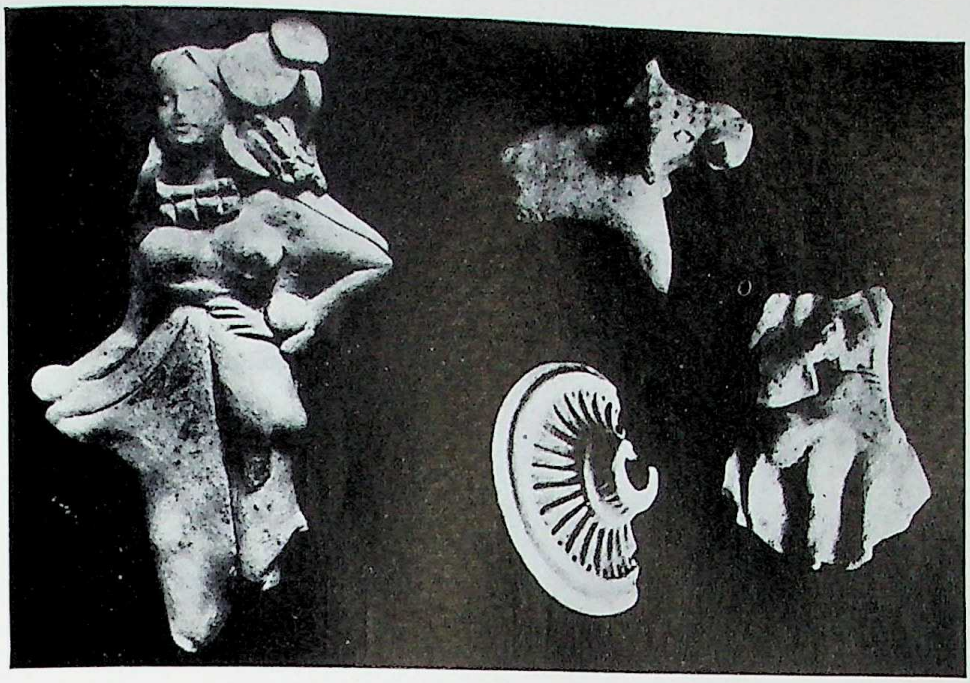
Pāṭaḷiputra. Terracotta figurines
Arch. Dept.

PLATE XLIX

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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Arch. Dept.

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1. Tamluk. 2. Dināj pur.
Terracotta figurines

Ashutosh Museum, Calcutta Univ.

PLATE L

CC-0. UP State Museum, Lu

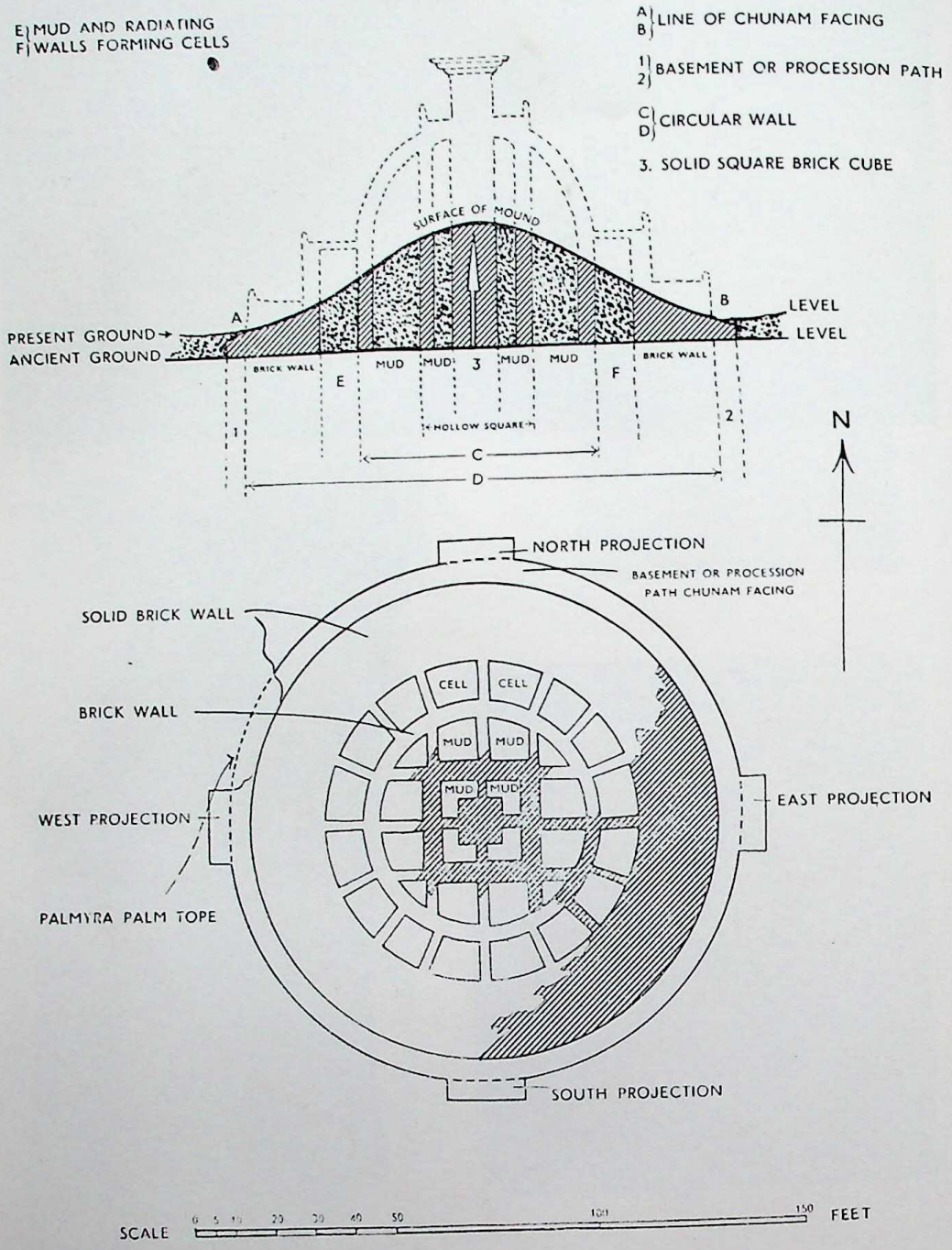
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GHAṆṬAŚÂLÂ

FIG. I. (SECTION)

DOTTED LINES INDICATE ASSUMED OUTLINE OF

BUILDING



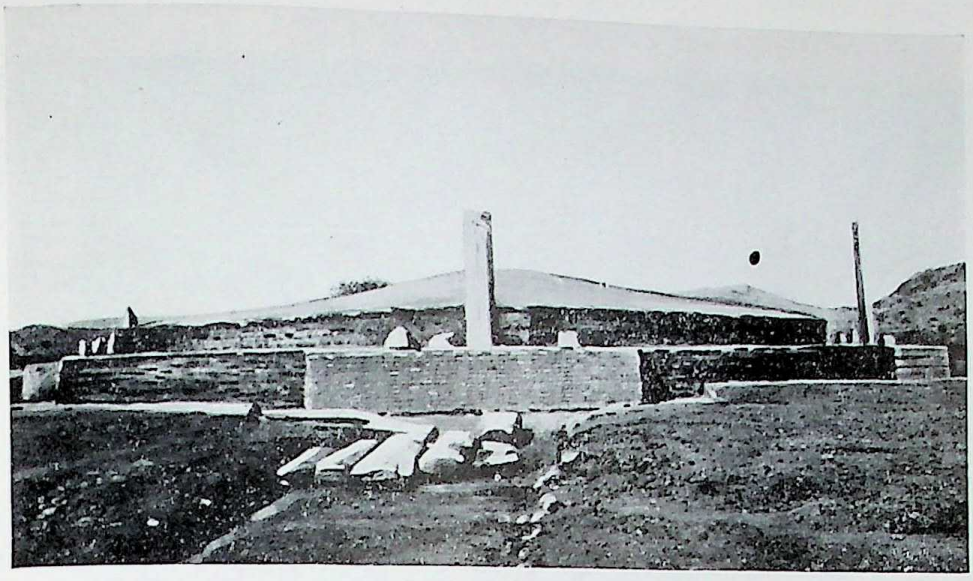
Ghaṇṭaśala. Plan and section of the Stūpa

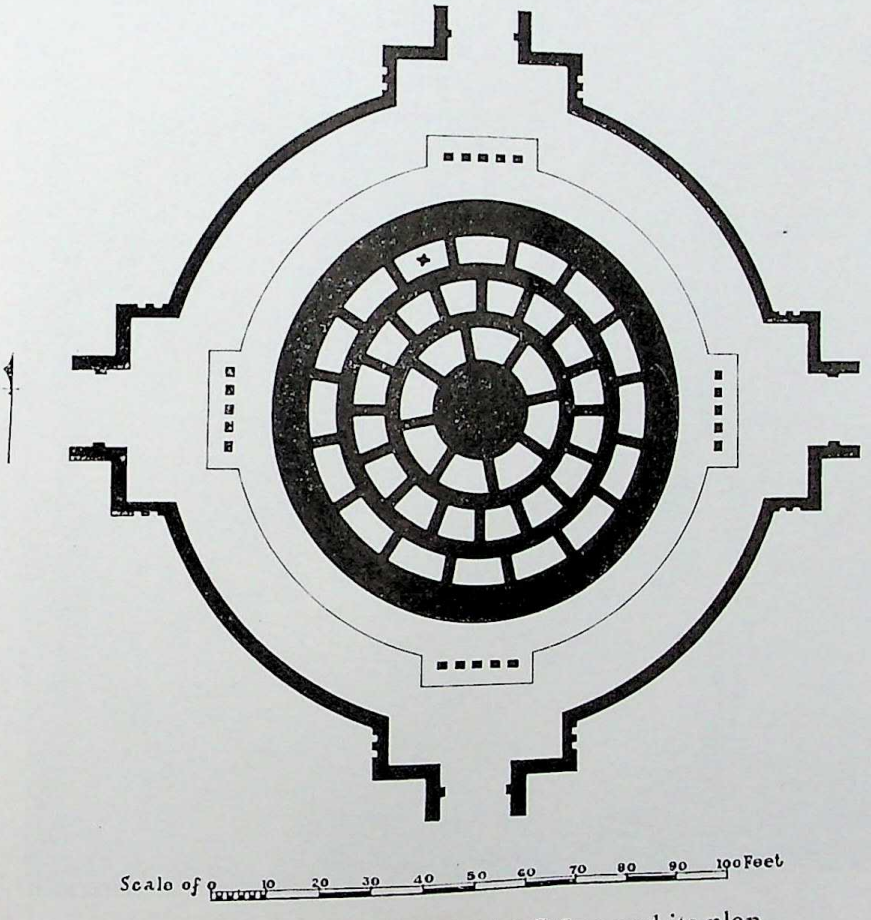
Alexander Rea, Indian Buddhist Antiquities pl.xiv

PLATE LI

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj. Lucknow

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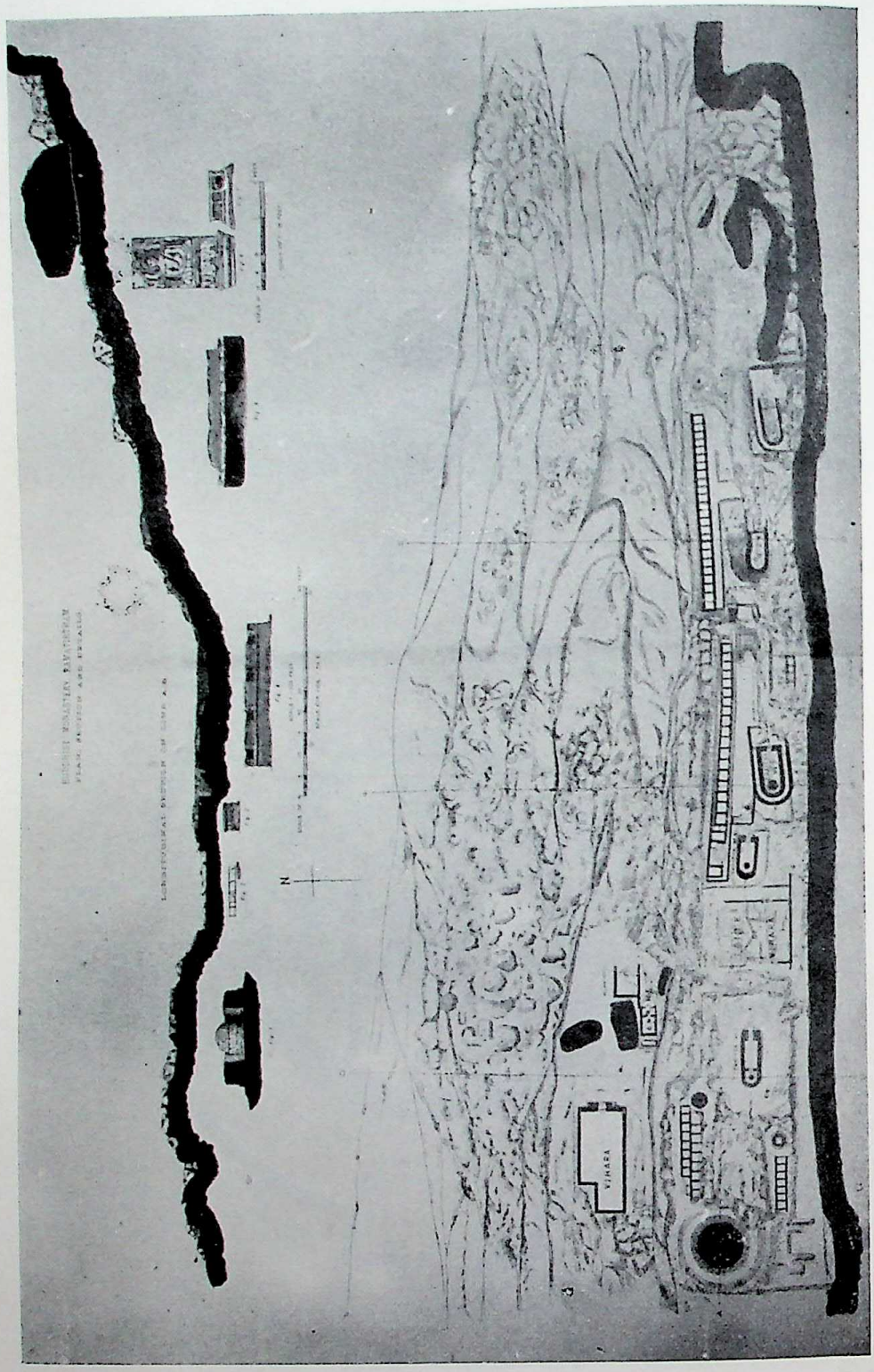
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Mahā Stūpa and its plan

Arch. Dept.

PLATE LII

CC-0. UP State Museum, Hazratganj

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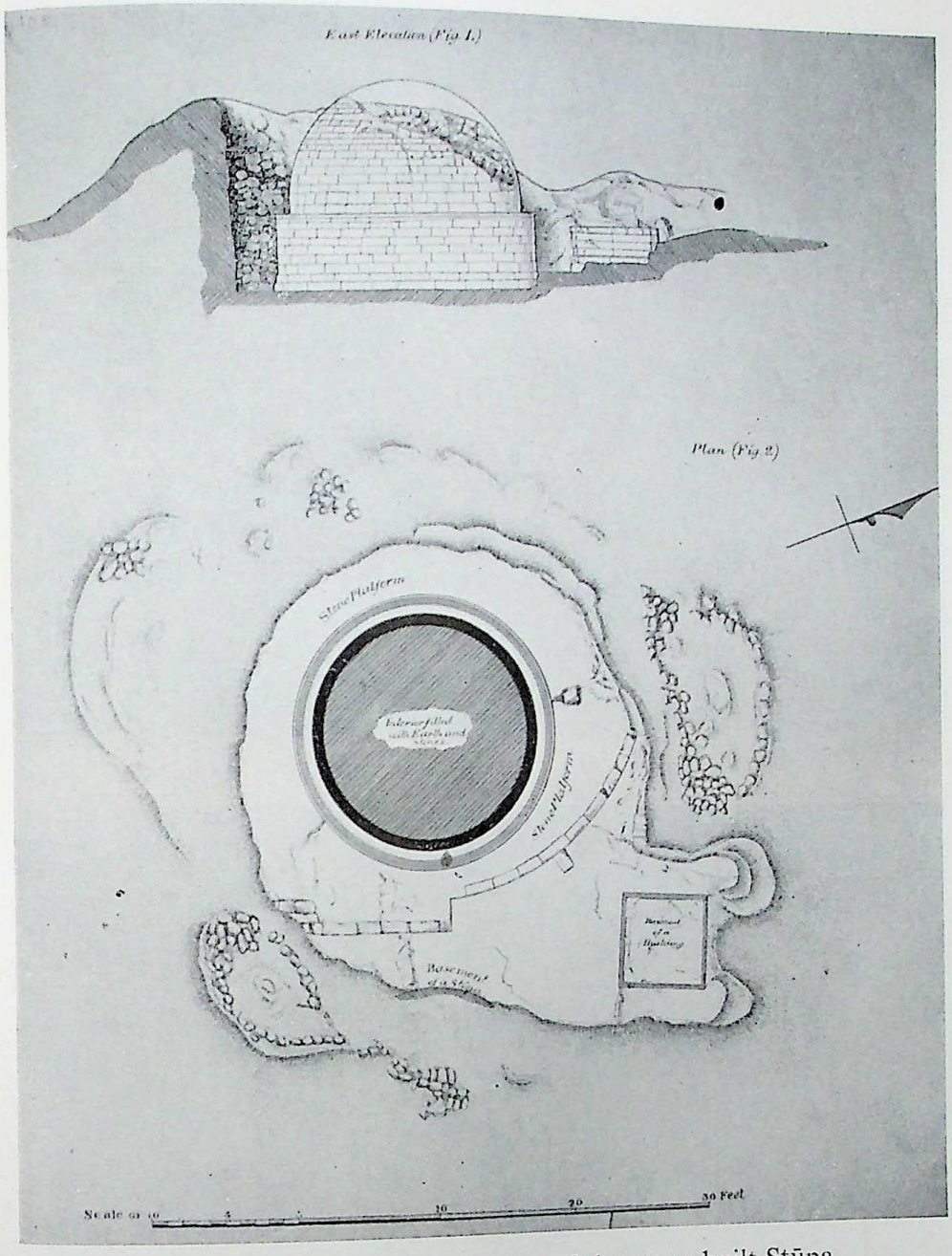
Rāmatīrtham. Plan and section of Buddhist monastery

Arch. Dept.

PLATE LIII

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Guṇṭupalle. Plan and elevation of the stone built Stūpa

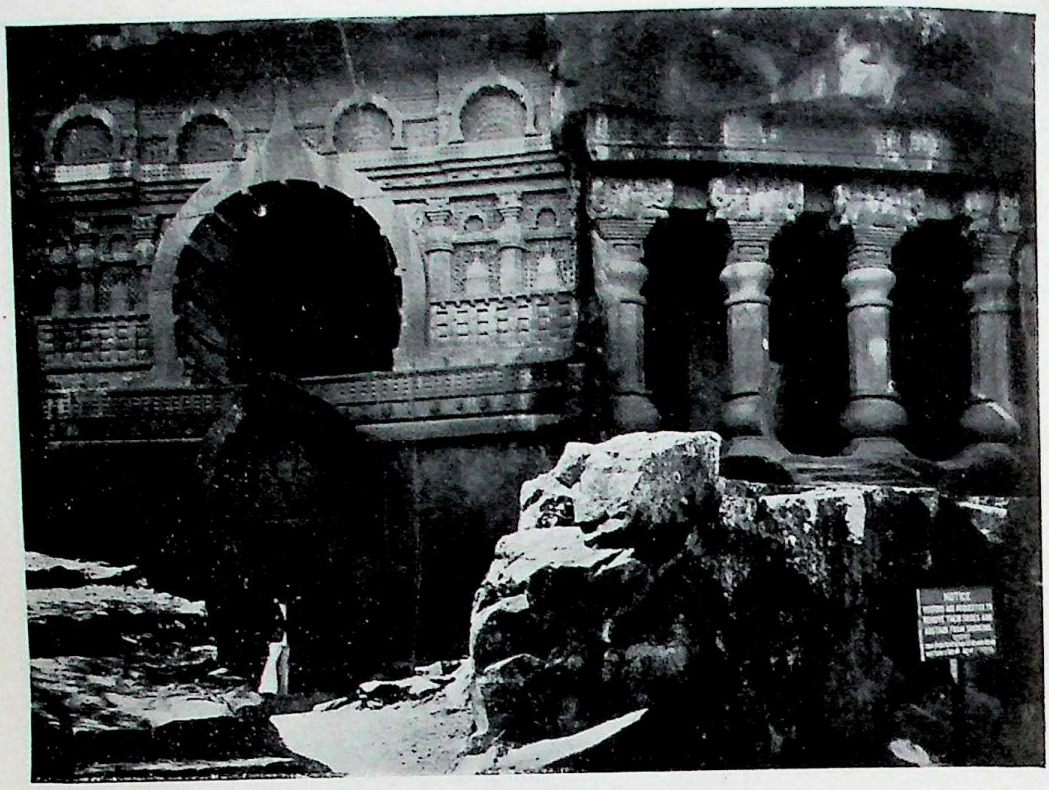
Arch. Dept.

PLATE LIV

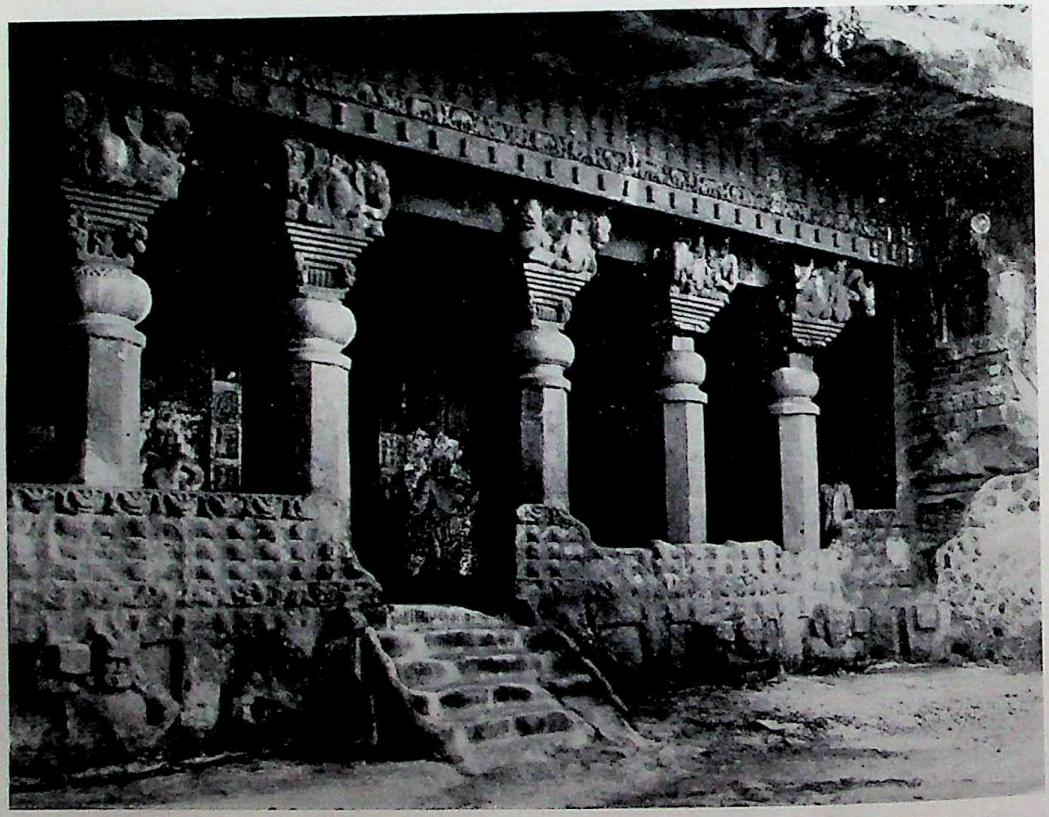
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Pathardi (Nāsik), Pāṇḍulena. 1. Decoration on Chaitya window. 2. Miniature bhūta gaṇas bearing the abacus

Arch. Dept.

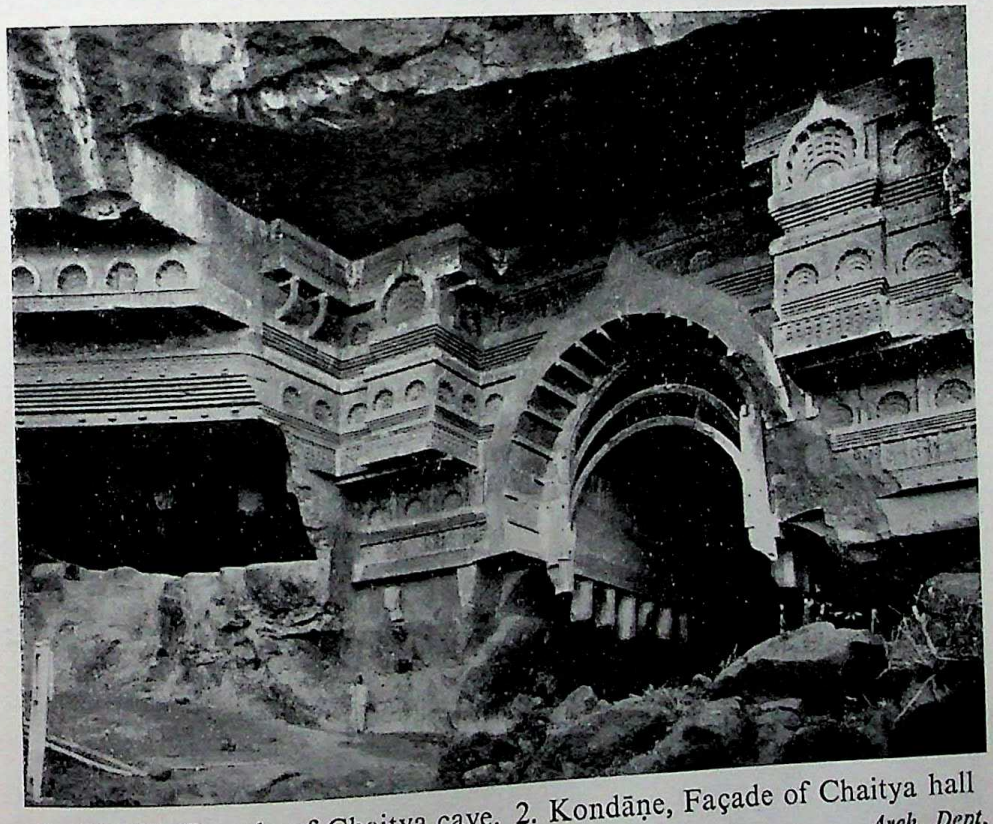
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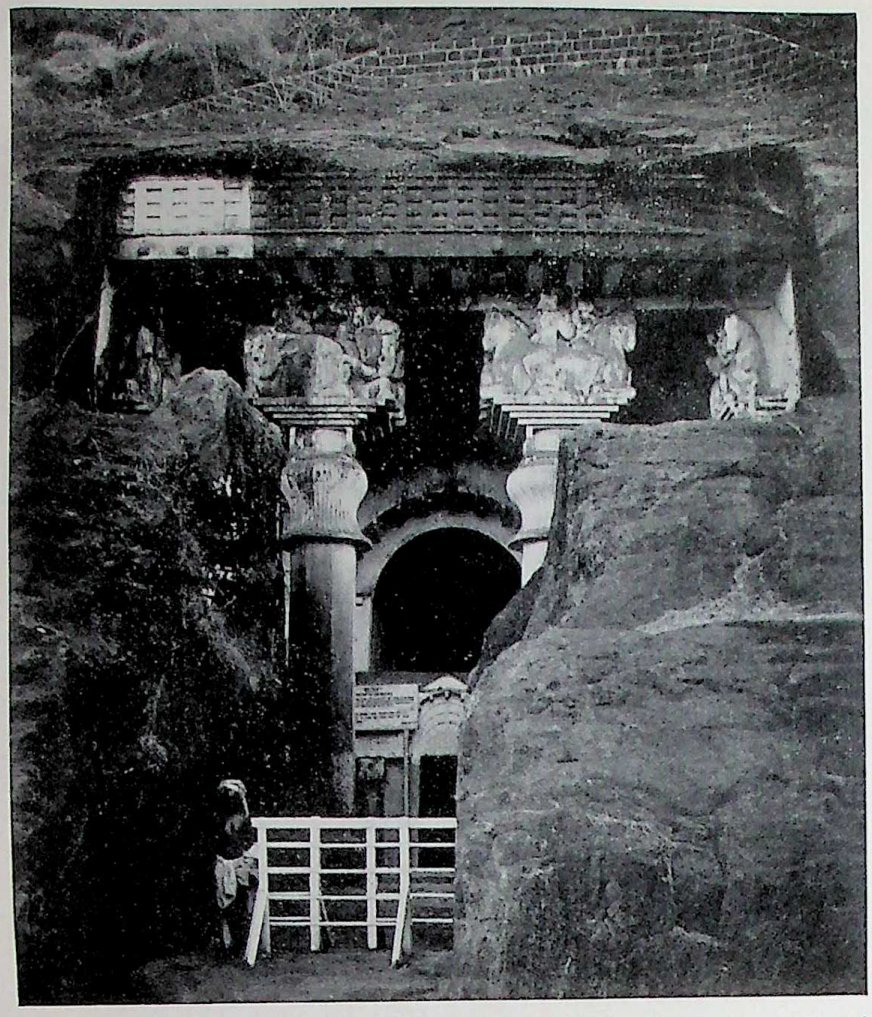


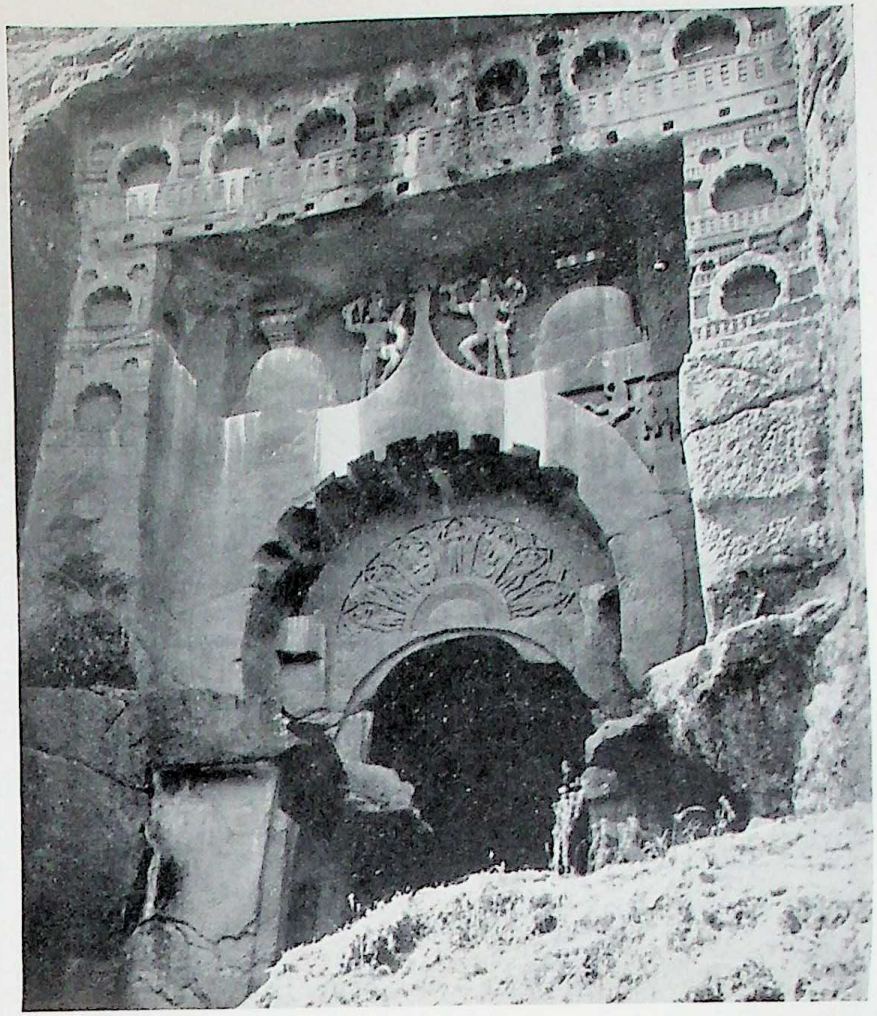
1. Bhājā. Façade of Chaitya cave. 2. Kondāṇe, Façade of Chaitya hall

Arch. Dept.

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1. Beḍsā. Façade of Chaitya cave showing pillar. 2. Junnar. Manmoda Chaitya cave

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PLATE LVII

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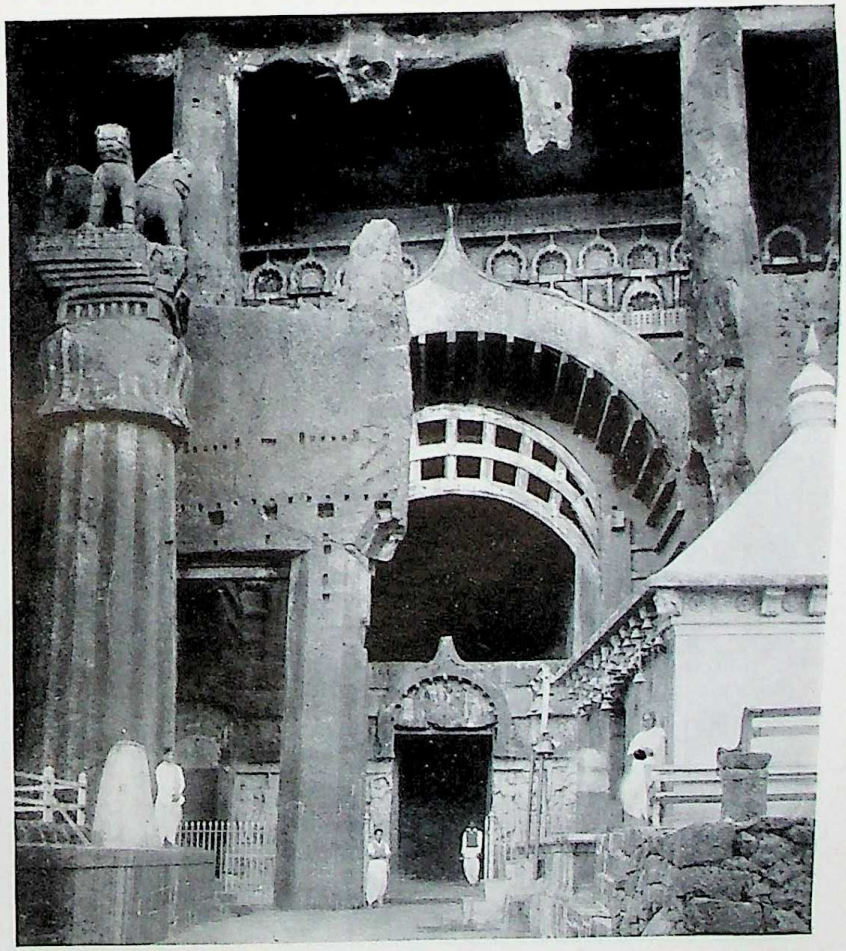
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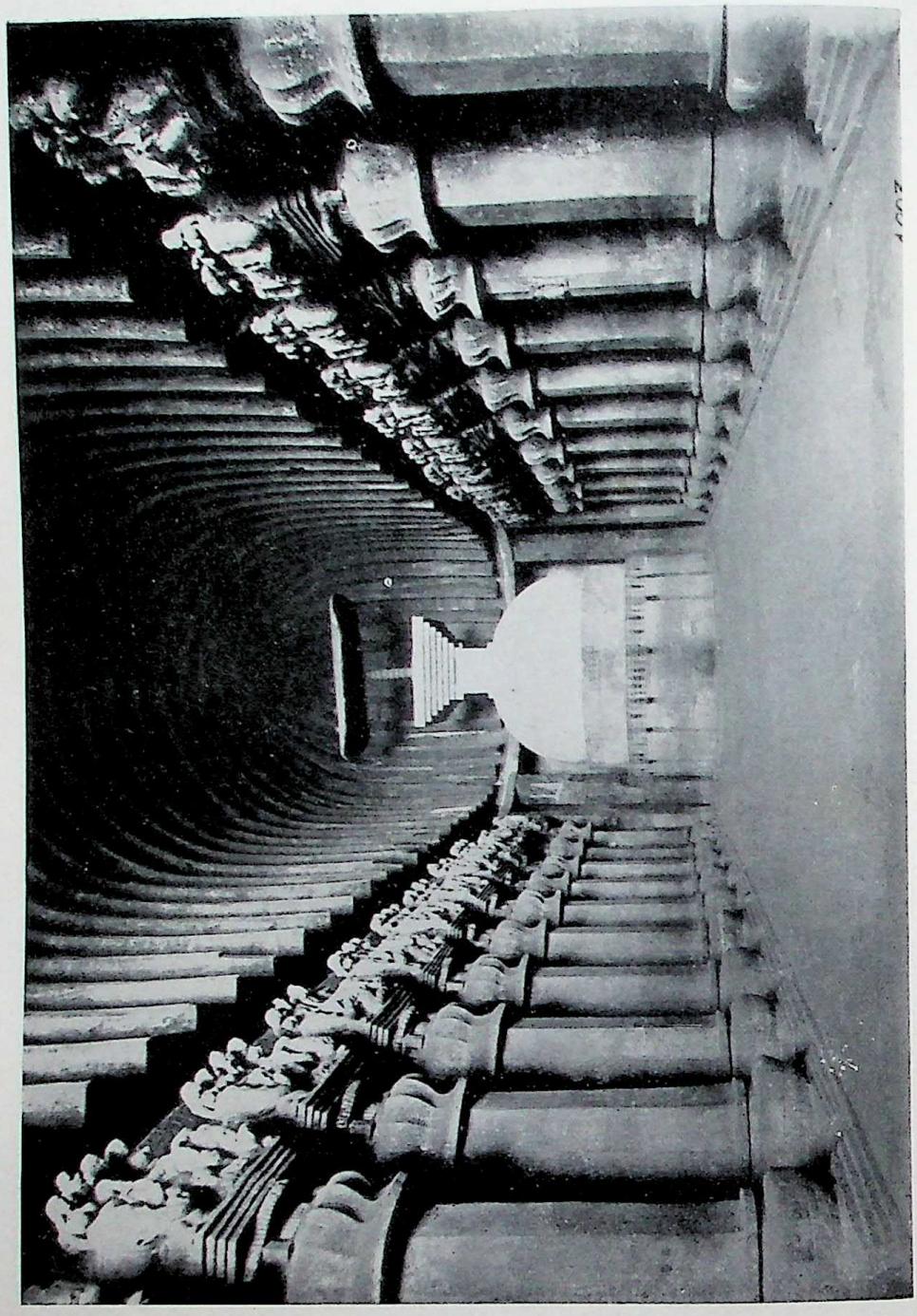
1. Junnar. Cave No. 48. The Stūpa inside the Chaitya

2. Kārle. Façade of the Chaitya

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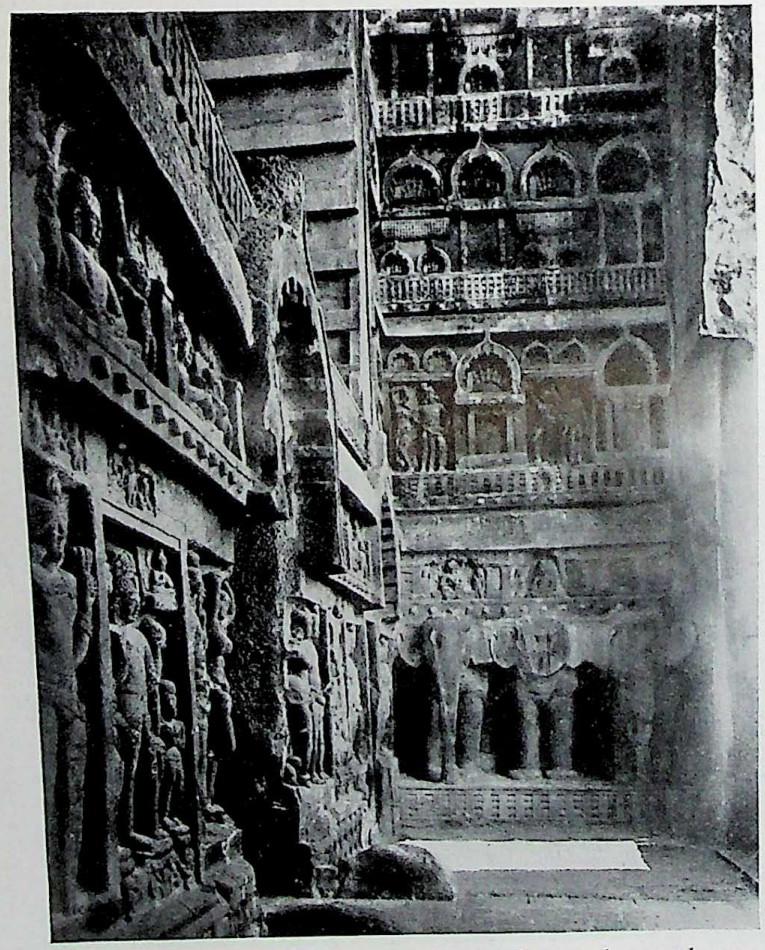


Kārle. Chaitya cave. Interior of the hall

Arch. Dept.

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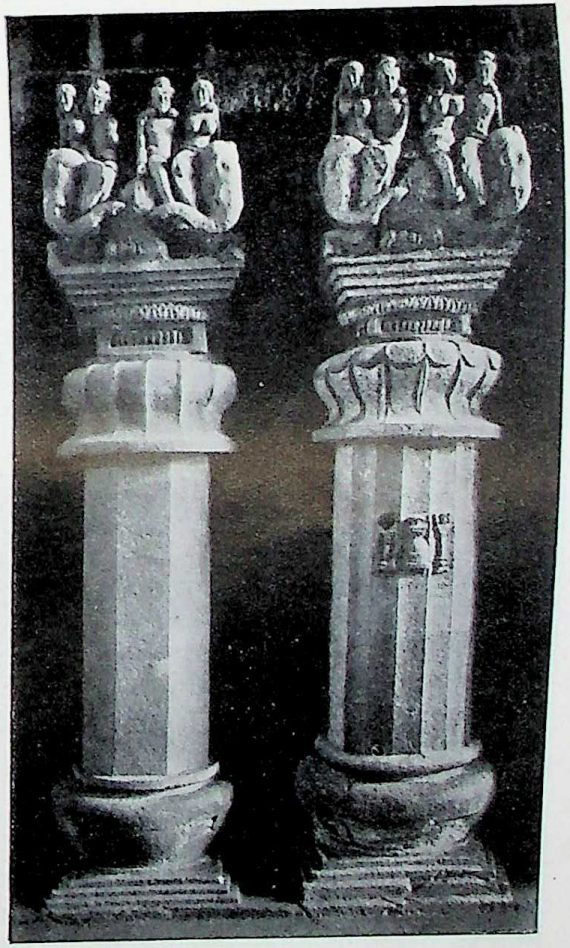


PLATE LX

Kārle. Chaitya cave. 1. Sculptured panels on south wall of verandah. 2. Details of pillars

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1. Bhājā. The Sūrya and the Indra panels of the doorway of the Vihāra



2. Kaṇheri. Details of pillars

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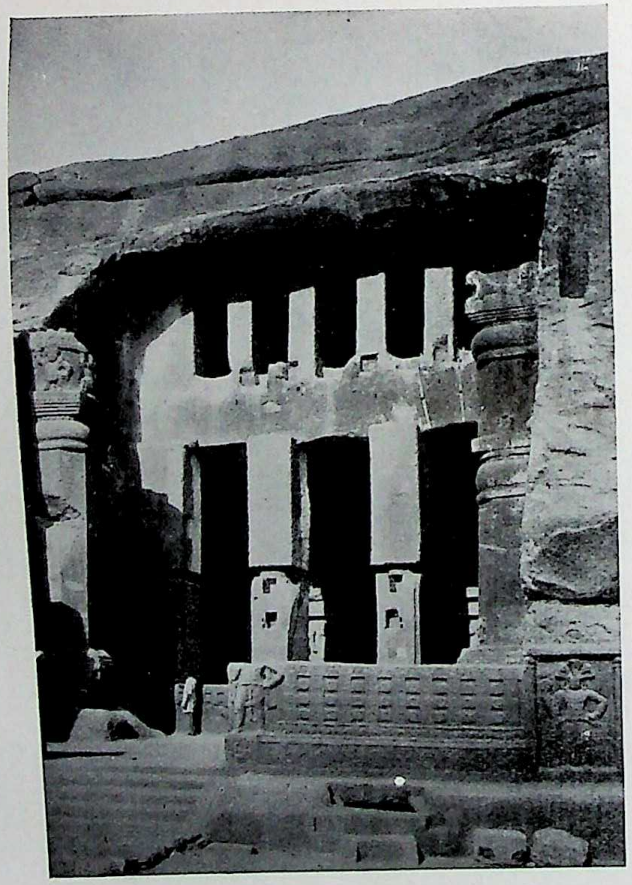
PLATE LXI

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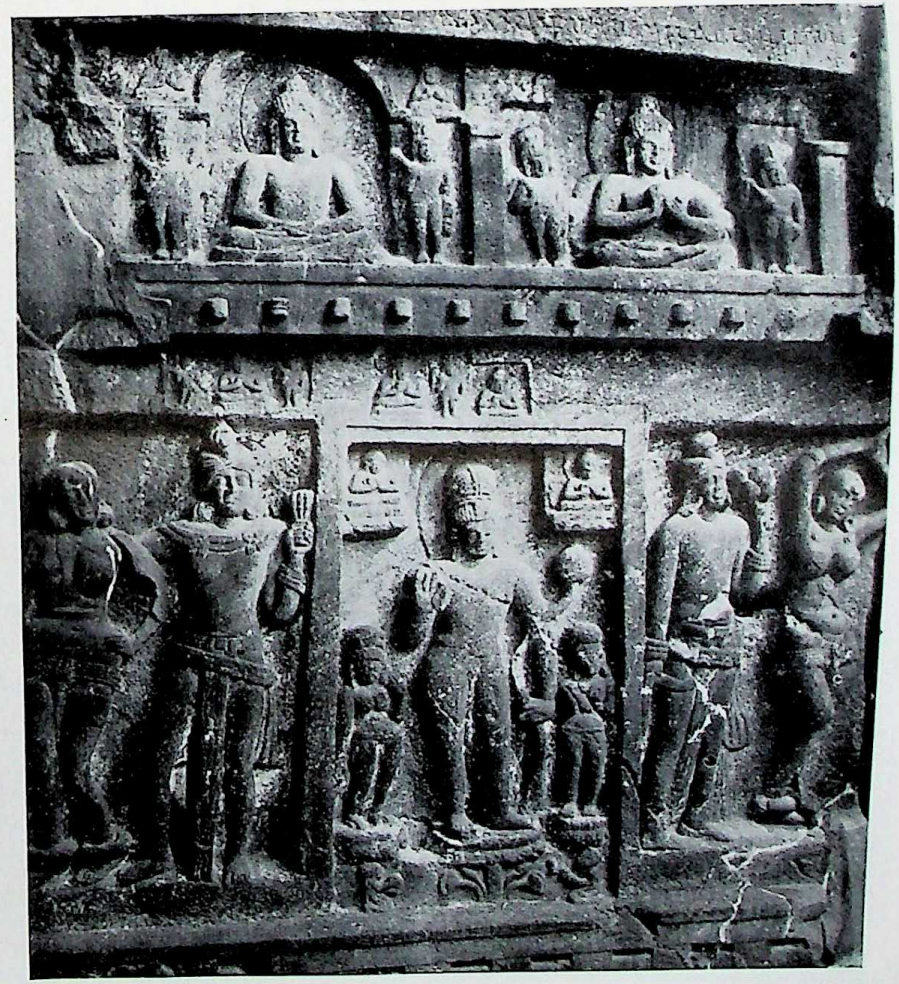
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PLATE LXII



1. Kaṇheri. Chaitya cave showing the huge lion pillars

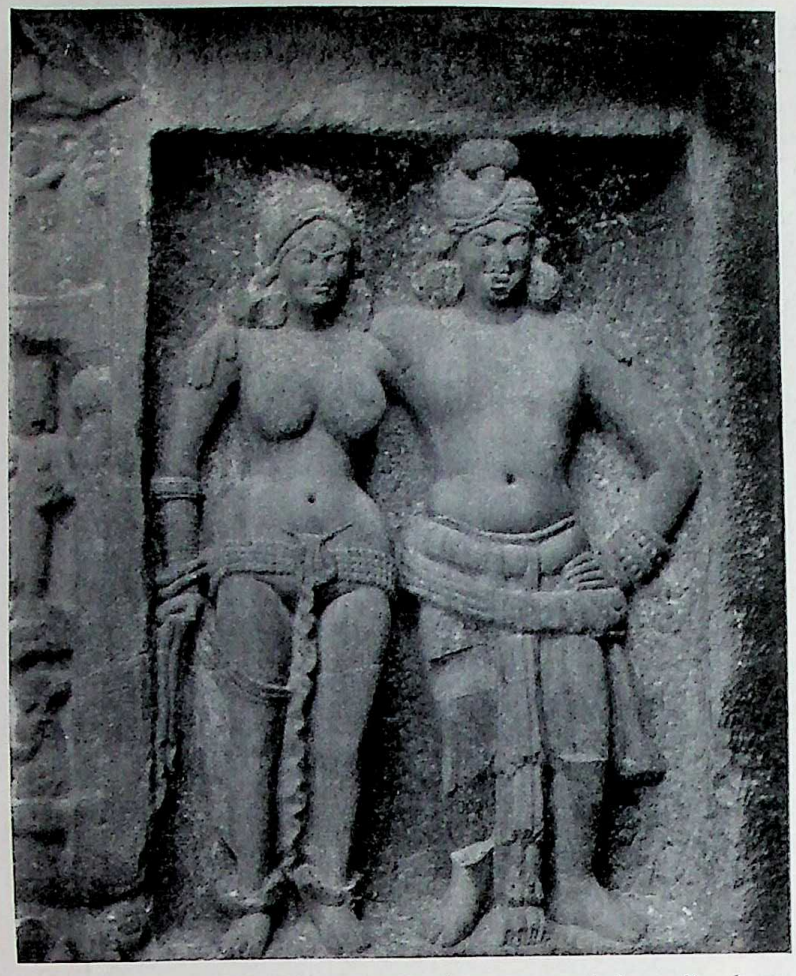
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2. Kārle. Chaitya cave. Details of sculptures on outer wall

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Kārle. 1. Sculpture and inscribed panels. 2. Dancing couple in Chaitya cave

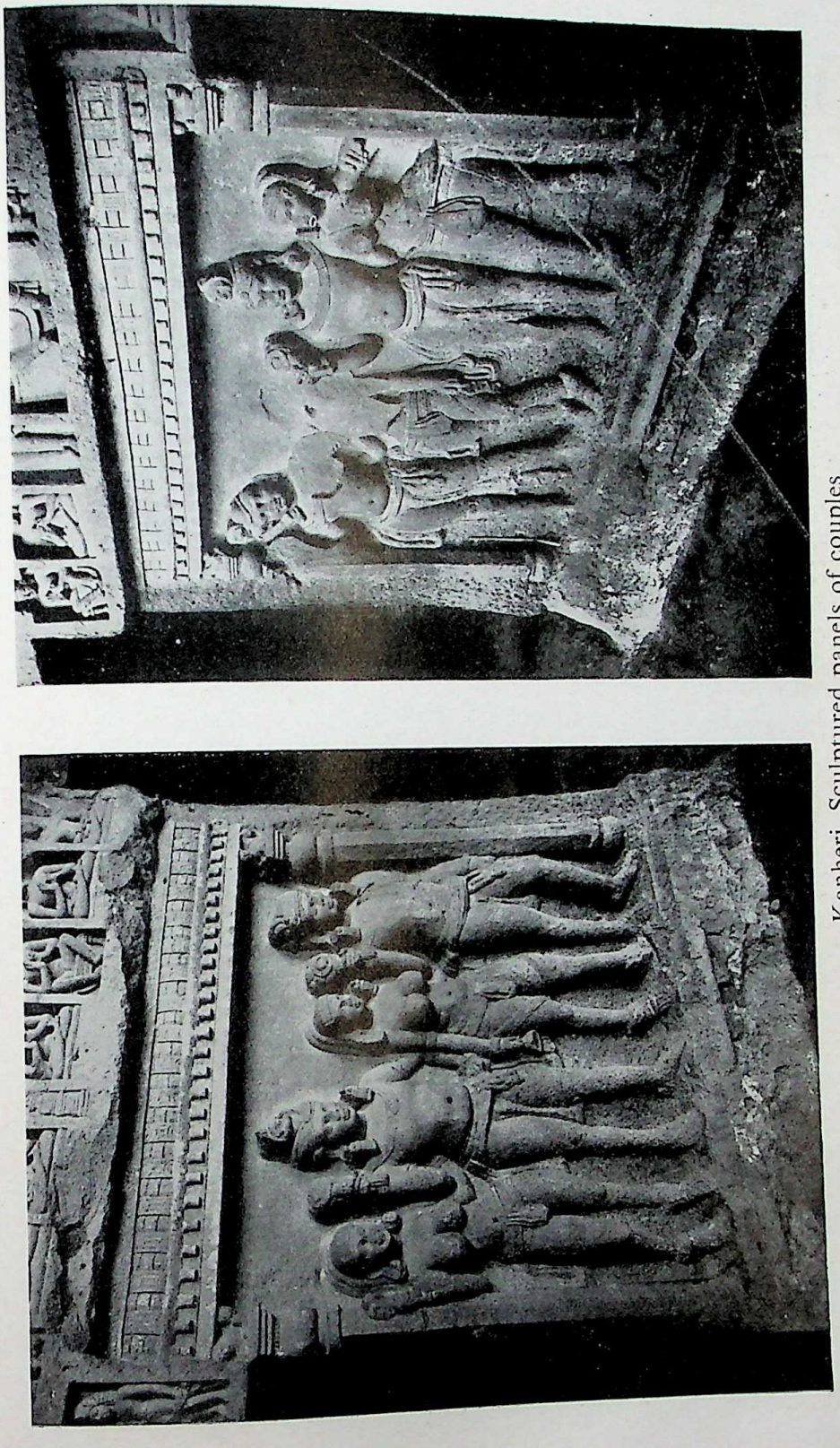
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Kaṇheri. Sculptured panels of couples

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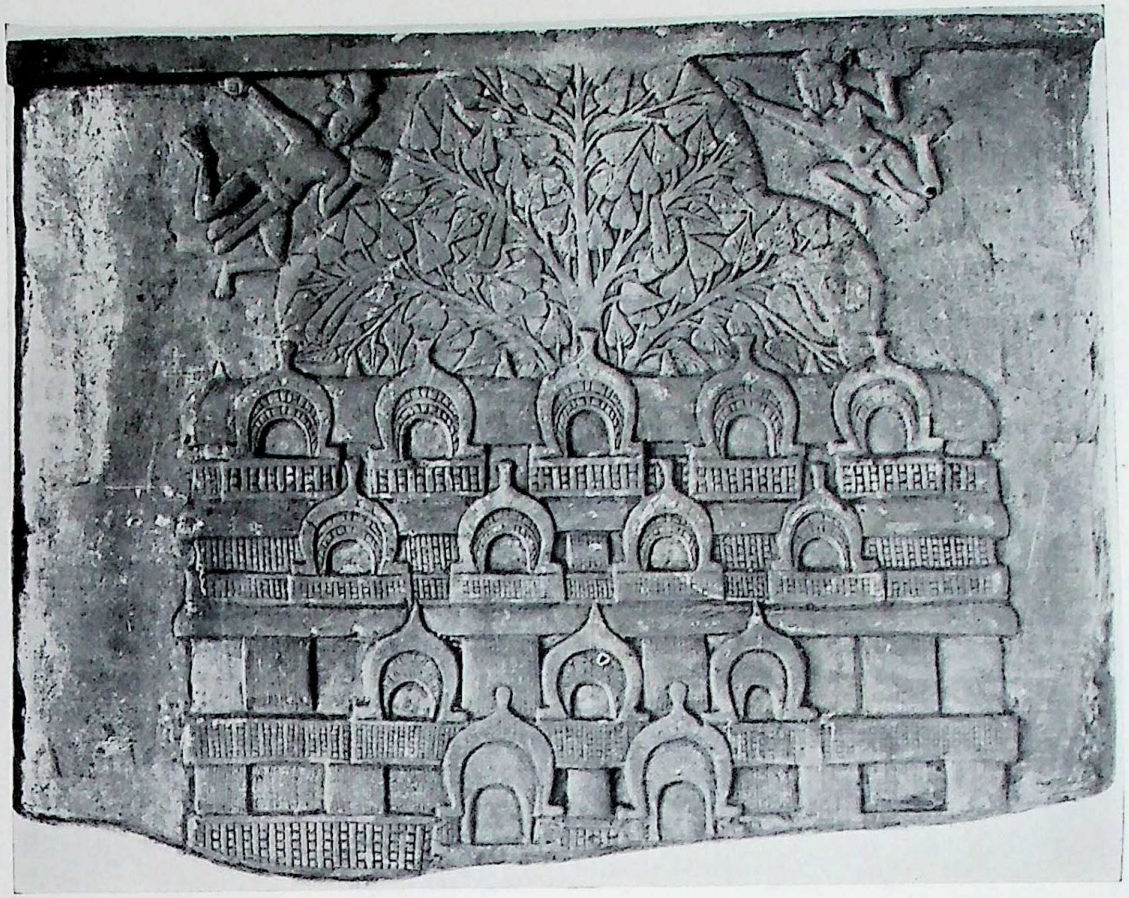
PLATE LXIV

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1. Gudimallam. Therioanthropic sculpture of Linga

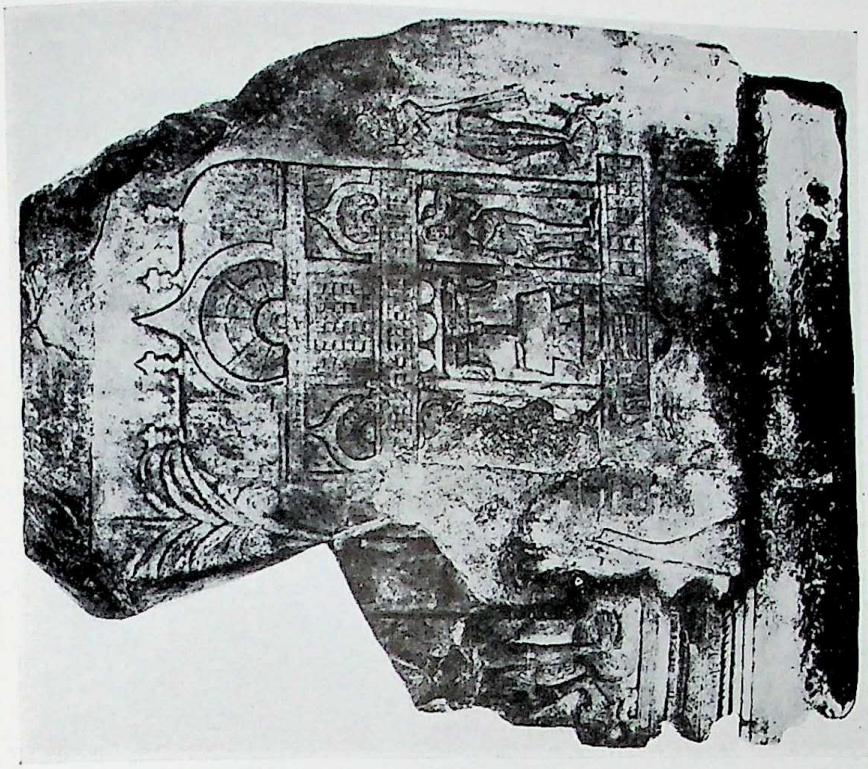
2. Amarāvatī. Vihāra round a vṛiksha Chaitya
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PLATE LXV

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Jagayyapēṭa. Chaitya (temple) type bas-relief
Madras Museum



Amarāvatī. Man and boy

CC-0. UP State Museum

1



1. Jagayyapēṭa. Chakravarti Māndhātā

2



2. Amarāvatī. Casing slab depicting Buddha
Madras Museum

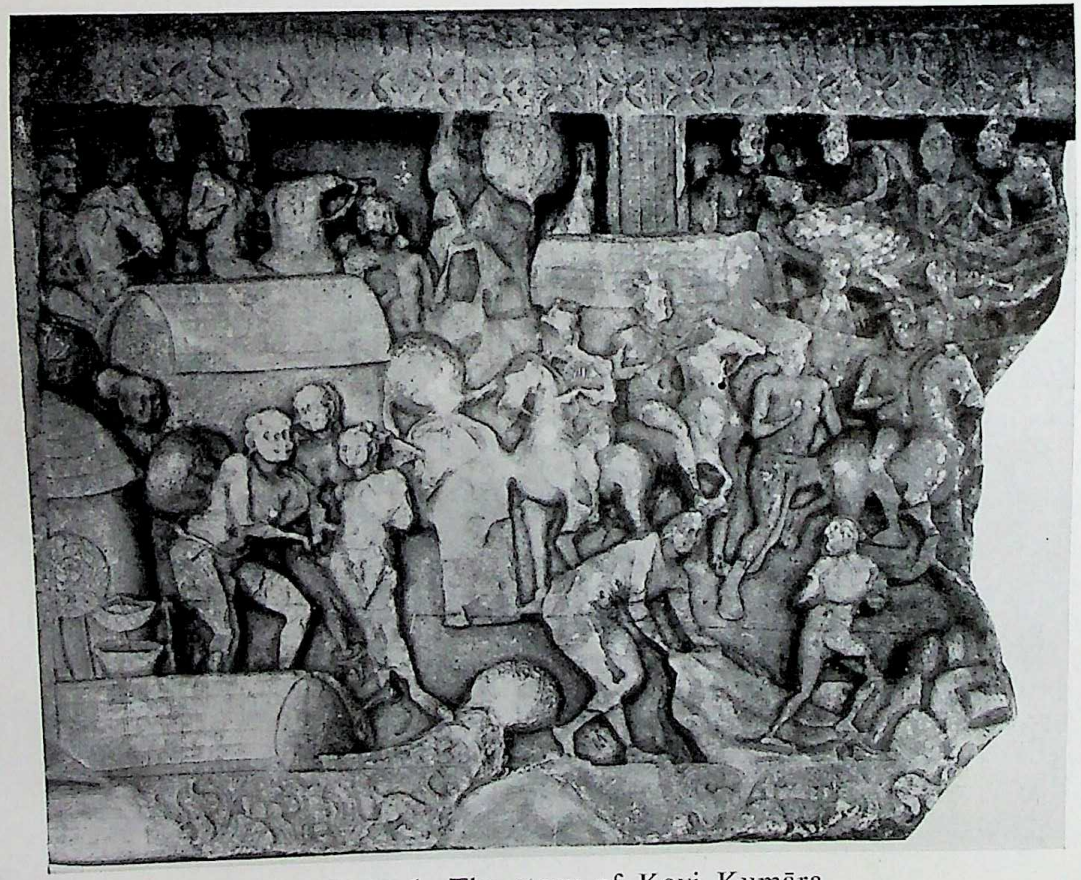
PLATE LXVII

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PLATE LXVIII

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Amarāvatī. 1. The story of Kavi Kumāra

Arch. Dept.

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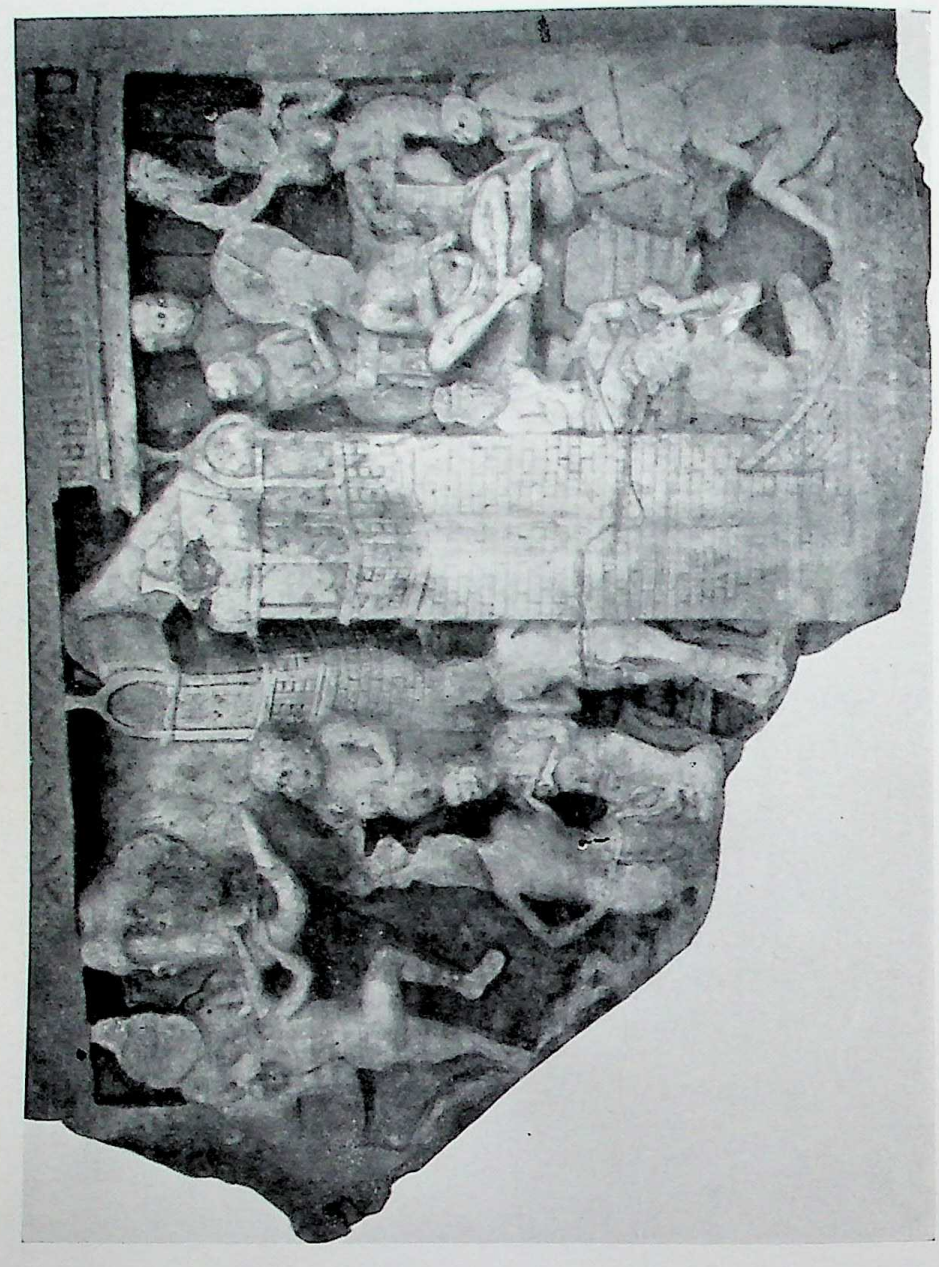


2. Terraced building

Madras Museum

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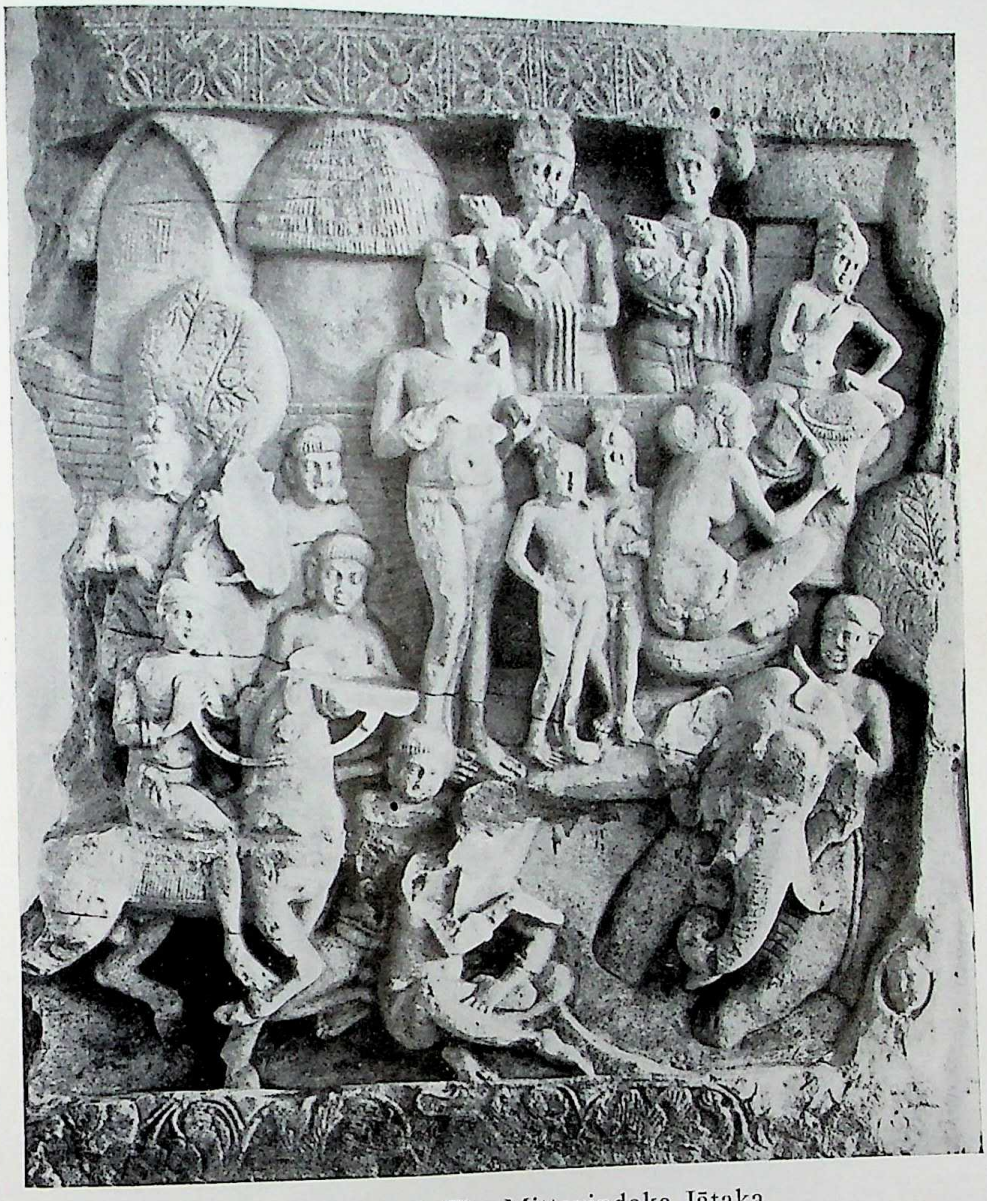
Amarāvati. The Mahila-mukha Jātaka

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PLATE LXIX

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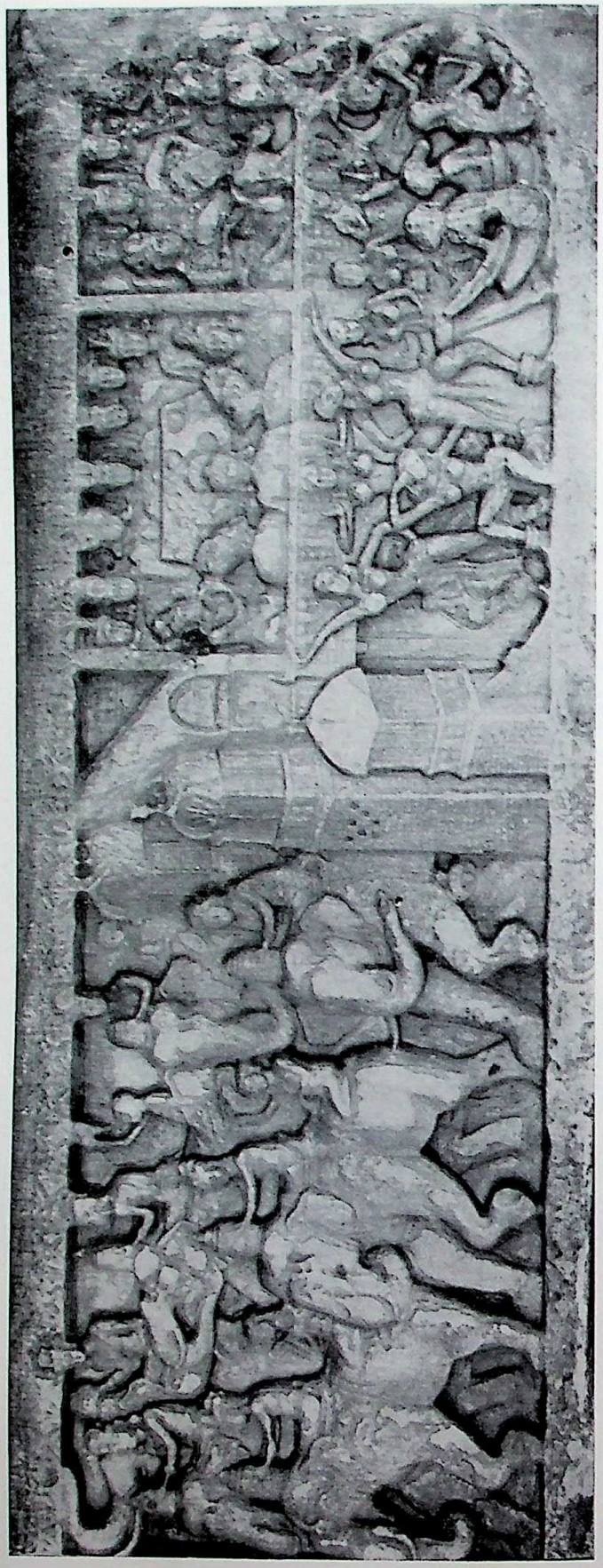
Amarāvatī. The Mittavindaka Jātaka

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PLATE LXX

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Amarāvatī. Division of Buddha's relics

Arch. Dept.

PLATE LXXI

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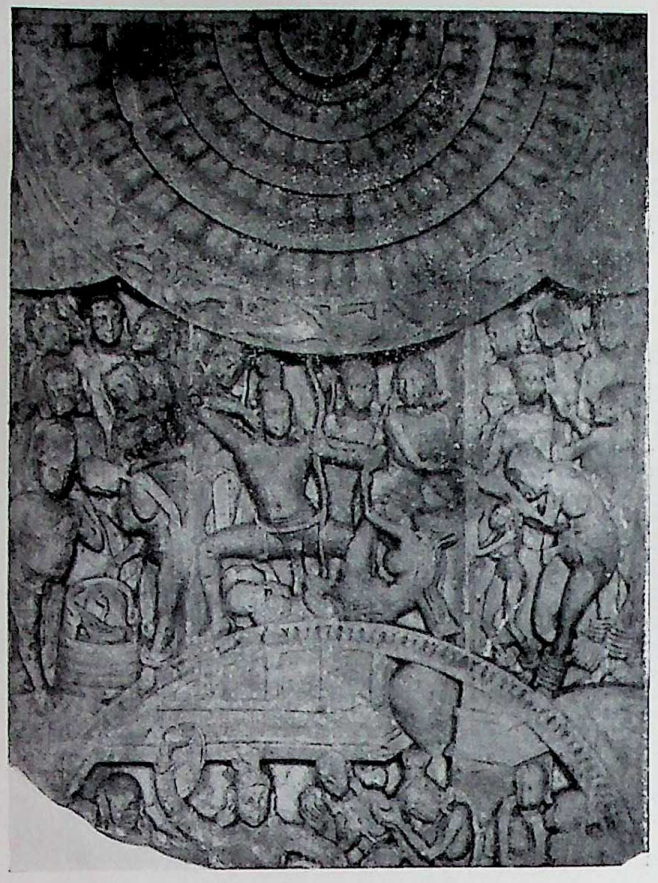


Amarāvatī. 1. The Nalagiri Jātaka. 2. Court scene

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Amarāvatī. 1. The story of Udayana and his queens. 2. Chaitya slab.

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PLATE LXXIII

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Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The gift of earth

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PLATE LXXIV

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Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Māndhātā Jātaka

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PLATE LXXV

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Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. 1. Pillar showing battle scene.
2. The Andhrasundarī

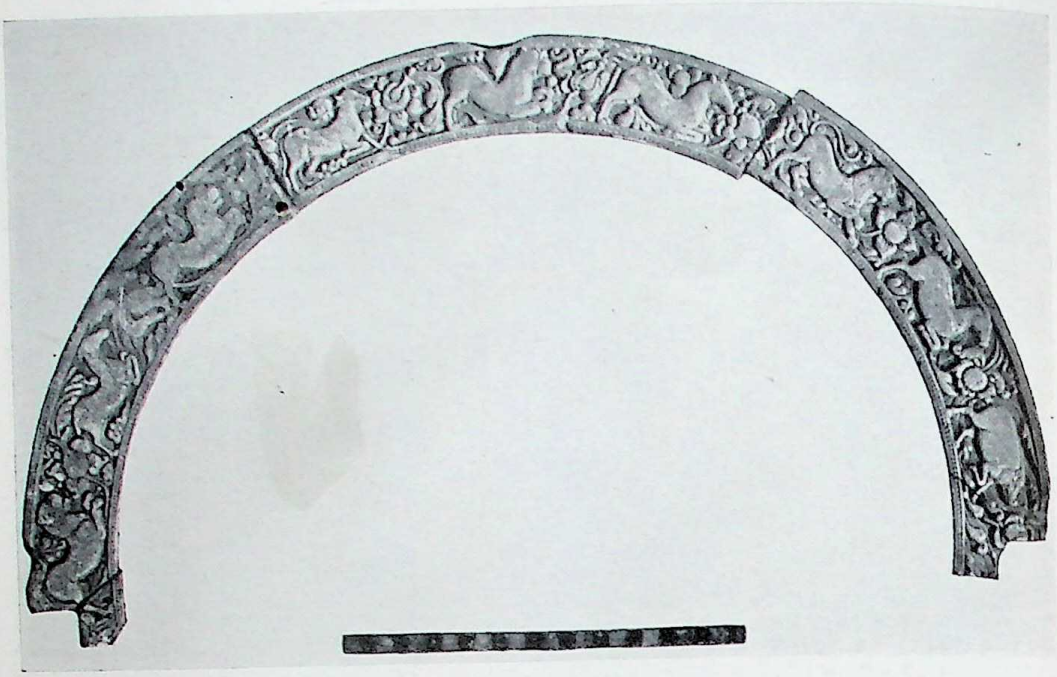
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PLATE LXXVI

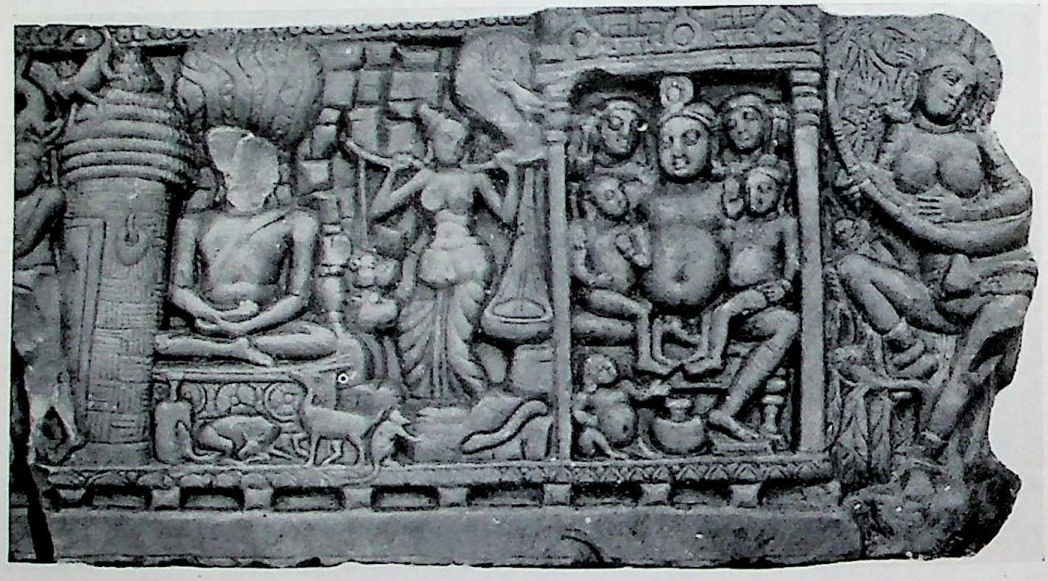
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1. The carved-moon stone. 2. Gōli. Two last scenes from Vessantra Jātaka

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PLATE LXXVII

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Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. 1. Scythian soldier. Kañchuki. 2. Figure of Dionysus

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PLATE LXXVIII

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Ajaṇṭā. Cave No. 9. A group of votaries (Nāgas)

Arch. Dept. of Hyderabad

PLATE LXXIX

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Ajaṇṭā. The Buddha and a group of votaries (Nāgas) *Arch. Dept. of Hyderabad*

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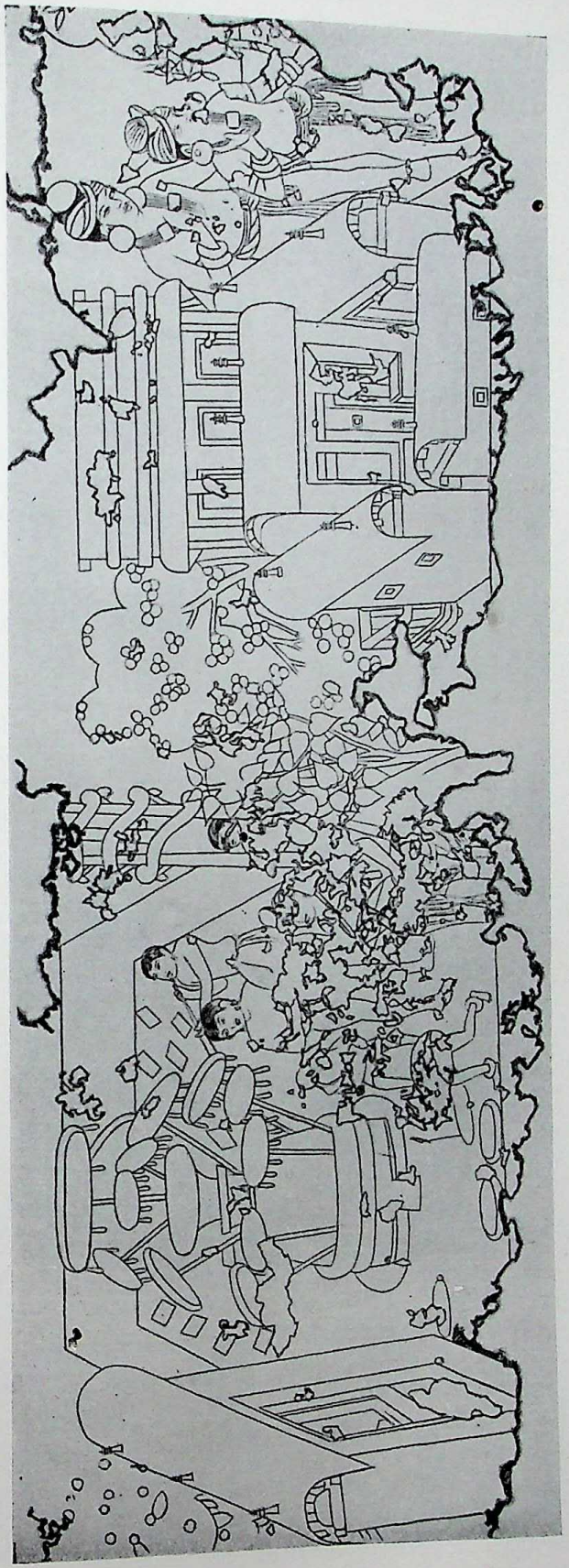


Ajaṇṭā. A group of votaries approaching the Stūpa

Arch. Dept. of Hyderabad

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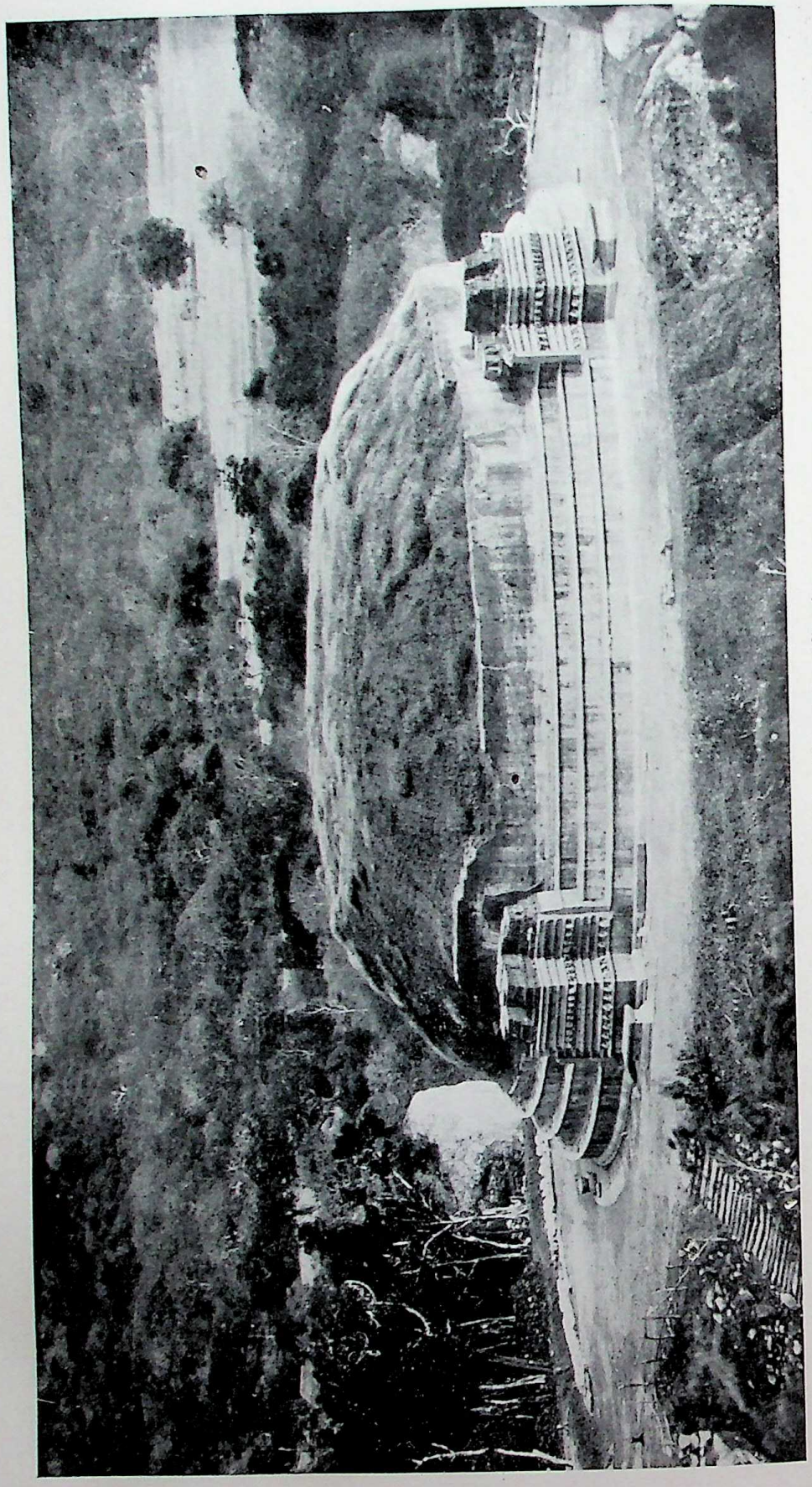


Ajaṇṭā. Cave No. 9, the Stūpa

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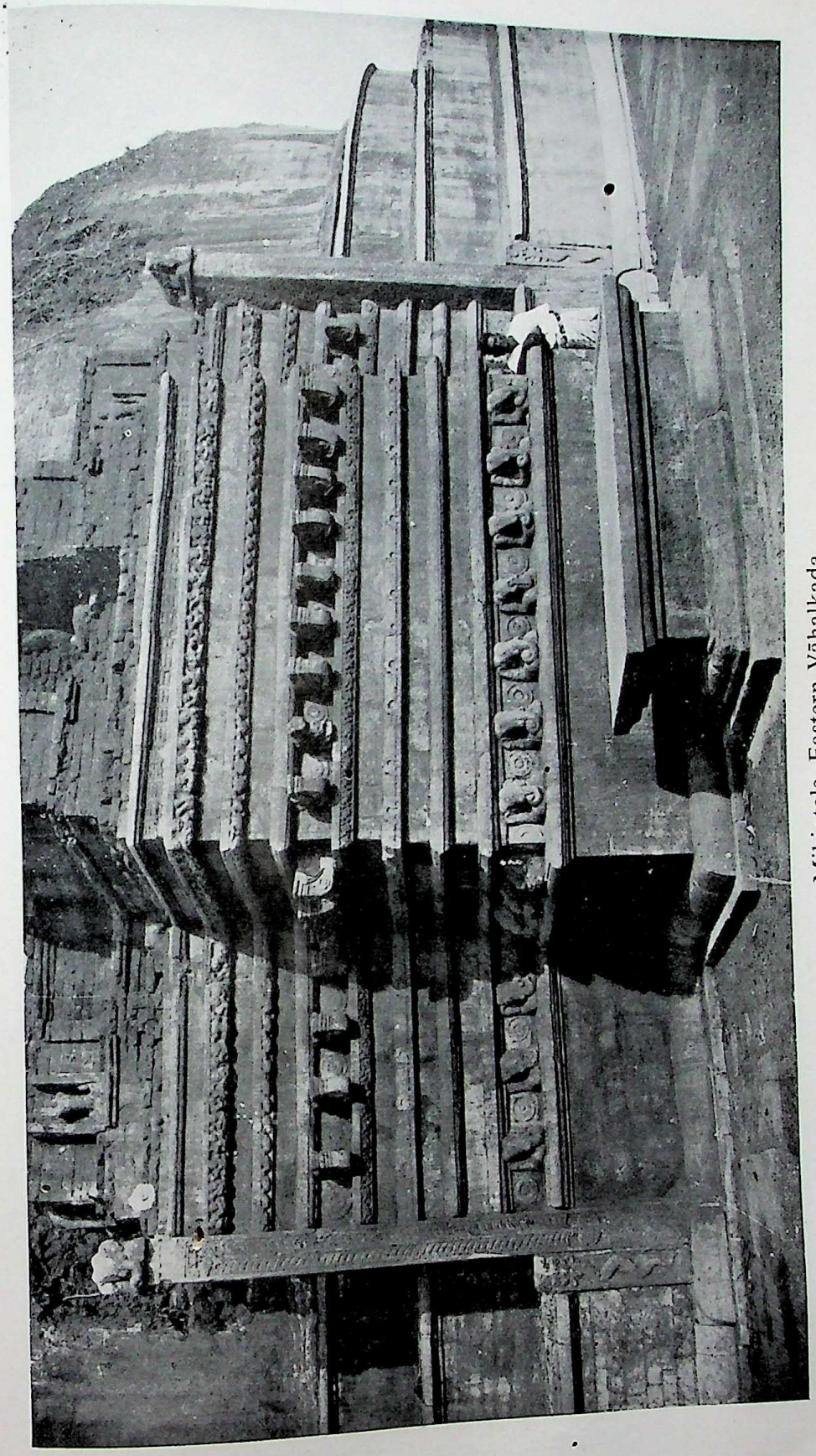
Mihintale. Kaṇṭaka Chaitya

Arch. Survey of Ceylon

PLATE LXXXIII

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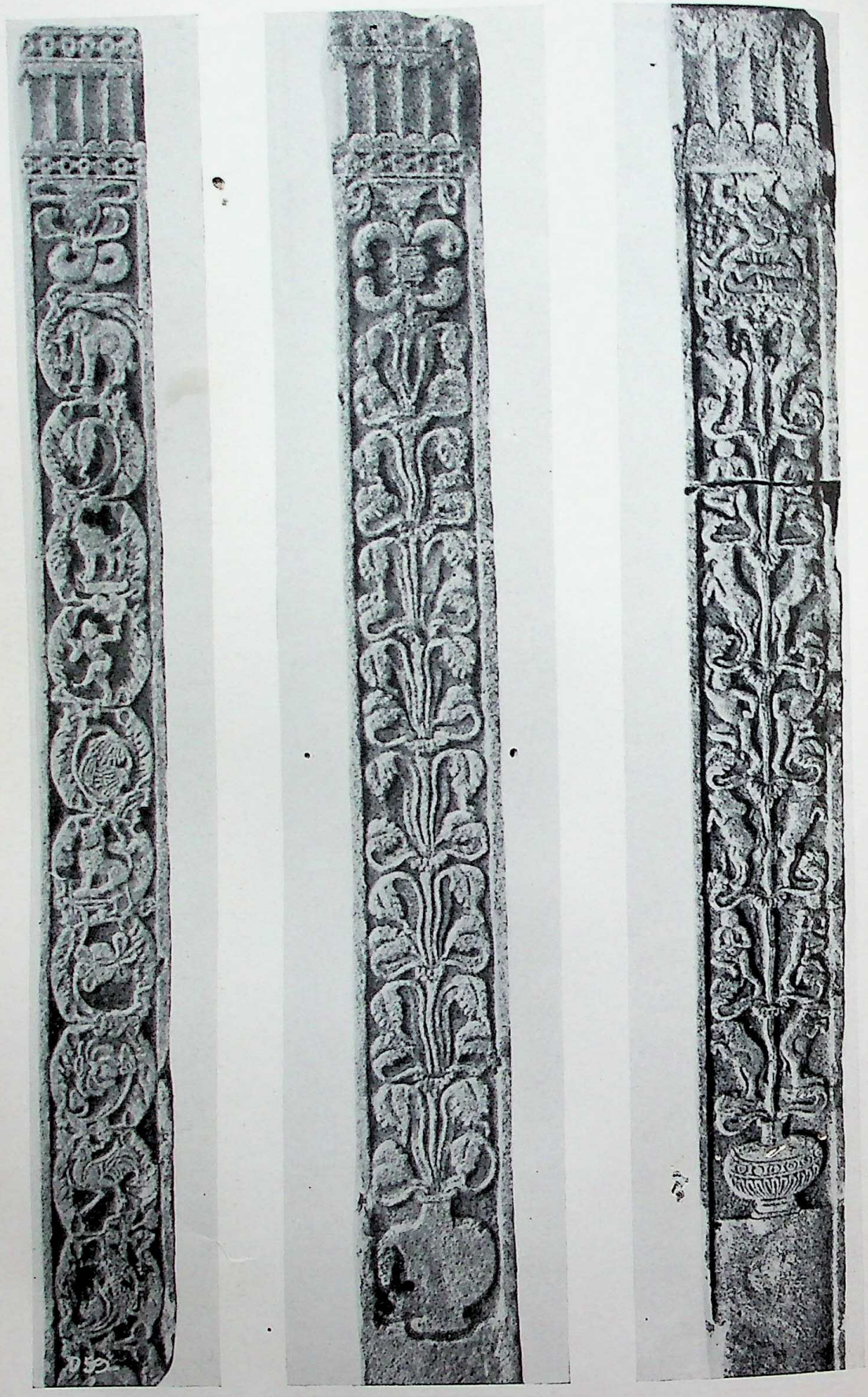
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Mihintale. Eastern Vāhalkaḍa

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Mihintale. Stele of Kaṇṭaka Chaitya

Arch. Survey of Ceylon

PLATE LXXXV

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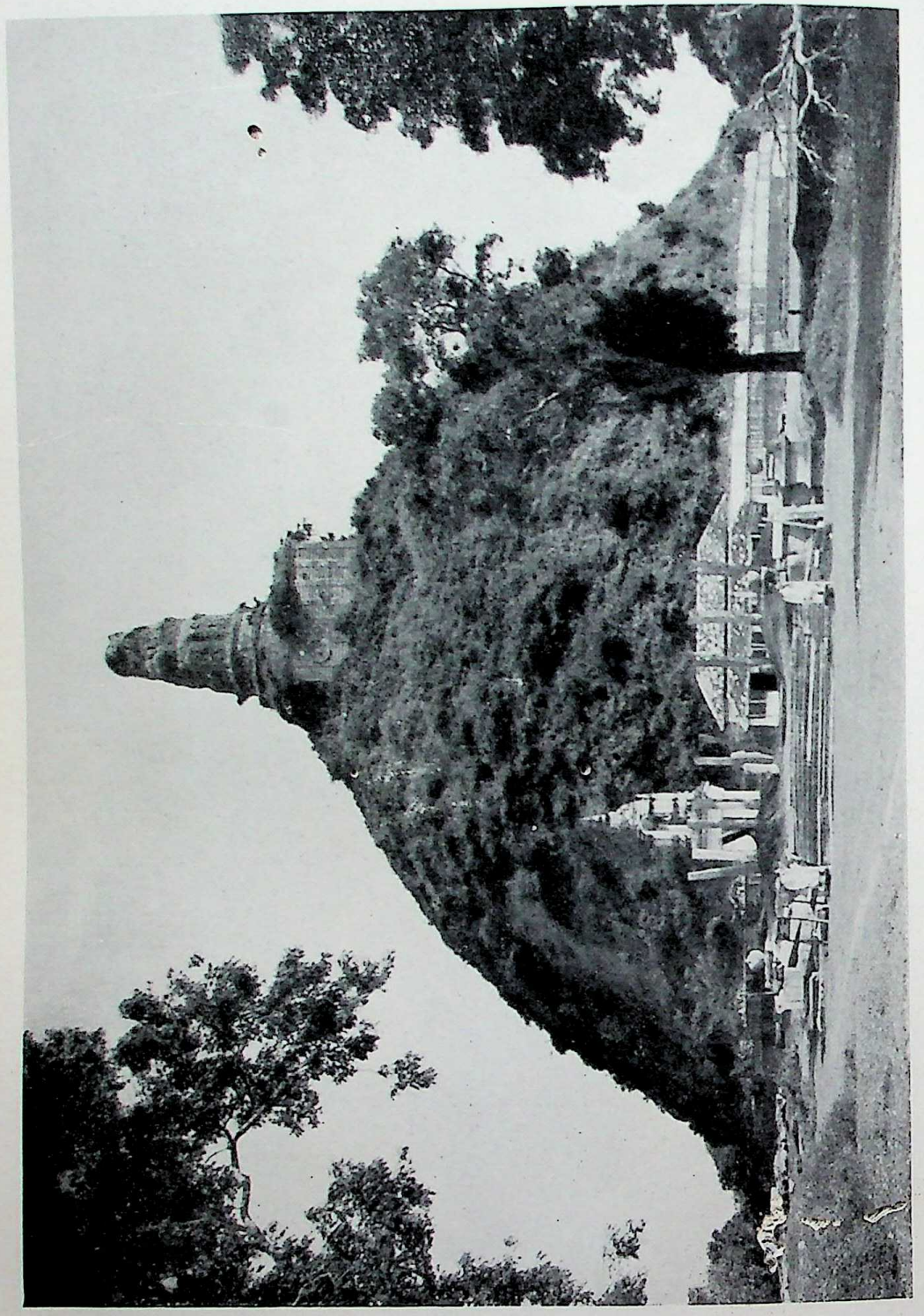
Mihintale. Stele of Kaṇṭaka Chaitya

Arch. Survey of Ceylon

PLATE LXXXVI

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Abhayagiri. Dagaba

Arch. Survey of Ceylon

PLATE LXXXVII

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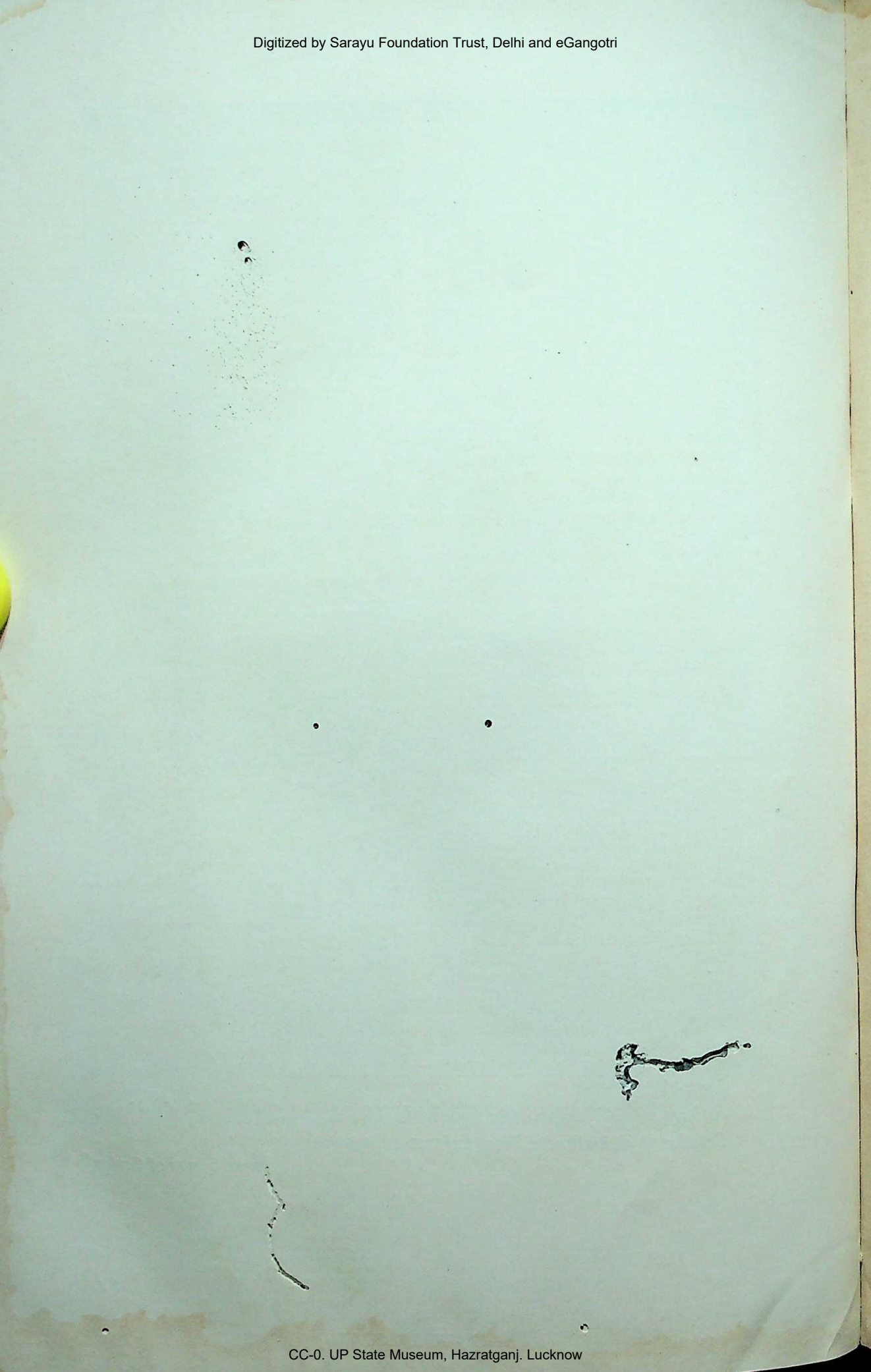


1. Abhayagiri. Dagaba stele (broken). 2. Anurādhapura. Stele of the Southern Vahalkada, Jetavanārama Dagaba

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NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

NORTHERN INDIA

Frontispiece—Sārnāth. Lion Capital (p. 91)

PLATE X

Bhārhut. Railing sculptures showing three different episodes connected with the Buddha. The uppermost panel is the visit of Rājā Prasenajit, king of Kosala, to the Buddha. The Buddha is represented by a Dharma-chakra, surmounted by a parasol in a building (*Bagavato Damachaka* is written on the roof). The king, whose name is also inscribed near his figure, on bottom right, is mounted on a chariot drawn by four horses and is in full retinue, the two foremost attendants riding on elephants shown at extreme top right facing the reader. Another, on horseback, is shown on top left extreme with his back to the reader. Two more on horseback appear behind the king just outside an arched gate, bottom right. Thus the artist has cleverly portrayed the circumambulating royal procession, with emphasis on the Dharma-chakra and the king himself.

The middle panel shows the Nāga chief Eraga worshipping Buddha in the form of a Bodhi-tree platform, while in the right upper half of the picture the Nāga is shown as a five-hooded cobra in the midst of water; in the lower half he is repeated twice in human form with the cobra hood on his head.

The lowest panel represents a herd of elephants kneeling down before the Bodhi platform. (p. 686)

Bhārhut. Railing pillar depicting a scene from the Tushita heaven. Here again the sculptor has very ingeniously depicted the devotees clustering all round the Bodhi tree within a railing—those in the foreground being seated and facing the Bodhi tree, and those at the two corners being seen in profile, while there are two in the background (seen through the railing) facing the reader.

PLATE XI

1. Bhārhut. Sirimā Devatā. (p. 687)

2. Sudarśanā Yakshiṇī. (p. 687)

PLATE XII

Bhārhut. Medallion. The graphic depiction of the Jetavana garden purchased by the merchant Anāthapiṇḍika for 18 *koṭis* of gold pieces paved over the ground. On the upper left hand and the lower extreme left is repeated the same 'Gandhakuṭi' which Anāthapiṇḍika built for Buddha. On the upper right are shown two persons paving the ground apparently with gold pieces, in the lower right are the bullocks and the cart in which the 18 *koṭis* of gold pieces were brought. At the upper extreme left is seen a retinue of merchants. The central event of the story is depicted roughly in the centre where Anāthapiṇḍika pours water from a spouted vessel over the 'Bo' tree in railing, the symbol of the Buddha, and dedicates the Jetavana vihāra he built to the Buddhist Order. The way in which all these details are worked in is indeed striking, though there is some overcrowding of figures. (p. 687)

PLATE XIII

Bodh Gayā. The remnants of a square railing that enclosed the early Bodhi shrine, assignable to about the early first century A.D. It indicates on the whole the style of Bhārhut [illegible] slightly more advanced, as clearly proved by the deletion of unnecessary details in the narrative reliefs to bring out a more lucid account of the story. Even in three dimensional depiction convincing improvement over the technique of Bhārhut is visible. (p. 689)

PLATE XIV

Bodh Gayā. Railing pillars—on left, Indra, on right, Sūrya etc. (p. 689)

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PLATE XV

Mathurā. Support of a toraṇa architrave from Kankāli tila, front view. First century A.D. Same, back view. (p. 693)

PLATE XVI

Barābar. The horseshoe-shaped arched chaitya window dominating the façade of a Buddhist chaitya hall had a steady anterior evolution traceable to non-Buddhistic monuments, and an excavated specimen of this style is the group of caves at Barābar near Gayā. The most important in this group is the Lomaśa Ṛishi cave which, though undated and unfinished, is clearly Mauryan. The façade of this cave, however, is finished with great care and represents the starting point of elaborate ornamentations characterising chaitya façades of the later period. That it has been modelled after wooden structural forms is evident from the sloping of the jambs of the doorway and the moulded cornice. (p. 718)

PLATE XVII

1. Bulandibāgh. The appearance of buildings in early relief carvings clearly implies the development of the essentials of wood technique. Fragments of the huge wooden palisades of the city of Pāṭaliputra unearthed at Bulandibāgh near Patna prove by their size and dimensions its ancient grandeur and the correctness of its description by classical writers.
2. Kumrahār near Patna. Remains of a palace, though fragmentary, have been excavated, and particularly the huge pillared hall obviously supported on a high substratum of wood with rows of pillars dividing the chamber into many smaller bays, indicate that earlier wooden columns preceded the stone columns which replaced them in Aśoka's time. The lower halves of ash funnels where pillars originally stood and also subsidiary circles of dark clay within the bays can be seen in the picture.

PLATE XVIII

1. Taxila. Dharmarājika Stūpa, locally known as 'Chir Tope'. Main structure circular in plan with a raised terrace around its base ascended by flights of steps at the four cardinal points. Core of stūpa of rough rubble masonry strengthened by radiating walls 3 ft. to 5 ft thick probably belonging to Kushāṇa reconstruction phase. Outer facing of limestone originally finished with lime plaster and paint. Niches all around alternately framed by trefoil arches, which once held relief figures of Buddha or Bodhisattva. First erected possibly in the reign of Aśoka (third century B.C.) and added to during early Śaka period. Fell into ruin with lapse of time and again partially reconstructed during 4th-5th century A.D. when a combination of ashlar and diaper masonry was very common. (p. 715)
2. Taxila. Kunāla monastery is supposed to have been built by Aśoka to commemorate the spot where his son Kunāla had had his eyes put out. According to Hiuan Tsang the stūpa was more than 100 feet in height. The stūpa rests on a lofty rectangular base with stepped approach at north end. The base rises in three terraces. The drum of the stūpa circular plinth has a delicate concave curvature. Assignable to 3rd-4th century A.D. Buried in the core of the structure in its N.W. corner was another very small stūpa probably of the time of Scythio-Parthians. It is made of blocks of limestone with square plinth, and drum and dome above. (p. 715)

PLATE XIX

1. Taxila. Plan of Pippala monastery. 2. Plan of Jaulian monastery. (p. 720)

PLATE XX

1. Sāñchī. A general view of Stūpa II. Originally it had a dome similar to the main stūpa with a railing and parasol, but repaired later after the fashion of Mughal dome and since then this fault has been somewhat rectified. The pillars of the outer balustrade alone are ornamented, and the cross bars are bare.
2. Sāñchī. Stūpa II. An inner view of the outer railing. (p. 714)

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PLATE XXI

Sāñchī. Stūpa I, view from north-east. (p. 715)

PLATE XXII

Sāñchī. Stūpa I, northern gateway, front view. The only one that has a large part of the decorated figures intact. The top has in the centre the wheel of law with attendant yakshas, a *triratna* and a winged lion on either side. The yakshas and lions on the top and the sides are carved in the round, while in the middle part of the architrave the horses, elephants etc. are in high relief. Elephants have replaced lions on the capitals here and on the eastern gateway. The pillars are edged with small pilasters and sinuous creepers. (p. 690)

PLATE XXIII

1. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, northern gate, architrave. The first lintel contains the legend of the six-tusked elephant and the middle, Buddha's enlightenment. From end to end the bottom one depicts Viśvantara Jātaka.
2. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, northern gateway (middle section) top lintel, legend of six-tusked elephant Bodhisattva (Shaḍdanta Jātaka). Māra's temptation scene with Buddha depicted in the form of Bodhi tree in the middle. The uprights between the top and middle lintel show mostly palmettes resembling *bhadra ghaṭa* similar to those of the two upper dies in previous plate, or they depict yakshas and the spaces between the uprights depict horses and elephants with riders carved in high relief.

PLATE XXIV

1. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, eastern gateway, front. Preserved in its original position but less intact than the northern one. Motifs on capital and the false capitals are similar to the northern gateway but treated with greater ease and freedom. The top lintel shows the seven past Buddhas, the middle one the 'Great Departure', and the bottom one 'Aśoka's visit' to the Bodhi tree. The dies represent Śrī, a first sermon, and Maitreya.
2. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, northern gateway, eastern jamb. Yaksha.
3. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, eastern gateway, front middle lintel. The scene of the 'Great Departure' of Buddha from Kapilavastu, the city depicted on the extreme left with inhabitants resting on the balconies and the streets. The richly decorated horse Kaṇṭaka, the constancy of the umbrella and the *chāmara* accompanying it and hanging at the extreme right above the sacred foot prints, the sacred feet marked by the 'wheel' are some of the important things to be noticed.

PLATE XXV

Sāñchī. Stūpa I, eastern gateway, front and back views of the bracket figure.

PLATE XXVI

1. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, southern gateway, middle section architrave. The middle and bottom lintels shown. The former depicts the Shaḍdanta Jātaka and the latter the battle for the relics with Kuśinagara city shown in the middle with its battlements and the armies of the seven claimants attacking it, one on chariot and the others on elephants shown on either side of it.
2. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, southern gateway, Contains the seven Buddhas, Aśoka's visit to Rāmagrāma Stūpa and the war of the relics respectively in the three lintels. The capital has the standing lions with their forequarters only shown. The dies have Śrī, two illuminations and a *parinirvāṇa* respectively. The left jamb has the depiction of the first sermon and two 'visits' in a royal chariot and on a divine elephant.

PLATE XXVII

Sāñchī. Stupa I, western gateway. The lintels show the seven *mānusha* Buddhas (as in others), the war on relics and the miracle of the enlightenment. The capitals have yakshas (in the place of elephants in the north and east, and lions on the south). The

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dies show Śrī and three Bodhi trees. The mutilated jambs show on the right scenes of paradise and on the left Mahākapi Jātaka.

PLATE XXVIII

1. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, western gateway, back view. Top and middle lintels depict a processional transportation of relics and the 'war of relics' respectively.
2. Sāñchī. Stūpa I, western gateway, back view. Middle and bottom lintels depict 'war of relics' and a 'sambodhi' between two processions. The false capitals show the winged lions.

PLATE XXIX

Dhauli. The Elephant on top of the rock contains an Aśokan inscription. (p. 692)

PLATE XXX

Udayagiri, Rāṇī-gumphā. Belongs to early second century A. D. In conception and treatment the frieze sculptures, depicted in both the upper lower storeys of this group, are very advanced and mature, even though the workmanship is often crude and coarse. The carvings belong mainly to the early school of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and Sāñchī though having a local outlook of their own. Of all the caves in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills, the Mañchapuri cave reliefs do indicate an advance on the Bhārhut school in depth of relief and robustness of vitality. The poor rock material must have been greatly responsible for the coarse workmanship. (p. 693)

PLATE XXXI

1. Udayagiri, Rāṇī-gumphā. Plans of upper and lower storeys. (p. 693)

PLATE XXXII

1. Kolhua (Basarh Bakhira). Lion pillar. 2. Lion pillar. Lauriya Nandangarh. (p. 90)

PLATE XXXIII

1. Sāñchī. Lion capital. 2. Rāmpurva. Bull capital (p. 690)

PLATE XXXIV

1. Lion capital from Rāmpurva. (p. 90) 2. Elephant capital from Sanskisa. (p. 692)

Best specimens of Mauryan sculpture as furnished by the monolithic columns with animal capitals. Each column generally consists of a shaft and a capital. The former is circular in section and made up of a single block of stone, and the latter, though again monolithic, consists of three parts, namely, the 'bell', the abacus, and the top sculpture in the round. The abacus is either circular or rectangular. In the general style of the capital, and particularly in its sculpture, a gradual evolution can be traced from the Bakhira pillar to the elegant climax at Lauriya Nandangarh and Sārnāth, through the Sankisa elephant and the Rāmpurva lion. The Sārnāth quadripatite capital is, however, of very superior workmanship despite the highly conventional nature of its conception and execution. But at the same time, the tension of the muscle and the rigidity of the features of the Sārnāth lion form a good contrast to the dynamic naturalism and strength of the Rāmpurva bull. This bull is architecturally less advanced than the Rāmpurva lion or the clearly stylised striding bull of the Sārnāth abacus. In this it stands good comparison with the quiet dignity and potency of the elephant carved in round on the rock at Dhauli above the inscribed record of Aśoka, representing a superior sense of creative form and aesthetic vision.

PLATE XXXV

1. Sārnāth. Lion capital, horse and lion on abacus. (p. 691)

PLATE XXXVI

1. Sārnāth. Lion capital, elephant and bull on abacus. (p. 691)

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PLATE XXXVII

1. Parkham. Yaksha. 2. Patna. Yaksha. (pp. 693, 694)

PLATE XXXVIII

1. Besnagar. Yakshiṇī, (p. 694) 2. Lohanipur. Jina, (pp. 693, 695)

PLATE XXXIX

Besnagar. Yakshiṇī, front and back views. (p. 694)

PLATE XL

Pawāya. Yaksha, front and back views. (p. 695)

PLATE XLI

Didarganj. Yakshiṇī. (pp. 693, 695)

PLATE XLII

Sārnāth, Friar Bala's image of Bodhisattva (p. 697)

PLATE XLIII

1. Mathurā. Inscribed Buddha statue. (p. 697). 2. Slab from Holi gate. (p. 700)

PLATE XLIV

Mathurā. The Ayāgapaṭa from Kankāli Tilā. (p. 700)

PLATE XLV

1. Mathurā. Bacchanalian scene. 2. Mathurā, Yaksha.

PLATE XLVI

Bhuteśwar. Yakshiṇīs. (p. 700)

PLATE XLVII

1. Mathurā. Inscribed Kanishka image. (p. 699) 2. Loriyan Tangai headless inscribed Buddha. (p. 703)

PLATE XLVIII

1. Māthurā. Yakshiṇī from Curzon Museum. 2. Gandhāra. Miniature votive stūpa (p. 715)

PLATE XLIX

Pāṭaliputra. Terracotta figurines. (p. 705)

PLATE L

1. Tamluk. Terracotta figurine. (p. 705)
2. Dināǰpur. Terracotta figurine from Bangarh. (p. 705)

SOUTHERN INDIA

PLATE LI

1. [illegible]n and section of the stūpa. (p. 733)

PLATE LII

2. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Mahā Stūpa and its plan. (pp. 733, 735)

PLATE LIII

Rāmatīrtham. Plan and section of the Buddhist monastery. (p. 737)

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PLATE LIV

Guṇṭupalle. Plan and elevation of the stone built stūpa. (p. 741)

PLATE LV

1. Pathardi (Nāsik), Pāṇḍulena. The decoration on either side of the chaitya window is itself a miniature chaitya hall with pillars on either side (which have the inverted pyramid abacus and the animal figure capital) with a stūpa in the lower half, and with a chaitya window in the upper half. (p. 742)
2. Pathardi (Nāsik) Pāṇḍulena. Note the miniature *bhūta gaṇas* bearing the abacus of the pillars and the capital with animal riders (the animals being the bull, the elephant, and the lion) and the elephant frieze over the cornice. (pp. 742, 744)

PLATE LVI

1. Bhājā. Façade of chaitya cave. (p. 742)
2. Kondāṇe. Façade of chaitya hall. The entire scheme of carving with its receding stepped cornice windows pierced in bas relief and chajjas on top left carved out in monolithic rock show the clear imitation of wood technique. (pp. 742, 744)

PLATE LVII

1. Beḍsā. Chaitya cave façade showing beautiful pillars with 'bell' inverted pyramidal abacus and animal rider capital. Note that the animals are elephants and horses. (pp. 742, 744)
2. Junnar. Manmoda cave, showing the largest unfinished chaitya cave. (p. 745)

PLATE LVIII

1. Junnar. Cave No. 48. The stūpa inside the chaitya and the painted ceiling are shown.
2. Kārle. Façade of chaitya cave showing also the fluted pillar in front with lion capital.

PLATE LIX

Kārle. Chaitya cave, interior of the hall. (p. 745)

PLATE LX

1. Kārle. Chaitya cave showing sculptured panels on south wall of verandah.
2. Kārle. Chaitya cave interior view showing the details of pillars.

PLATE LXI

1. Bhājā. The Sūrya and the Indra panels on either side of the doorway on the south wall of verandah of the vihāra. (p. 748)
2. Kaṇheri. Details of capital depicting a pair of elephants, showering water over the stūpa and two Nāgas holding *pūrṇa ghaṭa* aloft towards the siūpa. (p. 746)

PLATE LXII

1. Kaṇheri. Chaitya cave showing the huge lion pillars on either side. (p. 743)
2. Kārle. Chaitya cave, details of sculptures on outer wall.

PLATE LXIII

1. Kārle. Sculpture and inscribed panel depicting probably the donors to the chaitya cave. (p. 745)
2. Kārle. Dancing couple in the chaitya cave with exquisite rhythm of movement. The ornaments on the breast of the woman, the girdle and the general delineation recall Bhārhut female figures. (p. 745)

PLATE LXIV

Kaṇheri. Two sculptured panels of couples, probably donors. Note the development and modelling in the round over the panel sculptures at Kārle (Pl. LXII). (p. 746)

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PLATE LXV

1. Guḍimallam. Therioanthropic sculpture of liṅga in the Śiva temple at Guḍimallam considered as the oldest sculptural depiction in the South, dated to Bhārhut school on analogy of style of figure sculpture.
2. Amarāvatī. Vihāra round a *vriksha* chaitya. First period (*c.* 200-100 B.C.). The head-dress and *kuṇḍala* of the two flying yaksha figures recall those of Kārle. (p. 750)

PLATE LXVI

1. Amarāvatī. Man and boy. First period. (p. 750)
2. Jaggayyapēṭa. Chaitya (temple) type bas-relief showing two-storeyed structure of *sāla* type. First period. (p. 749)

PLATE LXVII

1. Jaggayyapēṭa. Chakravarti Māndhātā. First period. (p. 749)
2. Amarāvatī. Casing slab depicting preaching Buddha with inscription at the base. Second period.

PLATE LXVIII

1. Amarāvatī. The story of Kavi Kumāra showing the king's men pursuing Kavi Kumāra, the washerman hiding the prince in a bundle of clothes, the prince running after being let out of the bundle, and the potters leaving the prince under the pretext of a corpse. Note the *sāla* type of houses at the background and at the left foreground and the synoptic method of narration handled.
2. Amarāvatī. Terraced building with two women in the topmost apartment. Second period (*c.* A.D. 100). (pp. 750-1)

PLATE LXIX

Amarāvatī. The Mahila-mukha Jātaka showing on the right the king Brahmadatta in his court with the Bodhisattva as his minister. On the left is shown successively elephant Mahila-mukha listening to the wicked talk of the burglars and again to the righteous talk of the good men. Note the structural royal gate.

PLATE LXX

Amarāvatī. The Mittavindaka Jātaka showing the unfortunate Mittavindaka with new born babes, his family with children grown up, the king's men coming to punish the villagers, and the drying up of the village tank suggested by the elephant wading in it. Note the rural type of houses in the background.

PLATE LXXI

Amarāvatī. Division of Buddha's relics showing the consultation and the division of the relics by Dona, music and dance going on, and the relics being carried on elephants by the recipients. The consultation panels on top right show the clever way in which the sculptor has depicted men seated around a table. Third period (*c.* A.D. 150). (pp. 751-2)

PLATE LXXII

1. Amarāvatī. The Nalagiri Jātaka depicting the mad careering of the elephant Nalagiri through the streets of Rājagṛiha creating panic amongst the citizens and later Nalagiri subdued and bowing before the Buddha. Third period. (p. 755)
2. Amarāvatī. A court scene. The presents of King Bandhuma, pages presenting the golden wreath and precious sandalwood to the king in a casket.

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PLATE LXXIII

1. Amarāvatī. The story of Udayana and his queens. Third period. (p. 755)
2. Amarāvatī. Chaitya slab with the Buddha's renunciation, temptation and enlightenment depicted on top, his birth scenes depicted on the stūpa and the wheel symbolizing his first sermon on either side and in the centre below. Fourth period (*c.* A.D. 200-250). (p. 753)

PLATE LXXIV

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The gift of earth. Fourth period.

PLATE LXXV

Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Māndhātā Jātaka. Fourth period.

PLATE LXXVI

1. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Pillar showing battle scene. Fourth Period.
2. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The Andhrasundarī. The pose and delineation of the sculpture are reminiscent of Ajaṇṭā painting. Fourth period.

PLATE LXXVII

1. The carved moon-stone step with lions, deer, horse and boar sculptures at the entrance of Buddha chaitya. Fourth period.
2. Gōli. Two last scenes from Vessantara Jātaka. Note the sculpture of the yakshiṇī playing on the harp. (p. 756)

PLATE LXXVIII

1. Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Scythian soldier (Kañchuki) carved on a pillar recovered from the palace site. Note the exotic dress and headgear. (p. 755)
2. Figure of Dionysus—carved on a pillar from the palace site with a rhyton raised in his left hand. His right hand holding the loosened garment, and a jug of wine near his left foot. Fourth period. (pp. 755-6)

PLATE LXXIX

Ajaṇṭā. Cave 9. A group of votaries (Nāgas). (p. 759)

PLATE LXXX

Ajaṇṭā. The Buddha and a group of votaries (Nāgas).

PLATE LXXXI

Ajaṇṭā. A group of votaries approaching the stūpa. (p. 760)

PLATE LXXXII

Ajaṇṭā. Cave No. 9. The stūpa. (p. 760)

CEYLON

PLATE LXXXIII

Mihintale. Kaṇṭaka Chaitya. (p. 622)

PLATE LXXXIV

Mihintale. Eastern Vahalkada, (after conservation). Second in importance and age only to Thūpārāma Chaitya. Originally of brick; stone facing of the basal terraces supplied at the time of Lañja Tissa. The *vāhalkaḍas* or the projections of chapels at the cardinal points corresponding to the 'Ayaka-khamba' faces of the Andhra stūpas have a series of mouldings with two vertical side jambs surmounted by elephants or lions, and the chief *motifs* adopted in the mouldings are the rows of kneeling elephant figures, swans, and *bhūta gaṇas*. These pertain to the second century A.D. as suggested by inscriptional evidence on a similar *vāhalkaḍa* in the Abhayagiri Dagaba.

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PLATES LXXXV-VI

Mihintale. Stele of Kaṇṭaka Chaitya—The important *motif* respresented here is the *Pūrṇaghaṭa* from which sprout up intertwined creepers. In one such interesting stela (Pl. LXXXV right) we see reared up in pairs along the sides of the high stalk emerging from the *Pūrṇaghaṭa*, elephant, bull, horse and lion in pairs alternating with pairs of human figures, vertically, corresponding to the lateral animal arrangement in the abacus of the Sārnāth lion pillar. It is worthwhile recalling that the 'moon stones' of sacred edifices of Anurādhapura also have the same set of four animals carved on them.

PLATE LXXXVII

Abhayagiri. The Dagaba was built by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi Abhaya and enlarged by Gajabāhu. Has the terraced base and domical body surmounted by a cubical structure and a tapering pillar-like *śikhara*. Vāhalkaḍa or entrance platforms on cardinal directions built during second century A.D. The stūpa type is later than the Andhra stūpa form. (p. 623)

PLATE LXXXVIII

1. Abhayagiri. The broken Dagaba stela (broken) shows again the animal series of the Sārnāth lion pillar in vertical sequence of which only the elephant and the bull have survived. By the side of the stela is another sculpture showing a *bhūtagaṇa* (damaged) with legs astride holding a load with both hands on his head. (p. 600)
2. Anurādhapura. Stele of the southern Vāhalkaḍa, Jetavanārāma dagaba. The sculptural pose, the delineation of the race and the depiction of the *bhūtagaṇa* carrying a load, all these show influence from India; particularly of the Andhra area. (p. 623)

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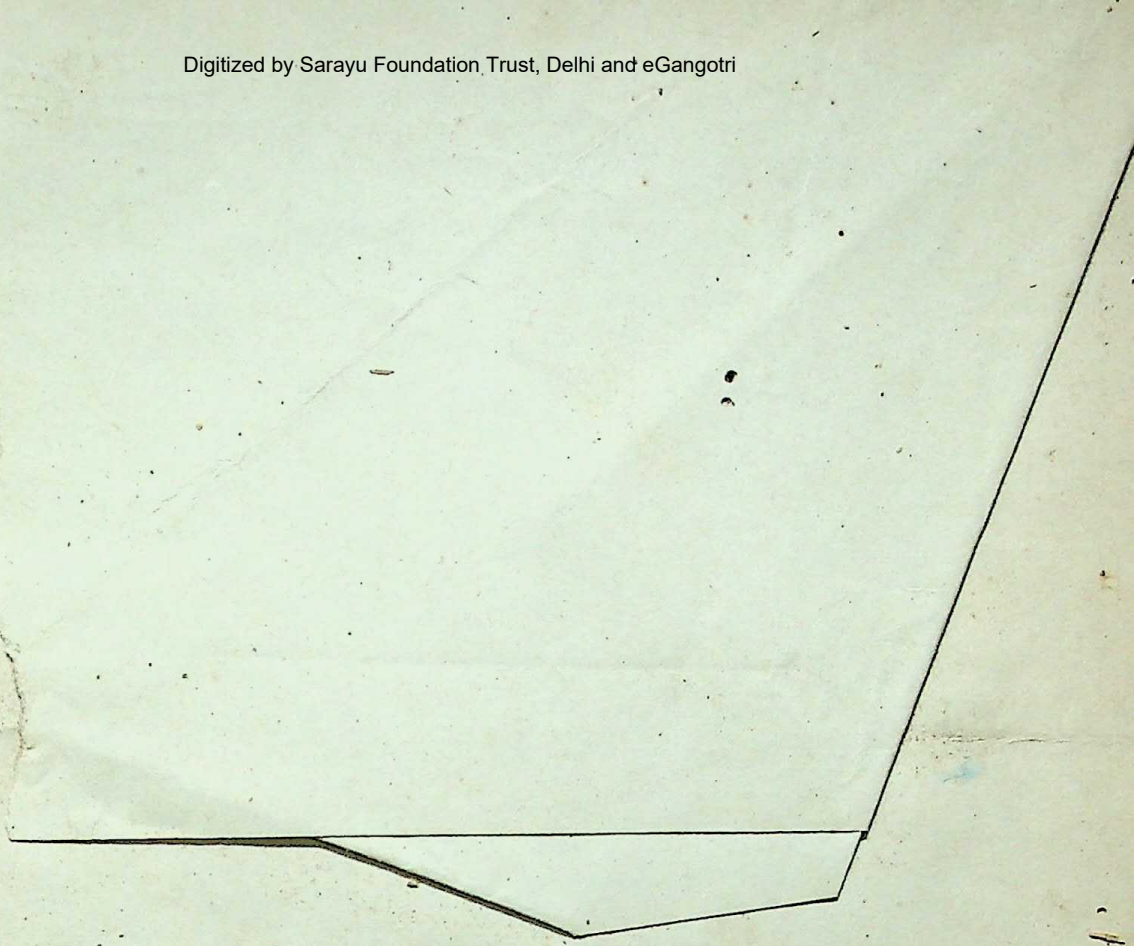
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